

BYZANTION

Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines

2012 – Tome LXXXII



PEETERS

PROCOPIO DI GAZA MODELLO DELL'EKPHRASIS DI FILAGATO DA CERAMI SULLA CAPPELLA PALATINA DI PALERMO*

Recensendo nel 1971 l'edizione critica di parte dell'*Omiliario* (I-XXXV) di Filagato da Cerami (al secolo Filippo il Cerameo o Filippo il filosofo) a cura di Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi¹, Jean Darrouzès esprimeva il voto che si potesse in futuro provvedere a meglio «*décélér les matériaux utilisés par l'auteur surtout dans un genre aussi traditionaliste que la prédication*», così come a maggiormente «*détecter les sources*» di alcune immagini e citazioni testuali, per le quali Filagato attinge a piene mani alla tradizione omiletica precedente².

* Ringrazio Aldo Corcella (Università della Basilicata) per aver voluto leggere in anteprima il presente lavoro, così come Nunzio Bianchi (Università di Bari) per aver messo a mia disposizione ugualmente in anteprima il seguente volume da lui stesso curato: *La tradizione dei testi greci in Italia meridionale. Filagato da Cerami philosophos e didaskalos. Copisti, lettori, eruditi in Puglia tra XII e XVI secolo*, a cura di N. BIANCHI con la collaborazione di C. SCHIANO, Bari, 2011.

I frammenti e le testimonianze di Procopio di Gaza sono citate secondo la numerazione dell'edizione teubneriana a cura di E. AMATO, *Procopius Gzaeus. Opuscula rhetorica et oratoria*, omnia primum collegit edidit apparatu critico instruxit E. AMATO, adiuvante G. VENTRELLA (*BSGRT*), Berolini - Novi Eboraci, 2009; il testo degli opuscoli, invece, è riportato secondo l'*editio minor*, corredata di traduzione italiana e note di commento, curata dallo stesso E. AMATO (in collaborazione con G. VENTRELLA per il *Panegirico per l'imperatore Anastasio*), in *Rose di Gaza. Gli scritti retorico-sofistici e le Epistole di Procopio di Gaza*, a cura di E. AMATO, Alessandria, 2010, pp. 162-287. Agli scritti finora noti, si sono venuti ad aggiungere molto di recente una nuova *dialexis*, facente da introduzione o annuncio ad un discorso epitalamico, ed un intero discorso per le nozze di due giovani di Gaza, Meles ed Antonina; è stato, altresì, dimostrato che vanno attribuite a Procopio, non già a Coricio, come erroneamente supposto da A. SIDERAS (*Zwei unbekannte Monodien von Chorikios?*, in *JÖB*, 33 (1983), pp. 57-73; IDEM, *Die byzantinischen Grabreden. Prosopographie, Datierung, Überlieferung. Epitaphien und Monodien aus dem byzantinischen Jahrtausend* [WBS, 19], Wien, 1994, pp. 395-397), due monodie (per un giovane morto prematuramente e per un *astynomos* di Gaza), pubblicate per primo dallo stesso Sideras (*25 unedierte byzantinische Grabreden*, Thessaloniki, 1991, pp. 17-30): vd. A. CORCELLA, *Tre nuovi testi di Procopio di Gaza: una dialexis inedita e due monodie già attribuite a Coricio*, in *Revue des études tardo-antiques*, 1 (2011-2012), pp. 1-14 e E. AMATO, *Un discorso inedito di Procopio di Gaza*: In Meletis et Antoninae nuptias, *ibidem*, pp. 15-69.

¹ *Filagato da Cerami. Omelie per i vangeli domenicali e le feste di tutto l'anno, I, Omelie per le feste fisse*, a cura di G. ROSSI TAIBBI (*Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Testi e Monumenti. Testi*, 11), Palermo, 1969.

² Vd. J. DARROUZÈS, *rec.* in *REB*, 29 (1971), p. 324.

Nella condivisibile consapevolezza che esso avrebbe meritato una trattazione a sé stante, il discorso delle fonti filagatee classiche e cristiane era stato, in effetti, affrontato da Rossi Taibbi in maniera assai generale, senza, però, che questo impedisse al rimpianto studioso di rilevare, alla luce di alcuni significativi esempi, come l'analisi dell'*Omiliario* di Filagato, frutto di attenta preparazione e di vasta dottrina, suggerisse orizzonti culturali paragonabili a quelli della stessa Costantinopoli³: accanto alle fonti patristiche, quali Basilio di Cesarea, Cirillo di Alessandria, Epifanio di Cipro, Eusebio di Cesarea, Gregorio di Nazianzo, Gregorio di Nissa, Giovanni Crisostomo, Massimo il Confessore e Simeone Metafraste, il cui insegnamento Filagato talora asserisce espressamente di seguire⁴, il predicatore siciliano mostrerebbe di conoscere ed all'occorrenza nominare testualmente anche i poeti antichi (Omero, Esiodo, Pindaro, Euripide, Teocrito), così come Platone, Ippocrate e Galeno⁵; degli uni e degli altri Filagato non si asterrebbe a riportare citazioni in qualche caso *ad verbum*, adattate s'intende al nuovo contesto omiletico, «cucendole e combinandole in modo tale che l'insieme risulti armonico e lo stile non soffra»⁶.

Tale vastità di interessi non stupisce, del resto, in un predicatore, che ricoprì la carica di διδάσκαλος evangelico, contribuendo altresì a dare nuovo e significativo impulso alla ripresa dello studio della letteratura greca

³ Vd. ROSSI TAIBBI, *Filagato*, pp. XLVI-L.

⁴ Cf. *hom.* VI, 3, 10 e VIII, 13, 1-2 R. T.

⁵ Per l'identificazione di tali fonti, che Rossi Taibbi indica in maniera molto generica, si veda N. BIANCHI, *Il codice del romanzo. Tradizione manoscritta e ricezione dei romanzi greci*, Bari, 2006, p. 41, n. 109. Lo studioso, tuttavia, non riesce ad individuare la presenza di Ippocrate e di Galeno, dei quali – egli scrive – «è plausibile che Rossi Taibbi trovasse riferimento (allusione, citazione o altro) nelle omelie di cui aveva già approntato il testo senza tuttavia poterlo pubblicare». In realtà, il riferimento ai due medici greci si trova chiaramente espresso da Filagato in *hom.* XXX, 16, 3-4 e 19, 2 R. T. Quanto alle restanti fonti, va rilevato come molte di esse, la cui “scoperta” viene oggi attribuita *tout court* a Rossi Taibbi, erano già state indicate nell'edizione filagatea di F. SCORSO, *Sapientiss. et eloquentiss. Theophanis Ceramei Archiepiscopi Tauromenitani Homiliae in Evangelia Dominicalia, et Festa totius anni*, Graece et Latine nunc primum editae, et Notis illustratae [...], Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1644 (= PG CXXXII, 1864). Valga un esempio su tutti: la citazione aratea in *hom.* I, 10 R. T. di *Phaenomena* 5, così come la ripresa della stessa negli *Atti degli Apostoli* (17, 28), che, ricondotte entrambe a Rossi Taibbi (cf. R. ROMANO, *Note di lettura a testi italogreci*, in *Byzantino-Sicula*, III, Palermo, 2000, pp. 300-301 e C. TORRE, *Su alcune presunte riprese classiche in Filagato da Cerami*, in BIANCHI – SCHIANO, *La tradizione*, p. 22), erano in realtà già state segnalate da Scorso (*Theophanis Ceramei*, p. 449). Ma, a ben vedere, l'editore palermitano non manca di segnalare nelle sue *Notae* talune riprese (da Teocrito, dai lessici greci, da Omero, da Esiodo, da Pindaro, ecc.), la cui prima individuazione viene indebitamente attribuita agli studiosi contemporanei. È auspicabile, dunque, che per il futuro si presti maggiore attenzione al lavoro esegetico di Scorso.

⁶ Così ROSSI TAIBBI, *Filagato*, p. XLVIII.

profana nella corte normanna del sovrano Ruggero II⁷. Non si dimentichi, in tal senso, che a Filagato si deve, ad es., una ἔρμηνεῖα allegorica delle *Etiopiche* di Eliodoro⁸, ma anche taluni lavori di tipo scolastico-grammaticale e forse un componimento poetico in giambi⁹.

Si capisce bene, dunque, come un'indagine mirata sulle fonti classiche e cristiane di Filagato potrebbe dirci molto di più sulla sua tecnica omiletica e sulle sue letture personali, consentendoci inoltre di ampliare il quadro delle nostre conoscenze sui contenuti e sulla circolazione dei testi antichi nella cultura bizantina in età normanna¹⁰.

Per fare questo, sarebbe certo auspicabile poter disporre anche di una solida edizione critica di quanto resta dell'opera filagatea non pubblicata da Rossi Taibbi¹¹.

⁷ Su tale aspetto dell'opera umana e letteraria di Filagato, vd. in particolare B. LAVAGNINI, *Filippo-Filagato promotore degli studi di greco in Calabria*, in *BBGG*, n.s. 28 (1974), pp. 1-12 e C. CUPANE, *Filagato da Cerami φιλόσοφος e διδάσκαλος. Contributo alla storia della cultura bizantina in età normanna*, in *Siculorum Gymnasium*, n.s. 31 (1978), pp. 1-28; cf. anche F. GIUNTA, *Bizantini e bizantinismo nella Sicilia normanna*, Palermo, 1974, pp. 86-87.

⁸ Se ne veda la nuova edizione critica in BIANCHI, *Il codice*, pp. 48-57. Per l'attribuzione dello scritto a Filagato, così come per primo sostenuta da A. COLONNA, *Teofane Cerameo e Filippo filosofo*, in *Bollettino dei Classici*, n.s. 8 (1960), pp. 25-28, ma in seguito contestata, tra gli altri, da A. ACCONCIA LONGO, *Filippo il filosofo a Costantinopoli*, in *RSBN*, n.s. 28 (1991), pp. 5-10, si veda nuovamente BIANCHI, *Il codice*, pp. 24-36 e 43-47 con ottimo *status quaestionis* e richiamo alla bibliografia precedente. Sul testo filagateo è tornato di recente A. CORCELLA, *Note a Filippo il Filosofo (Filagato da Cerami)*, «*Commentatio in Charicleam*», in *Medioevo Greco*, 9 (2009), pp. 45-51.

⁹ Per un profilo dettagliato della vita e dell'opera di Filagato, oltre ai citati lavori di Bruno Lavagnini e di Carolina Cupane, mi limito a rinviare a S. CARUSO, *Note di cronologia filagatea (omilie IV, VI e LII Rossi-Taibbi)*, in *Siculorum Gymnasium*, n.s. 31 (1978), pp. 200-212; M. GIGANTE, *Il problema Filagato*, in P. L. LEONE (ed.), *Studi bizantini e neogreci. Atti del IV Congresso nazionale di studi bizantini, Lecce, 21-22 aprile 1980 - Calimera, 24 aprile 1980*, Galatina, 1983, pp. 633-639; B. LAVAGNINI, *Profilo di Filagato da Cerami con traduzione della omelia XXVII, pronunciata dal pulpito della Cappella Palatina in Palermo*, in *BBGG*, n.s. 44 (1990), pp. 231-244; cf. anche L. AMELOTI, s.v. *Filagato da Cerami*, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, 1997, pp. 564-565 e G. GHARIB – E. M. TONIOLO, *Testi mariani del secondo millennio, I, Autori orientali (secc. XI-XX)*, Roma, 2008, pp. 160-162.

¹⁰ L'auspicio, oltre che da Darrouzès, era venuto anche da CUPANE, *Filagato*, p. 5, n. 11 e GIGANTE, *Il problema Filagato*, p. 635; esso è stato di recente ribadito, tra gli altri, da A. CORCELLA, *Riuso e impiego dell'antico in Filagato*, in BIANCHI – SCHIANO, *La tradizione*, pp. 11-19, il quale fornisce un utile quadro di riferimento.

¹¹ Nel frattempo, sono venute alla luce le sole edizioni delle omelie LI-LIII e XLI a cura rispettivamente di S. CARUSO, *Le tre omilie inedite "Per la Domenica delle Palme" di Filagato da Cerami*, *EEBS*, 41 (1974), pp. 109-127 e di G. ZACCAGNI, *Filagato*, hom. *XLI. Edizione e traduzione*, in BIANCHI – SCHIANO, *La tradizione*, pp. 149-161; la stessa Zaccagni ha pubblicato criticamente una parte dell'hom. XXXVII: G. ZACCAGNI, *La πάρεργος ἀφήγησις in Filagato da Cerami: una particolare tecnica narrativa*, in *RSBN*, n.s. 35 (1998), pp. 51-53. Frammenti di un'omelia inedita sono stati pubblicati e tradotti da N. BIANCHI, *Frammento omiletico inedito per la Vergine: Filagato da Cerami*, hom. *LXXXVI*, in *BBGG*, III s., 6 (2009), pp. 307-311 (segnalo, tuttavia, che di tale testo una traduzione italiana con commento era stata in realtà già procurata da P. GIONFRIDDO, *Primizia di salvezza, la Theótokos, morta*

Comunque sia, l'attuale fervore di studi intorno alle fonti ed ai modelli antichi nell'*Omiliario* di Filagato¹² fa ben sperare di poter disporre quanto prima di una monografia in tal senso.

Al fine di contribuire alla costruzione del monumento, vorrei soffermarmi in questa sede su alcune riprese, finora sfuggite, degli scritti “profani” di Procopio di Gaza nell'omelia pronunciata da Filagato nella Cappella Palatina di Palermo (*hom.* XXVII R. T.), in occasione della festa dei santi Pietro e Paolo probabilmente del 1140¹³.

Preliminarmente, andrà sottolineato che la conoscenza da parte di Filagato della produzione sofisticato-oratoria di Procopio di Gaza è cosa quanto mai certa, benché solo di recente segnalata da E. Amato, a margine di un contributo sulla fortuna di Coricio di Gaza così come nella sua edizione teubneriana degli *opuscula* procopiani¹⁴, ed opportunamente e specificatamente illustrata in contemporanea da A. Corcella in uno stimolante articolo

secondo natura e al di sopra della natura risuscitata, in *Oriente cristiano*, 28 [1988], pp. 5-8, il quale, senza darne un'edizione critica, aveva comunque riprodotto i fogli del codice, da cui esso è trädito). Infine, va segnalata l'edizione diplomatica, basata sul ms. *Barberinianus gr.* 324, di *hom.* LXXXVII per le cure di A. JACOB, *Autour de Nicolas-Nectaire de Casole*, in J.-M. MARTIN – B. MARTIN-HISARD – A. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *Vaticana et Medievalia. Études en l'honneur de Louis Duval-Arnould*, Firenze, 2008, p. 235, che attribuisce, tuttavia, il testo a Nicola-Nettario di Otranto.

¹² Vedi in particolare i lavori recenti di ZACCAGNI, *La πάρεργος ἀφήγησις*, pp. 60-65; EADEM, *Un giullare alla corte di Teodora: narrazione ad incastro nell'omelia filagata* Per la festa dell'Ortodossia (*XXII Scorso = XLI Rossi Taibbi*), in BIANCHI – SCHIANO, *La tradizione*, pp. 63-69; N. BIANCHI, *Tempesta nello stretto ovvero Filagato da Cerami lettore di Alcifrone*, in *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli Studi di Bari*, 48 (2005), pp. 91-97; IDEM, *Nuovi frammenti del Contra Galilaeos di Giuliano (dalle omelie di Filagato da Cerami)*, in *Bollettino dei Classici*, III s., 27 (2006), pp. 89-104; IDEM, *Il codice*, pp. 39-43 (con richiamo alla bibliografia precedente per l'individuazione di ulteriori fonti “antiche”); IDEM, *Romanzi greci ritrovati. Tradizione e riscoperta dalla tarda antichità al Cinquecento*, Bari, 2011, pp. 29-46; IDEM, *Filagato da Cerami lettore del De domo ovvero Luciano in Italia meridionale*, in BIANCHI – SCHIANO, *La tradizione*, pp. 39-52; C. TORRE, *Un intellettuale greco di epoca normanna: Filagato da Cerami e il De mundo di Aristotele*, in *Miscellanea di Studi Storici*, 15 (2008), pp. 63-141; EADEM, *Su alcune presunte riprese*; A. CORCELLA, *Echi del romanzo e di Procopio di Gaza in Filagato Cerameo*, in *BZ*, 103 (2010), pp. 25-38; IDEM, *Riuso*; M. DULUŞ, *Philagatos of Cerami and the Monastic Renewal in the Twelfth-Century Norman Kingdom: Preaching and Persuasion*, in BIANCHI – SCHIANO, *La tradizione*, pp. 53-62.

¹³ Si tratta della datazione proposta da ROSSI TAIBBI, *Filagato*, p. LV; *contra*, E. KITZINGER, *The date of Philagatos' homely for the feast of st. Peter and Paul*, in *Byzantino-Sicula*, II, *Miscellanea di scritti in memoria di Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi*, Palermo, 1975, pp. 301-306, per il quale l'omelia sarebbe stata redatta tra il 1143 ed il 1153. Per una discussione attenta, vd. B. PATERA, *L'arte della Sicilia normanna nelle fonti medievali*, Palermo, 1980, pp. 17-19, dove si ribadisce la difficoltà di pervenire ad una soluzione certa; cf. anche BIANCHI, *Filagato*, p. 40, n. 3.

¹⁴ Vd. E. AMATO, *The fortune and reception of Choricus and of his works*, in R. J. PENELLA (ed.), *Rhetorical exercises from Late Antiquity. A translation of Choricus of Gaza's Preliminary Talks and Declamations*, Cambridge, 2009, p. 302, n. 166, e IDEM, *Procopius*, pp. 107, 118 e 119.

per la *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*¹⁵: entrambi gli studiosi hanno individuato in *hom.* XXIV, 7,7, 7,9-10 e 6,9 R. T. le riprese talora *ad verbum* rispettivamente di Procopio di Gaza, *fr. cert. sed.* I.2 e *fr. incert. sed.* 22 e 26 A.

In particolare, il Corcella, pur constatando che le citazioni/allusioni procopiane nell'omelia di Filagato sono a noi note esclusivamente per tradizione indiretta¹⁶, non esclude che il Cerameo, accanto alla mediazione di lessici e *florilegia*, avesse comunque accesso diretto agli scritti "profani" del suo illustre predecessore di Gaza¹⁷.

L'ipotesi può essere definitivamente corroborata, come mi accingo ora a dimostrare, grazie all'individuazione di una nuova citazione procopiana *ad verbum* presente in Filagato. Essa è localizzata nel prologo (§§1-3) della già citata *hom.* XXVII R. T.¹⁸, in cui il Cerameo ci ha lasciato una celebre descrizione della Cappella Palatina di Palermo, tanto più importante in quanto tale testo «costituisce una delle rare *ekphraseis* medievali ricche di espliciti rimandi alle caratteristiche architettoniche e decorative del monumento»¹⁹. Rileggiamo assieme l'inizio di tale passo:

1. Συνήδομαί σοι, πόλις, καὶ σοί, θεῖς τῶν ἀνακτόρων ναέ, πάσης ἐπί σε σήμερον ἡλικίας χυθείσης, καὶ τῶν ὅσοι τὴν τύχην ἐπίδοξοι, ἱερέων τε τοσοῦτων τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμῖν ἐπικοσμούντων πανήγυριν. [...] Ὅς (sc. ὁ βασιλεὺς) [...] ἔν καὶ τοῦτο προσέθηκε γνῶρισμα τῆς ἐκείνου βασιλικῆς ὄντως καὶ μεγάλης ψυχῆς, τὸν τερπνότατον τοῦτον τῶν κηρύκων ναόν· ὃν καθάπερ κρηπίδα καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἐν τοῖς ἀνακτόροις ἐδείματο, μέγιστόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ κάλλει καινοτέρῳ διαπρεπέστατον καὶ φωτὶ φαιδρότατον καὶ χρυσοῦ διαυγέστατον καὶ ψηφῖσι στιλπνότατον καὶ γραφαῖς ἀνθηρότατον. Ὅν τις ἰδὼν πολλάκις, καὶ πάλιν ἰδὼν, ὡς νῦν αὐτῶ πρώτων φανέντα θαυμάζει καὶ τέθηπε, πανταχοῦ τῇ θεᾷ πλανώμενος.

¹⁵ Vd. CORCELLA, *Echi*, pp. 34-38.

¹⁶ Esse ricorrono, infatti, esclusivamente in *Lexicon Seguerianum* κ 40. 41 e π 70 Petrova. Sull'importanza ed il valore del *Lexicon Seguerianum*, redatto intorno al VII secolo, probabilmente a Gaza, per la ricostruzione dei frammenti di Procopio, vd. AMATO, *Procopius*, pp. XVII-XVIII, e IDEM, *La produzione letteraria di Procopio*, in IDEM, *Rose di Gaza*, pp. 38-39. Quanto in generale alla tradizione indiretta procopiana, vd. nuovamente AMATO, *Procopius*, pp. XVI-XXIII.

¹⁷ Tale conclusione è ribadita in CORCELLA, *Riuso*, p. 13. Ulteriori riprese procopiane da parte di Filagato in *hom.* 6 e 22 Rossi Taibbi sono state molto recentemente individuate da CORCELLA, *Tre nuovi testi*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁸ Per un'analisi dettagliata del contenuto di tale omelia ed il ruolo avuto da Filagato nell'ispirazione della stessa Cappella, vd. B. CAPPELLI, *Da Rossano alla Cappella Palatina di Palermo*, in *BBGG*, n.s. 16 (1962), pp. 77-93.

¹⁹ Così M. L. FOBELLI, *L'ekphrasis di Filagato da Cerami sulla Cappella Palatina e il suo modello*, in A. C. QUINTAVALLE (ed.), *Medioevo: i modelli. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Parma, 27 settembre - 1° ottobre 1999*, Milano, 2002, p. 267.

2. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὄροφος ἄπληστός ἐστι θέα καὶ θαῦμα ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι, γλυφαῖς τισὶ λεπτοτέραις εἰς καλαθίσκων σχῆμα ποικιλιομέναις ὥραϊζόμενος, καὶ πανταχόθεν τῷ χρυσοῦ περιαστράπτων μιμεῖται τὸν οὐρανόν, ὅτε καθαρᾷ αἰθρία τῷ τῶν ἀστέρων χορῷ περιλάμπεται· κίονες δὲ κάλλιστα τὰς ἄντυγας ἐπερείδουσαι, εἰς ἀμήχανον ὕψος τὸν ὄροφον αἴρουσι. Τοῦ δὲ ναοῦ τὸ ἀγιώτατον δάπεδον ἀτεχνῶς ἐαρινῶ λειμῶνι παρείκασται ποικίλη μαρμάρων ψηφίδι, ὡς ἄνθεσι καθωραϊζόμενον, πλὴν παρ' ὅσον τὰ μὲν ἄνθη μαραίνεται καὶ ἀλλάττεται, ὁ δὲ λειμὼν οὗτος ἀμάραντος καὶ αἰδίου, τηρῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τὸ ἕαρ ἀθάνατον. Πᾶς δὲ τοῖχος ποικιλία μαρμάρων περικαλύπτεται· τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀνωτέρω χρυσοῦ καλύπτει ψηφίς, ὅσα μὴ συνείληφεν ὁ τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων χορός. Τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρρήτου τελετῆς χωρίον μαρμάρων θώραξ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι περικλείει τὸν χῶρον, ἐφ' ὧν ἔστιν ἐπαναπαύεσθαί τε καὶ μετ' ἀσφαλείας ἐστάναι καὶ τέρπειν τῇ θέᾳ τὴν ὄψιν. Κώλυμα δὲ τοῦτο τῶν, εἴ τις προπετῆς καὶ ἀνίερος εἴσω τῶν ἀδύτων ὑπερβῆναι φιλονεικεῖ²⁰.

Se per primi Maria Andaloro e Francesco Aceto avevano indicato nella *Descriptio S. Sophiae* di Paolo Silenziario uno dei modelli di Filagato²¹, è

²⁰ «Teco mi congratulo, o città, e teco ancora divin tempio reale, poichè in te oggi affluiscono uomini di ogni età e per fortuna cospicui, e codesti sacerdoti che fan corona all'orazion nostra. [...] Una cosa, ed è questa, pose il segno dell'animo grande e veramente regio di lui (sc. del sovrano), il presente tempio giocondissimo pei proclamatori, il quale siccome base edificò della reggia, amplissimo e bellissimo, esimio per nuova bellezza, splendido senza esempio, ricchissimo di oro, e per le pietre e le pitture fiorentissimo; il quale da ognuno è molte volte veduto e tornato a vedere, come allora per la prima volta veduto reca meraviglia e stupore per ogni parte si volga lo sguardo.

Il tetto veramente non può saziarsi d'ammirare, e sorprende a vederlo ed intenderlo; ornato di certe sculture minutissime e variate in forma di canestrini; e in ogni parte d'oro rilucendo, imita il cielo quando risplende nel puro aere col suo coro di stelle. Le colonne poi, sostenendo archi magnifici, sollevano il tetto ad una altezza immensa. Il santissimo pavimento del tempio, maestrevolmente ornato a fiori di pietruzze di marmi variatissimi, è simile ad un prato di primavera; con ciò però che il fiore ivi svanisce e si muta, ma questo prato è incorruttibile e perenne, contenendo in sé fiori immortali. Ogni parete è coperta di varietà di marmi, dei quali son fregiate le estremità superiori con aurei sassolini, per quanto vi ha d'interstizio con le venerande rappresentazioni di figure. Ma il luogo dell'ineffabil cerimonia pei sacerdoti è da ripari di marmi racchiuso; il quale argine impedisce a qualche temerario o profano di appressarsi ai penentrali, dove la mensa divina, splendente di oro e di argento, sorprende chiunque la vede» (riproduco, a fronte di altre versioni più recenti, la traduzione G. DI MARZO, *Delle belle arti in Sicilia dai Normanni sino alla fine del XIV secolo*, II, Palermo, 1859, p. 62, che trovo davvero tra le più suggestive).

²¹ Vd. M. ANDALORO, *Le arti nel teatro del potere*, in M. ANDALORO – F. INDOVINA (edd.), *Palermo la splendida. Arabi e Normanni in una città mediterranea*, Roma, 1998, pp. 92-119: 96 e F. ACETO, *Leone Marsicano e la descrizione della Basilica di Montecassino tra modelli letterari ed istanze ideologico-politiche*, in *Arte d'Occidente. Temi e metodi. Studi in onore*

soprattutto l'esame dettagliato di Maria Luigia Fobelli, che ne ha messo in luce i numerosi imprevisti, mostrando inoltre come, oltre che a Paolo Silenziario, Filagato si sarebbe ampiamente ispirato anche a Procopio di Cesarea, che della chiesa costantinopolitana aveva fornito una celebre descrizione nel I libro del *De aedificiis*²².

Per la studiosa, inoltre, Filagato avrebbe tenuto presente per l'immagine della straordinaria altezza del soffitto della Cappella Palatina e per la metafora soffitto-cielo due passi della descrizione della chiesa di San Sergio a Gaza, fornita dal Coricio nel primo dei suoi due elogi del vescovo Marciano (*op. I Foerster/Richtsteig*), così come un altro sempre dello stesso Coricio, ma tirato questa volta dalla descrizione della chiesa di Santo Stefano a Gaza, che troviamo nell'altro dei suoi due elogi (*op. II Foerster/Richtsteig*)²³.

Ebbene, senza entrare nel merito di siffatte riprese, che almeno nel caso di Coricio sembrano, tuttavia, essere troppo generiche e vaghe per poter affermarsi che Filagato dipenda realmente da costui²⁴, è da evidenziare che la Fobelli non ha saputo individuare nell'*ekphrasis* filagatea le sole allusioni e citazioni certe di ben due precedenti modelli ecfraistici, cui il Cerameo si è davvero ispirato: mi riferisco, nel primo caso, al *De domo* attribuito a Luciano, cui vanno senz'altro ricondotte, come attentamente messo in luce da Nunzio Bianchi, varie citazioni immediate nonché talune riprese stilistiche e tematiche²⁵; nel secondo, finora del tutto sfuggito agli studiosi, alla *Descrizione dell'orologio* di Procopio di Gaza²⁶, che offre a Filagato la materia per descrivere il presbiterio e la sua recinzione. Se, difatti, mettiamo a confronto i due passaggi (in corsivo le riprese letterali), avvertiamo subito quanto Filagato dipenda in parte *ad verbum* dal predecessore gazeo e non già, come vorrebbe la Fobelli, da Paolo Silenziario²⁷:

di Angiola Maria Romanini, III, Roma, 1999, pp. 957-970, riproposto con leggeri varianti in Leone Marsicano. *Cronaca di Montecassino (III 26-30)*, a cura di F. ACETO – V. LUCHERINI, Milano, 2001, p. 122, n. 20 (dove cito).

²² FOBELLI, *L'ekphrasis di Filagato, passim*.

²³ Vd. FOBELLI, *L'ekphrasis di Filagato*, p. 270.

²⁴ Vd. AMATO, *Fortune*, p. 302, n. 166; CORCELLA, *Echi*, pp. 30-31 e BIANCHI, *Filagato*, p. 44.

²⁵ Vd. BIANCHI, *Filagato*, pp. 42-47; invero, già H. MAGUIRE (*Originality in Byzantine Art Criticism*, in A. R. LITTLEWOOD [ed.], *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music*, Oxford, 1995, pp. 102-103) aveva indicato talune riprese.

²⁶ Per una presentazione dettagliata del contenuto di tale opera, così come del monumento artistico in essa descritto, vd. AMATO, *La produzione letteraria*, pp. 21-30 e B. BÄBLER – A. SCHOMBERG, *Prokop: Die Kunst der in Gaza*, in AMATO, *Rose di Gaza*, pp. 528-559.

²⁷ Il parallelo di *Descr.* 682-685 (καὶ γὰρ ὅσον μέγαλοιο πρὸς ὄρθιον ἄντυγα νηοῦ / χῶρον ἀναιμάκτοισιν ἀπεκρίναντο θηλαῖς, / οὐκ ἐλέφας, οὐ τμήμα λίθων ἢ χαλκὸς ὀρίζεται, / ἀλλ' ὄλον ἐθρίγκωσεν ὑπ' ἀργυρέοισι μετ'ἀλλοις), richiamato dalla studiosa

Philagat., *hom.* XXVII, 2,
11-15 R. T.

Τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρρήτου τελετῆς χωρίον μαρμάρων θώραξ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι περικλείει τὸν χώρον, ἐφ' ᾧ ἔστιν ἐπαναπαύεσθαι τε καὶ μετ' ἀσφαλείας ἐστάναι καὶ τέρπειν τῇ θεᾷ τὴν ὄψιν. Κώλυμα δὲ τοῦτο τῶν, εἴ τις προπετῆς καὶ ἀνίερος εἴσω τῶν ἀδύτων ὑπερβῆναι φιλονεικεῖ.

Procop. *Gaz.*, *op.* VIII, 4,
p. 206, 12-14 A.

ὁ μαρμάρων πτυχις τῶν κίωνων τὰ μέσα συνέ[χων]²⁸, δξέων πασσάλων] αὐτοῖς ἐμπεληγότων σιδήρου, κώλυμα τοῦτο τῶν εἴ τις προπετῆς καὶ ὑπερβῆναι φιλονεικεῖ.

La ripresa testuale basta da sola a provare irrefutabilmente che Filagato imita, adattandola al nuovo contesto, la descrizione fornita da Procopio di Gaza della “cella” contenente il celebre orologio anaforico, a figure mobili e probabilmente azionato da un meccanismo ad acqua, che poteva ammirarsi al suo tempo nel cuore della città palestinese. Le ricadute di tale ripresa/imitazione sono numerose ed importanti:

1. Il fatto che Filagato citi un testo di Procopio, trasmesso unicamente per via diretta e non tramite *excerpta* di lessici o florilegi, così com'è per le citazioni procopiane di *hom.* XXIV R. T., fa concludere che egli attingesse direttamente alla sua opera: il dato, tutt'altro che secondario, è di una certa rilevanza, visto che finora non era stato ancora possibile asserire con certezza, per le fonti “classiche” già individuate, se Filagato «attinga direttamente ai testi o meno»²⁹, fatta eccezione della citazione di due passi del *De mundo* attribuito ad Aristotele, per la quale di recente Cristina Torre ha potuto ipotizzare una ripresa di prima mano da parte di Filagato – il che proverebbe la circolazione dell'opera pseudo-aristotelica in Italia meridionale nel corso del XII secolo³⁰ – e delle varie riprese dirette del *De domo* luciano, che hanno fatto giustamente concludere al Bianchi che Luciano doveva senz'altro essere nel novero della letture di Filagato e la sua opera saldamente collocata nella biblioteca del Cerameo³¹.

(*L'ekphrasis di Filagato*, p. 270), è in effetti totalmente fuori tema o, comunque, troppo generico, per potersi concludere che di esso avrebbe tenuto conto Filagato nella propria descrizione della recinzione del presbitero palermitano.

²⁸ Per la difesa del testo tràdito ὁ μαρμάρων πτυχις – stampato, per altro, già dal Mai e dal Boissonade – e la relativa integrazione συνέ[χων, contro μαρμάρων πτυχις ... συνέ[χουσα di Diels, vedi AMATO, *La produzione letteraria*, p. 25, n. 67 e E. AMATO, *Osservazioni sul testo di Procopio di Gaza*, in *Revue des études tardo-antiques*, 1 (2011-2012), pp. 156-157, n. 49.

²⁹ Così BIANCHI, *Il codice*, p. 41, n. 109.

³⁰ Vd. TORRE, *Un intellettuale greco*.

³¹ Vd. BIANCHI, *Filagato*, p. 47. Tra i testi di cui Filagato dovette avere conoscenza diretta, vi fu probabilmente anche Alcifrone, come argomenta BIANCHI, *Romanzi greci*, pp. 40-41.

2. Se Filagato poteva leggere Procopio direttamente da un manoscritto, ciò implica per facile logica che tale perduto testimone dovesse senz'altro essere anteriore a quello, di cui si dispone attualmente per la *Descriptio horologii*, il codice unico *Vaticanus gr.* 1898, datato, per il fascicolo relativo agli scritti procopiani, tra la metà e la fine del XIII secolo³². In tal caso, vi è allora da chiedersi quale sia il rapporto, ammesso che vi sia stato, tra il manoscritto posseduto da Filagato e quello in nostro possesso, la cui scrittura, tra l'altro, sembra essere molto vicina a quella del copista che verga le epistole di Procopio e Megezio nel *Venetus Marcianus gr.* 521³³. Non è certo dimostrabile l'ipotesi, avanzata anche per le *Etiopiche*³⁴, di un'edizione "calabrese" degli *opuscula* di Procopio, curata da Filagato. Però, proprio come per il romanzo di Eliodoro e per l'opera di Luciano³⁵, non sarebbe da escludere a priori che la tradizione manoscritta cui faceva capo il testimone filagato rientrasse in un filone recensionale di ambito calabro-siculo. Per altro, l'eventuale interesse da parte del Cerameo per la produzione sofisticato-oratoria di Procopio ben si spiegherebbe all'interno dei suoi orizzonti culturali e professionali: oltre che oratore cristiano colto ed espressivo, Filagato ottenne, infatti, la *διδασκαλική ἀξία* (*hom.* LIII, 9, p. 124 Caruso), il che vuol dire che fu maestro di sacre scritture, impegnandosi altresì, come si è già ricordato più sopra, in un'importante opera di didattica e di promozione del greco, testimoniata da alcuni opuscoli grammaticali a lui attribuiti (o di cui si ha notizia) e dalla stessa *ἐρμηνεία* alle *Etiopiche*, da ricondurre in ultima analisi ad un uso pedagogico e scolastico del romanzo di Eliodoro³⁶. Che, dunque, la sezione degli scritti procopiani conservata nel *Vat. gr.* 1898 risalga al testimone perduto di Filagato ovvero sia riconducibile al medesimo filone recensionale? L'eventualità non è da escludere a priori, visto la probabile origine greco-orientale del codice ed il fatto che esso sembra riflettere un assemblaggio di tipo pedagogico operato in ambienti retorico-scolastici³⁷.

³² Vd. AMATO, *Procopius*, p. IX e bibliografia relativa.

³³ Su tale manoscritto, cartaceo orientale, della metà del XIII secolo, vedi E. AMATO, *Sei epistole mutuae inedite di Procopio di Gaza ed il retore Megezio*, in *BZ*, 98 (2005), p. 368 (con riproduzione dei *folia* relativi a Procopio e bibliografia anteriore).

³⁴ Vd. F. MOSINO, *Una ipotesi sul codice Marciano greco 410*, in *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale*, 21-22 (1979-1980), p. 208.

³⁵ Vd. BIANCHI, *Filagato*, pp. 49-50.

³⁶ Vd. BIANCHI, *Il codice*, p. 45 e n. 127.

³⁷ L'ipotesi risale a P. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Spätantiker Gemäldezyklus in Gaza. Des Prokopios von Gaza Ἐκφρασις εἰκόνοϋ* (*ST*, 89), Città del Vaticano, 1939, p. 93 («Damals also scheint ein byzantinischer Rhetor Musterstücke des blumigen Stiles, den er bewunderte, zusammengetragen zu haben»). Essa è stata accolta in seguito da A. GARZYA – R. J. LOENERTZ, *Procopii Gazaevi epistolae et declamationes* (*Studia Patristica et Byzantina*, 9), Ettal, 1963, pp. XXIX e XXV, per i quali all'origine della selezione – non già all'origine della copia del

3. La ripresa testuale procopiana da parte di Filagato³⁸ conferma, da una parte, la bontà della scelta operata in sede di *constitutio* da Rossi Taibbi, il quale stampa giustamente εἷ τις προπετης con i codici V B contro εἰ προπετης di M, dall'altro, che il testo di Procopio, così come ci è stato tramandato, non richiede alcun intervento sanatorio: così vorrebbe, invece, il Lucarini, il quale, mostrando non solo di non aver rettammente inteso il passo procopiano, bensì anche di ignorare del tutto i possibili altri paralleli che parimenti possono portarsi a sostegno del testo tràdito, ha proposto molto recentemente di emendare il tràdito κώλυμα τοῦτο τῶν in κώλυμα τελειότατον³⁹.

4. La sostituzione della ricercata espressione μαρμάρων πτυχίς del modello procopiano con μαρμάρων θώραξ conforta la correttezza dell'interpretazione della prima nel senso di "Marmorschranken", "Marmorplatte", "scudo di marmi", quale avanzata da H. Diels⁴⁰ e per ultimo da E. Amato⁴¹; costui, in particolare, sulla base della testimonianza di Polluce, *Onomasticon* I, 86, l'unico luogo, a quanto pare, in cui compaia il termine πτυχίς, ha evidenziato come con tale vocabolo venisse propriamente indicato lo scudo posto sulla prua delle navi, sul quale veniva iscritto il nome delle stesse⁴², senza per altro escludere del tutto un'allusione dotta da parte di Procopio ad ricercato *hapax* μαρμαρόπτυχος dei *Persiani* di Timoteo

Vaticanus gr. 1898, successivo all'epoca in cui egli visse! – vi sarebbe stato Niceforo Basilace (1115-1182) e ciò soltanto perché nel manoscritto vaticano comparirebbe ugualmente trascritto un pezzo di quest'ultimo.

³⁸ Non ritengo che, in base al testo di Filagato, dove, oltre alla variante all'ottativo φιλο-νεικεῖη, troviamo in più le parole ἀνιερὸς εἶσω τῶν ἀδύτων, debba postularsi una qualche lacuna in Procopio. Si tratta di un'operazione di *amplificatio* operata da Filagato stesso. Un esempio analogo, per restare nell'ambito della scuola di Gaza, potrebbe essere rappresentato dalla ripresa di Coricio, *op.* VIII, 35, p. 122, 22-123 Foerster/Richtsteig nell'anonimo encomio *In sanctum Efraem* (PG XLVI, 841C): rispetto al modello coriciano, l'anonimo *laudator* introduce una porzione di testo lì del tutto assente, che si discute se sia da imputare direttamente al tardo imitatore o meno. Per un'attenta discussione, vd. A. CORCELLA, *L'uso di Coricio in pseudo-Gregorio di Nissa, In sanctum Ephraem*, in *AB*, 124 (2006), pp. 241-251; cf. anche AMATO, *The fortune*, pp. 299-300; C. GRECO, *rec.* in *Prometheus*, 36 (2010), p. 190.

³⁹ Vd. C. M. LUCARINI, *Osservazioni sul testo di Procopio di Gaza*, in *Arctos*, 44 (2010), p. 176; *contra*, AMATO, *Osservazioni*, p. 157.

⁴⁰ Vd. H. DIELS, *Über die von Prokop beschriebene Kunstuhr von Gaza mit einem Anhang enthaltend Text und Übersetzung der Ἑκφρασις ὀρολογίου des Prokopios von Gaza*, Berlin, 1917, pp. 6 e 30.

⁴¹ Vd. AMATO, *La produzione letteraria*, p. 24 e n. 67 di p. 25.

⁴² Al riguardo, vd. A. CARTAULT, *La trière athénienne. Étude d'archéologie navale*, Paris, 1881, pp. 66-67; numerosi gli esempi anche in pittura: si veda, e.g., a Pompei l'affresco del cosiddetto Tempio di Iside (VIII, 7, 28 = Museo Arch. Naz. di Napoli, inv. 8552), riprodotto in F. AVILIA – L. JACOBELLI, *Le naumachie nelle pitture pompeiane*, in *Rivista di studi pompeiani*, 3 (1989), p. 143 e fig. 11.

(fr. 791, col. ii, 38 Page = 791, coll. ii-vi 38 Hordern), aggettivo utilizzato dal poeta tragico per descrivere le sinuosità risplendenti come il marmo del mare⁴³; l'espressione varrebbe, allora, per “la voluta”, “la sinuosità” di marmi, ad indicare così anche il tipo di elemento decorativo riprodotto nelle lastre marmoree a difesa della recinzione.

5. Nel prendere Procopio come modello per la propria descrizione della Cappella Palatina, Filagato dimostra in fondo di riconoscere al suo predecessore un primato anche nel genere ecfrastico – e non solo in quello encomiastico, per il quale il Gazeo è indicato come παράδειγμα, all'incirca alla stessa epoca di Filagato (o leggermente più tardi), dallo Ps.(?)-Gregorio Pardo (p. 320, 187-321, 192 Donnet [p. 127, 22-28 Kominis] = Procop. Gaz., T XXII A.). Da questo punto di vista, sarebbe, dunque, forse da rivedere il giudizio di chi, in maniera troppo drastica, ha giudicato la descrizione filagatea «sobria, chiara, mancando [...] dell'oscurità di altre *ekphrases* bizantine tipo quelle di Giovanni e Procopio di Gaza»⁴⁴.

Da tutto ciò, sembra potersi concludere allora 1) che la conoscenza dell'opera di Procopio da parte di Filagato sia (almeno in parte) di prima mano; 2) che la presenza procopiana nell'*Omiliario* del Cerameo sia ben lungi dall'essere incidentale o frammentaria⁴⁵. Un'attenta e capillare indagine non solo nei testi più recentemente editi, quanto pure in quelli ancora in attesa di nuove cure editoriali potrebbe forse apportarci numerose novità in tal senso.

Ad esempio, per restare alle omelie pubblicate da Rossi Taibbi, verrebbe il sospetto che, seppure di lontano, Procopio abbia potuto ispirare l'immagine del pastore, che, osservando da un punto più in alto il proprio gregge raccolto in basso sul pingue prato primaverile, gioisce alla sola vista ed intona felice i canti pastorali (*hom.* XXXI, 1, 1-4 R. T.). Il tema ricorre, sostanzialmente, tale quale nell'*Etopea del pastore* (*op.* IV, 4, p. 188, 22-23 A.), in cui Procopio così fa esprimere il suo protagonista: ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς ταύτην (*sc.* τὴν ἀηδόνα) ἀμιλλήσομαι τῇ πηκτίδι, τὰ δέ μοι πρόβατα τάξει κάτω κείσεται, τῶν μελῶν ἀκροώμενα.

Ancora: il concetto di matrice teocritea (12, 2), per il quale “gli amanti invecchiano col separarsi” (γηράσκειν τοὺς ποθοῦντας τῷ χωρισμῷ),

⁴³ Vd. J. H. HORDERN, *The fragments of Timotheus of Miletus*, Oxford, 2002, pp. 151-152.

⁴⁴ Così R. ROMANO, *Tempi e spazi letterari della Calabria antica*, III, *L'età bizantina*, Cosenza, 2004, p. 53.

⁴⁵ Sulle probabili ragioni di tale presenza, da attribuire forse alle “leggi” dettate dalla trattatistica retorica dell'epoca, vd. CORCELLA, *Riuso*, pp. 14 e 17.

riportato da Filagato in *hom.* XII, 1, 7 R. T. e da lui stesso ricondotto ad una tradizione proverbiale attestata da diversi scrittori (τὸ τοῖς ἕξω λεγόμενον), potrebbe essere stato mediato da Procopio, che vi allude per ben due volte nelle sue *Epistole* per lamentare l'assenza degli amici Eusebio (*Ep.* 26, 1 Garzya/Loenertz) e Sabino (*Ep.* 90, 1 Garzya/Loenertz). Invero, l'espressione proverbiale ricorre, prima di Procopio (e di Filagato), anche in Firmo di Cesarea (*Epp.* 4, 1 e 31, 5 Calvet-Sebasti/Gatier) e, come già notato a suo tempo dallo Scorso⁴⁶, in Giuliano Imperatore (*Ep.* 96, 9 Bidez)⁴⁷. È da escludere, però, che Filagato dipenda da questi ultimi due autori⁴⁸: le *Epistole* di Firmo non hanno avuto granché fortuna, come dimostra il fatto che esse ci sono pervenute grazie ad un solo manoscritto di origine probabilmente costantinopolitana (l'*Ambrosianus* B 4 sup.)⁴⁹; in Giuliano, invece, la frase proverbiale è usata per lamentare il silenzio da parte del suo destinatario (Libanio), dal quale l'imperatore attende da alcuni giorni l'invio di un discorso (l'*or.* 14 Foerster), non già la nostalgia della vista di qualcuno, così come avviene in Filagato ed in Procopio. Ad avvicinare maggiormente i nostri due autori sta, anzi, anche la medesima prospettiva contenutistico-concettuale, in cui cade la ripresa del proverbio di matrice teocritea: come Procopio scrivendo ai suoi due amici, così Filagato dinanzi all'assemblea dei fedeli, entrambi sottolineano lo stato emozionale profondamente diverso, quando si è in presenza di qualcuno e quando si è lontani:

Philagat., *hom.* XII, 2, 1, 3-7 R. T.

Ἦνίκα γοῦν παρήμην ἐνταυθοῖ μεθ' ὑμῶν, οὐ τοσοῦτον ἠσθανόμην τοῦ πόθου (τὸ γὰρ πρόχειρον καὶ βλεπόμενον ἄργον εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν⁵⁰),

Procop. Gaz., *Ep.* 26, 1-3 G./L.

Εἰ τοὺς ποθοῦντας καὶ μία γηράσκειν ἡμέρα ποιεῖ, ἕξ ὅσου με χρόνου γεγηρακέναι δοκεῖς, οὕτω μὲν σου βληθέντα τῷ πόθῳ – τίς γὰρ

⁴⁶ Vd. SCORSO, *Theophanis*, p. 476.

⁴⁷ Tutt'altra è la prospettiva in Simplicio (*in Arist. Phys.* p. 707, 27 Diels), dove vi è citazione diretta di Teocrito.

⁴⁸ Sulla ripresa proverbiale teocritea da parte di Filagato è tornata di recente TORRE, *Su alcune presunte riprese*, pp. 22-23, la quale, tuttavia, pur asserendo giustamente che la conoscenza dell'espressione non è diretta, ma mediata, ha sorvolato del tutto sui precedenti del Cerameo, segnalando solo la ripresa più tarda da parte di Michele Coniata (*Ep.* 27, 6).

⁴⁹ Vd. M.-A. CALVET-SEBASTI – P.-L. GATIER, *Firmus de Césarée. Lettres*, introduction, texte et traduction, notes et index (*SC*, 350), Paris, 1989, pp. 8-13. Sul manoscritto, vd. altresì D. MURATORE, *Le Epistole di Falaride. Catalogo dei manoscritti*, La Spezia, 2001, pp. 70-71.

⁵⁰ A conferma della cosiddetta tecnica ad "arazzi" (così battezzata da ZACCAGNI, *La πάρεργος*, p. 47), vi è qui da parte di Filagato la ripresa, finora non segnalata dagli studiosi, del proverbio attestato nel *corpus* esopico (*Prov.* 103 Perry), così come nei *Sacra parallela* attribuiti a Giovanni Damasceno (*PG* XCVI, 397, l. 41), πᾶν ἔτοιμον εἰς ἐξουσίαν ἄργον εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν, la cui ἐρμηνεία – Ἐρως πρὸς τὰ μὴ ὄντα φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι τοῖς γὰρ παροῦσιν ὁ πόθος κεκοίμηται – non doveva parimenti essere ignota al Cerameo. Invero, nelle linee immediatamente precedenti, Filagato mostra di riutilizzare, adattandolo al contesto,

ὀπνήνικα δὲ κεχώρισμαι ἀφ' ὕμῶν,
 ἐγνων τὸν πόθον τὸν βίαιον
 τύραννον, καί μοι ἐγγὺς ἀληθείας
 ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὸ τοῖς ἔξω λεγόμενον,
 γηράσκειν τοὺς ποθοῦντας τῷ
 χωρισμῷ⁵¹.

πειραθείς οὐκ ἐρῶν ἀπαλλάττεται;
 – τοσοῦτον δὲ χρόνον ἔστερημένον
 τῆς θέας⁵².

Procop. Gaz., *Ep.* 90, 1-3 G./L.

Εἰ τοῖς ἐρῶσιν ἡμέρα μία πρὸς
 γῆρας ἀρκεῖ, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις
 ἀριθμῶν ὀπόσα δὴ γεγηράκαμεν.
 πάλαι μὲν γὰρ ἤμεν εὐδαίμονες σέ

un altro *locus* classico, forse anche più interessante. Egli esordisce, infatti, così (*hom.* XII, 1, 1-3 R. T.): Οὐ τοσοῦτον ἀχμῶδης γῆ καὶ κранаῆ καὶ κατάξηρος τῶν οὐρανίων ὄμβρων ἐφίεται, ὅσον ἐγλικόμην αὐτὸς τὰς ὑμετέρας ὄψεις ἰδεῖν, θεοφιλέστατε σύλλογε. Ebbene, difficilmente si resiste alla tentazione di vedere nascota nella prima parte della frase una reminiscenza dei noti versi di Euripide (fr. 898, 7-8 Kannicht), di recente ricondotti all'*Ippolito velato* (vd. F. ANGIÒ, *Il fr. 898 Kannicht di Euripide e la nuova hypothesis dell'Ippolito καλυπτόμενος* (PMich. Inv. 6222A e POxy. LXVIII 4640), in *Atene e Roma*, n.s. 1 (2007), pp. 159-168), in cui si dice: ἐρᾷ μὲν ὄμβρου γαῖ', ὅταν ξηρὸν πέδον / ἄκαρπον ἀχμῶ νοτίδος ἐνδεῶς ἔχη (riusi euripidei mediati nell'*Omiliario* filagato sono stati ugualmente segnalati di recente da CORCELLA, *Riuso*, pp. 16-17 e da BIANCHI, *Filagato*, p. 44, n. 17). Va da sé che l'eventuale conoscenza di tali versi euripidei sarà stata mediata dalla lettura, sulla base s'intende di un manoscritto, vuoi dei *Deipnosofisti* (XIII, 559F) di Ateneo o dell'*Anthologium* (I, 9, 1 [I, 111, 10 Wachsmuth]) di Stobeo (per una possibilità del genere in merito ad altre citazioni classiche in Filagato, vd. TORRE, *Un intellettuale greco, passim* e TORRE, *Su alcune presunte riprese*, pp. 34 e 36) vuoi di un'antologia di ambiente calabro-siculo, sul tipo ad es. di quella attestata nell'*Ambrosianus* F 205 inf. (su cui vedi S. LUCÀ, *Note per la storia della cultura greca della Calabria medioevale*, in *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, 74 (2007), pp. 76-77). In particolare, l'ipotesi che Filagato abbia potuto avere accesso ad un testimone stobeano mi pare alquanto verosimile: dall'ambiente calabro-siculo potrebbe, infatti, provenire l'attuale *Esc.* Σ II 14 del XI/XII sec. (pace S. LUCÀ, *Dalle collezioni manoscritte di Spagna: libri originari o provenienti dall'Italia greca medioevale*, in *RŠBN*, n.s. 44 (2007), p. 76). Al contrario, il manoscritto più antico attualmente conosciuto dei *Deipnosofisti* di Ateneo, il celebre *Marcianus gr.* 447 (coll. 820), di origine costantinopolitana e databile tra la fine del IX e l'inizio del X secolo, non pervenne in Italia che verso il primo quarto del XV secolo per opera di Giovanni Aurispa (vd. G. ARNOTT, *Athenaeus and the Epitome. Text, manuscripts and early editions*, in D. BRAUND – J. WILKINS [edd.], *Athenaeus and his World. Reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire*, Exeter, 2000, pp. 41-52, in part. 42-45; A. L. DI LELLO-FINUOLI, *Per la storia del testo di Ateneo*, in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, VII, Città del Vaticano, 2000, pp. 129-182, in part. 138-144).

⁵¹ «Quando certo ero qui con voi, non sentii così tanto il desiderio (ché quello che abbiamo sotto mano e dinanzi agli occhi è restio al desiderio), quando invece mi sono allontanato da voi, ho capito che tiranno è il forte desiderio, e subito mi è parso vero quel detto degli scrittori gentili, gli amanti invecchiano per la lontananza».

⁵² «Se anche un solo giorno fa invecchiare gli amanti, da quanto tempo pensi che io sia diventato vecchio, dopo essere stato colpito così tanto dal desiderio di te (e chi, dopo aver fatto la prova di te, non se ne va nutrendo amore per te?) e dopo essere stato privato per tanto tempo della tua vista?» (trad. di F. CICCOLELLA, in AMATO, *Rose di Gaza*, p. 313).

τε ὀρῶντες καὶ τῶν σῶν ἀντεχόμε-
νοι· καὶ ἦν ἡμῖν πάντα χρηστά, ὄψις
ἡδίστη, λόγοι κατακηλοῦντες τὴν
ἀκοήν, γνώμη χορηγοῦσα τὴν
εὐνοίαν. καὶ ὃ τί τις ἐπόθει καλόν,
ἤρκει πρὸς σὲ μόνον ἰδεῖν. ἀλλὰ νῦν
ἐξαίφνης ἔρημοι πάντων ἡμεῖς, ὅθεν
ἠπόρημαι [...]»⁵³.

Vista la fortuna manoscritta del *corpus* epistolare del Gazeo⁵⁴, il cui utilizzo si spiega bene soprattutto nel quadro dell'insegnamento retorico-scolastico⁵⁵, la possibilità di una circolazione *in loco* delle lettere di Procopio, da inserire, dunque, nella biblioteca di Filagato, è altamente plausibile.

Ma, senza allontanarci troppo dal nostro oggetto, la presenza di Procopio risulta ben più ampia di quanto sopra rilevato proprio nell'*ekphrasis* filagatea della Cappella Palatina, a cominciare dallo stesso suo *incipit*, aperto dalle parole *Συνήδομαί σοι, πόλις*, la cui posizione, è da credere, Filagato avrà attentamente e sapientemente meditato⁵⁶.

Ebbene, senza voler considerare il fatto che in Procopio la stessa espressione – in riferimento, cioè, ad una città – ricorre in *Ep.* 114, 2 *Garzya/Loenertz* (τῇ δὲ Βηρυτίων συνήδομαι πόλει), non andrà certo sottaciuto che, prima di Filagato, il solo autore che inizi un suo scritto in maniera analoga è, guarda caso, Procopio, il quale così fa esordire Fenice nell'etopea a lui dedicata (*op.* VII, 1, p. 200, 4 A.): *Συνήδομαι μὲν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν*. La coincidenza è davvero fin troppo sospetta per escludere che Filagato, quasi strizzando l'occhio al suo pubblico, non abbia inteso effettivamente imitare il non citato oratore cristiano di Gaza, tanto più se si considera che nel manoscritto, da cui sono tramandati gli scritti “profani” di Procopio (e, dunque, presumibilmente anche nell'antigrafo di partenza), l'*Etopea di Fenice* precede la *Descrizione dell'orologio*, modello, abbiamo visto, per la descrizione della recinzione del presbiterio della Cappella palermitana.

⁵³ «Se per gli amanti un solo giorno è sufficiente per invecchiare, non arriveresti a calcolare di quanto siamo invecchiati. Un tempo, infatti, eravamo felici nel vederti e nell'averti con noi; tutto ci era gradito: il tuo volto dolcissimo, i tuoi discorsi che affascinavano l'orecchio, la tua mente che dispensava affetto. E qualunque bellezza uno agognasse, bastava soltanto vedere te. Ma ora all'improvviso noi siamo privi di tutto ciò...» (trad. di F. CICCOLELLA, in AMATO, *Rose di Gaza*, p. 365).

⁵⁴ Vd. GARZYA – LOENERTZ, *Procopii Gazaei*, pp. IX-XXVI; AMATO, *Sei epistole*, pp. 367-368 e [E. AMATO –] F. CICCOLELLA, *Edizioni e traduzioni*, in AMATO, *Rose di Gaza*, pp. 151-152.

⁵⁵ Vd. [AMATO –] CICCOLELLA, *Edizioni e traduzioni*, pp. 153-154.

⁵⁶ Sull'importanza del proemio nella letteratura bizantina, esemplificata anche da talune raccolte ad uso retorico-scolastico, quale quella conservata nell'*Heidelbergensis, Palatinus gr.* 356 (ff. 65^v-69^v), vd. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion. Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden* (WBS, 1), Wien, 1964.

Combinando il motivo dello stupore inesauribile dinanzi allo spettacolo della Cappella con quello dell'impossibilità per lo spettatore di arrestare lo sguardo su un solo particolare, così si esprime Filagato:

“Ὅν τις ἰδὼν πολλακίς, καὶ πάλιν ἰδὼν, ὡς νῦν αὐτῷ πρῶτον φανέντα θαυμάζει καὶ τέθηπε, πανταχοῦ τῇ θεᾷ πλανώμενος.

La Fobelli ottimamente rileva come Filagato accenni qui, benché implicitamente, «ad alcuni noti fenomeni di trasferimento di reazioni psicoemotive dall'oggetto percepito al soggetto percipiente»; in altri termini, «la cappella, divenuta così una vera epifania, conserva sempre intatta la sua capacità di attrazione visiva, una forza magnetica si direbbe che cattura lo spettatore e lo costringe, stupefatto, a girare gli occhi intorno senza posa»⁵⁷. La studiosa, tuttavia, che indica in Procopio di Cesarea prima (*De aedificiis* I, 1, 47-48), in Fozio dopo (*hom.* X, p. 102, 13-17 Laourdas) le fonti di Filagato, dimentica di segnalare il modello comune per tutti e tre⁵⁸, rappresentato nuovamente dalla *Descriptio horologii* (*op.* VIII, 3, p. 204, 18-206, 6 A.) di Procopio di Gaza, in cui il motivo della malia, che impedisce all'osservatore di concentrare la propria attenzione, e quello della conseguente mobilità dell'occhio trovano la seguente efficace formulazione:

νικᾷ γὰρ λόγον ἢ θεᾷ ἀμηχανοῦσα καὶ αὐτὴ πρὸς ὅτι δέοι φερομένη [ἐς] πάντα μεταπηδᾷ γὰρ ἄνω καὶ κάτω καὶ πάντα βλέπειν ἐθέλει, εἶτα θάπτον ἤπερ ἔδει μεθισταμένη τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ [το]ιούτων ἀκριβείας ἐκπίπτει· οἶδα τοῦτο παθῶν. οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς πρώτοις ἐνεκαρτέρουν ἐπιθυμία τῶν ἄλλων, [τά] τε δεύτερα πρὶν ἔχειν ὡς ἔδει, ἐπὶ θεᾷν θεᾷν ἀνεχώρου ἐτέραν. καὶ ἦσαν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐλιγμοὶ κτλ.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Così FOBELLI, *L'ekphrasis di Filagato*, p. 271.

⁵⁸ Che Procopio di Cesarea abbia potuto inizialmente studiare alla scuola di Gaza è ipotesi probabile, variamente condivisa: vedi J. BALÁZS, *A gazai iskola Thukydidés-tanulmányai/Gli studiucididei della scuola di Gaza*, Budapest, 1940, *passim*; G. DOWNEY, *The Christian Schools of Palestine: A Chapter in Literary History*, in *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 12 (1958), p. 314; IDEM, *Constantinople in the Age of Justinian*, Norman, 1960, p. 156; IDEM, *Ancient Antioch*, Princeton, 1963, p. 112; J. A. S. EVANS, *Procopius*, New York, 1972, pp. 31-32; dubbi sono, tuttavia, espressi, tra gli altri, da AV. CAMERON, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, London, 1985, pp. 5-6 e A. MORDECHAI RABELLO, *Giustiniano, Ebrei e Samaritani alla luce delle fonti storico-letterarie, ecclesiastiche e giuridiche*, I, Milano, 1987, p. 158; per una messa a punto, vedi G. GREATREX, *Stephanus, the Father of Procopius of Caesarea?*, in *Medieval Prosopography*, 17 (1996), pp. 125-145.

⁵⁹ «... ché l'osservazione supera la parola, per quanto incerta ed essa stessa sballottata, rispetto a quanto dovrebbe, in tutte le direzioni: ché salta dall'alto in basso e vuole contenere tutti i particolari nello sguardo, ma poi, spostandosi più velocemente del dovuto, manca di precisione nella descrizione dei singoli particolari. So questo per esperienza personale. In passato, infatti, il desiderio di guardare il resto non mi faceva soffermare sui particolari iniziali, e, prima di aver afferrato come si deve i successivi, passavo ad osservare altro. Mi giravano gli occhi ...» (trad. di E. AMATO, in *Rose di Gaza*, pp. 205, 207).

Neppure è assente, poi, nella *Descriptio* procopiana il tema, che scandisce come un *refrain* la descrizione di Filagato, dello stupore al cospetto dell'opera descritta (cf. §2, p. 204, 16 A.: νυνὶ δὲ τοῦ παρόντος Ἡφαιστοῦ ἔργα καὶ τέχνην ἰδόν, [θαυμάζω⁶⁰] ταῦτα).

Insomma, è indubbio che tra i modelli dell'*ekphrasis* della Cappella Palatina di Filagato Cerameo vi sia stato anche Procopio di Gaza, la conoscenza della cui opera sofisticato-oratoria nell'ambiente calabro-siculo all'epoca dei sovrani normanni d'ora in poi non andrà più limitata (o, almeno, non solo) a desultorie e fortuite incursioni in materiale lessicografico o gnomologico tardoantico e bizantino, bensì alla circolazione *in loco* di almeno un manoscritto portatore di tradizione diretta; se questo, poi, sia stato copiato direttamente in Italia meridionale ed in ambienti legati a Filagato, è una questione che resta per il momento aperta, in attesa magari di nuovi dati più certi.

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SUMMARY

The article fits in the new investigation trend about the classical models and sources of the Philagathos of Cerami's *Homilies*, with particular focus on anonymous quotations and imitations of the Procopius of Gaza's sophistic and rhetorical work. One of the most significant examples is the description of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo (*hom. 27* Rossi Taibbi), for which Philagathos bore certainly in mind and adapted, besides other works, the Procopius's *Descriptio horologii*. The conclusion is that Philagathos had at his disposal a whole now lost manuscript with the Procopius's work.

⁶⁰ «θαυμάζω e litt. vestigiis conieci» è il commento di E. AMATO, in *Rose di Gaza*, app. di p. 204 (*ad l.* 16), il quale propone in alternativa di integrare con ἐθαύμασα, così come del resto aveva già intuito il BOISSONADE (*Choricii Gazaei orationes, declamationes, fragmenta. Insunt ineditae orationes duae*, Parisiis, 1846, p. 151, n. 2).

IL *LIBER GRAECUS* DELL'ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI VENEZIA E LA DIPLOMAZIA VENEZIANO-OTTOMANA IN LINGUA GRECA TRA XV E XVI SECOLO

1. PREMESSA

Molti documenti dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia sono stati protagonisti di singolari vicende nel corso dei secoli. Ne è un esempio il manoscritto noto come *Liber Graecus*, prezioso testimone della diplomazia veneziano-ottomana tra XV e XVI secolo, coinvolto nella travagliata odissea documentaria tra Venezia e Vienna durante il XIX secolo.

Una delle cifre della politica austriaca nei confronti del patrimonio culturale veneziano tra il 1797 – anno della caduta della Repubblica – e il 1805, fu lo spostamento a Vienna di molte serie archivistiche originariamente conservate negli archivi veneziani. Nel 1805, precedendo l'imminente arrivo di Napoleone, l'archivista della casa imperiale austriaca, Franz Sebastian Gassler, scelse dopo una ricognizione di due anni ottantatré documenti e undici frammenti indicati come “trattati originali – Costantinopoli”, ordinandone il trasporto a Vienna¹. Parte di essi fu restituita dopo il trattato di Pressburg (26 dicembre 1805), ma circa tremila documenti tra filze e registri rimasero in Austria.

Poco prima dell'annessione di Venezia al Regno d'Italia, nel 1866, altri documenti furono trasportati a Vienna dalle autorità austriache, incluse le carte restituite a Venezia nel 1805 e alcuni documenti “di imperatori bizantini e ottomani” provenienti da diversi fondi. La quasi totalità dei documenti fece ritorno in laguna solo nel 1868, in seguito al trattato di Firenze, e fu collocata nella nuova sede archivistica adiacente alla basilica dei Frari, dove tra 1817 e 1822 era stato trasferito l'Archivio². Tra i documenti restituiti

¹ Gli elenchi originali sono nell'Archivio di Stato, Archivietto, “Indici, consegne di Atti”, busta 1, 1806; cf. V. CÉRÉSOLE, *À propos de l'article XVIII du Traité de Vienne du 3 octobre 1866. La vérité sur les déprédations autrichiennes à Venise. Trois lettres à M. A. Baschet*, Venise, 1867, pp. 52-61; F. CAVAZZANA ROMANELLI, *Gli Archivi della Serenissima. Concentrazione e ordinamenti*, in G. BENZONI – G. COZZI (a cura di), *Venezia e l'Austria*, Venezia, 1999, pp. 291-308; F. CAVAZZANA ROMANELLI – S. ROSSI MINUTELLI, *Archivi e Biblioteche*, in M. ISNENGI – S. WOOLF (a cura di), *Storia di Venezia. L'Ottocento e il Novecento*, vol. II, Roma, 2002, pp. 1081-1122.

² Sul decreto del 13 dicembre 1815 per l'istituzione del nuovo Archivio generale veneto, che tuttavia conservava la veste di Registratura dipendente da Vienna, si veda la testimonianza di Emanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Diari*, I, ff. 3050, 3052, 3069, 3079, 4031 nel ms.

nel 1868, figurano quelli della raccolta “Miscellanea Atti diplomatici e privati”, una serie archivistica di grande importanza che ai tempi della Repubblica era custodita dal cancellier grande nei Secreta del Palazzo Ducale e all’interno della quale figurano tra l’altro originali e copie di documenti emanati da autorità di alto rango quali papi, imperatori, sultani e dogi di Venezia³.

Nella quarantacinquesima busta della suddetta serie si trova il *Liber Graecus*, sulla cui coperta una mano recente appose a matita la dicitura “Documenti restituiti dal Governo austriaco”, a testimonianza della permanenza temporanea del manoscritto negli Archivi viennesi. A ulteriore ricordo del soggiorno austriaco, tutti i documenti del *Liber Graecus* recano a sinistra un’etichetta rettangolare bianca e blu numerata.

Gli sconvolgimenti che interessarono l’Archivio di Stato veneziano nel XIX secolo, dapprima con la traslazione dei fondi ai Frari – dove tuttora ha sede l’Archivio di Stato veneziano – e poi con la restituzione definitiva dei documenti dall’Austria, portarono a una riorganizzazione del materiale e spesso a una frammentazione delle serie archivistiche⁴. Tale processo interessò anche le collezioni entro cui figuravano i documenti di autorità turche, i quali furono accorpati in conformità a un mero criterio linguistico (essendo cioè scritti in idioma straniero, prevalentemente arabo, turco e persiano) in due raccolte, la “Collezione documenti turchi” e “Lettere e scritture turchesche”⁵. Il *Liber Graecus* e un importante firmano di Mehmed II del 1446, il primo documento greco di un sultano ottomano conservatosi in originale nella sua interezza, furono lasciati nella serie “Atti diplomatici

Correr 2844; cf. anche A. DA MOSTO, *L’Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Indice generale, storico, descrittivo ed analitico*, 2 voll., Roma, 1937-1940, vol. I, pp. 4-5; M. F. TIEPOLO, *Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, in *Guida Generale degli Archivi di Stato*, vol. IV, Roma, 1994, pp. 873-874, 878; F. CAVAZZANA ROMANELLI, *Gli Archivi della Serenissima*, pp. 294-299.

³ DA MOSTO, *L’Archivio di Stato*, vol. II, p. 252; TIEPOLO, *Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, p. 908.

⁴ Sulla restituzione dei documenti da Vienna a Venezia nel 1805 e 1868, cf. B. CECCHETTI, *Della dispersione di documenti veneziani e di alcuni archivi del Veneto*, in *Atti del Regio Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, s. II, 11 (1865-1866), pp. 432-453; IDEM, *Appunti sulla restituzione degli oggetti d’arte e antichità e dei documenti fatta dal Governo austriaco all’Italia nel mese di sett. 1868*, in *Archivio storico italiano*, s. III, t. 8 (1868), parte II, pp. 195-200; T. GAR, *Cenno sui documenti restituiti dall’Austria all’Archivio generale di Venezia*, in *Atti del Regio Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, s. III, 14 (1868-1869), pp. 190-197; A. SAGREDO, *Spoliazioni austriache nella città di Venezia, [ed] elenco delle filze, volumi, codici, atti antichi, diplomatici, prelevati e tolti in consegna dall’Imperial Regio Archivio generale di Venezia nei giorni 22 e 23 luglio 1866, per farne il trasporto a Vienna*, in *Archivio storico italiano*, s. III, 4 (1866), parte II, pp. 164-172; L. SEGUSO, *Delle depredazioni austriache negli Archivi di Venezia*, Venezia, 1866.

⁵ Cf. la lettera di Alessio Bombaci al direttore dell’Archivio di Stato di Venezia, in A. BOMBACI – M. P. PEDANI FABRIS, *I “documenti turchi” dell’Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, Roma, 1994, p. XXI e introduzione, *ibidem*, p. XXXVI.

e privati”, poiché entrambi recavano *a tergo* un'indicazione numerica pertinente alla suddetta serie e assente negli altri documenti turchi⁶.

Il *Liber* giacque dimenticato finché nel 1940 il grande turcologo Alessio Bombaci fu incaricato di riordinare e registrare l'intera collezione dei documenti turchi dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia e lo individuò nella sua sistemazione attuale. A causa delle travagliate vicende belliche e di altre missioni più cogenti, Bombaci non ebbe il tempo di portare a termine il lavoro sui documenti turchi, e diede notizia del *Liber Graecus* solo nel 1953⁷. L'anno successivo lo studioso offrì una descrizione analitica del manoscritto utilizzando come criterio l'identità del mittente di ciascun documento e nello stesso anno pubblicò anche alcuni documenti greci inediti di Mehmed II il cui originale era andato perduto e che si erano invece salvati in copia nel *Liber Graecus*⁸. Egli lasciò però irrealizzato il proposito di dedicarsi a uno studio comparato della diplomazia in lingua greca e turca, che negli anni successivi è raramente stata oggetto di studio nel campo della bizantinistica e della turcologia⁹.

Successivamente, anche Franz Babinger iniziò a occuparsi del *Liber Graecus* e ottenne dall'Archivio di Venezia le riproduzioni fotografiche della sezione del *Liber* riguardante i documenti di Bayazid II (ff. 24^r-100^r). Le fotografie sono conservate in una scatola che alla morte di Babinger (1967) finì a Vienna, nell'Institut für Byzantinistik diretto dal prof. Herbert

⁶ Il documento, oggi nella Miscellanea Atti Diplomatici e Privati, busta 38, ex Pacta Secreta 230, è pubblicato in G. M. THOMAS (a cura di), *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum sive acta et diplomata res venetas, graecas atque levantis illustrantia*, 2 voll., Venezia, 1880, vol. II, pp. 366-368 nr. 198 (in traduzione veneziana). Tuttavia qui si legge che il documento di Mehmed II del 1446 fu per un certo tempo nella prima busta della collezione documenti turchi. Ed. N. IORGA, *Le privilège de Mohammed II pour la ville de Pera*, in *Bulletin Historique de l'Académie roumaine*, 11 (1914), pp. 18-21; F. BABINGER – F. DÖLGER, *Mehmed's II. frühester Staatsvertrag*, in *OCP*, 15 (1949), pp. 225-258, ristampato in F. DÖLGER, *Byzantinische Diplomatie. 20 Aufsätze zum Urkundenwesen der Byzantiner*, Ettal, 1956, pp. 262-291; cf. anche A. BOMBACI, *Due clausole del trattato in greco tra Maometto II e Venezia*, in *BZ*, 43 (1950), pp. 267-271.

⁷ In una breve comunicazione al IX Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini nel 1953, cf. A. BOMBACI, *Diplomi ottomani in greco*, in *Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini (Salonico 12-19 aprile 1953)*, vol. II, Atene, 1956, p. 300. Sull'attività di Bombaci cf. A. GALLOTTA, *Ricordo di Alessio Bombaci*, in I “documenti turchi” dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia, pp. XI-XVI; *ibidem*, pp. XXXVIII-XXXIX; M. P. PEDANI (a cura di), *Inventory of the “Lettere e Scritture Turchesche” in the Venetian State Archives*, Leiden, 2010, pp. XXXIII-XXXIV.

⁸ A. BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani greci di Maometto II*, in *BZ*, 47 (1954), pp. 298-319.

⁹ Cf. BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, p. 298, n. 1. Nella letteratura degli anni successivi ci furono solo studi sporadici sui documenti greci dei sultani ottomani e ancora più rari furono gli accenni al *Liber Graecus*, ricordato frettolosamente solo da S. VRYONIS, *The Byzantine Legacy and Ottoman Forms*, in *DOP*, 23-24 (1969-1970), p. 275, n. 55; K. M. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, vol. II, Philadelphia, 1978, p. 328, n. 47; J. RABY, *Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium*, in *DOP*, 37 (1983), p. 27, n. 63, p. 28, n. 66.

Hunger; alla fine degli anni '90 poi, attraverso la mediazione del prof. Otto Kresten, la scatola fu inviata in via definitiva al prof. Antonio Rigo, all'epoca direttore dell'Istituto "Venezia e l'Europa" della Fondazione Cini di Venezia (si coglie l'occasione per ringraziare i professori Kresten e Rigo per aver messo a disposizione il materiale). Oltre alle fotografie, la scatola contiene anche tre carte con appunti manoscritti di Babinger su alcuni documenti di Bayazid II dell'Archivio veneziano. Ci sono poi due lettere dattilografate, datate all' 1 e al 30 giugno 1966, entrambe verosimilmente indirizzate a Herbert Hunger, nelle quali Babinger accenna a problemi di cronologia relativi al primo documento ottomano conservato in originale nella doppia redazione greca e turca¹⁰.

Un'indagine approfondita del *Liber Graecus* e dei documenti di sultani ottomani in lingua greca ivi contenuti si inserisce dunque nei *desiderata* auspicati da Bombaci, oltre che da Babinger. A questo scopo, nonostante l'accuratezza adoperata nella presentazione del manoscritto dallo studioso siciliano, si impone la necessità di una descrizione che metta in luce la struttura e la genesi del *Liber*.

2. DESCRIZIONE

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Miscellanea Atti Diplomatici e Privati, busta 45¹¹, nr. 1324.

Membranaceo, XV sec. ex. – XVI sec. in., 335 × 237 mm, ff. I, 100 (numerati), I'.

Fascicoli: I, 6 x 7 (84), 1 x 8 (100), I'.

Codice eseguito da quattro copisti: **a.** (ff. 1^r-24^r), **b.** (ff. 24^v-60^r), **c.** (ff. 60^v-72^v), **d.** (ff. 73^r-100^r).

¹⁰ CDT I. 73 (ottomano) e I. 77 (greco), datati rispettivamente al 25 dicembre 1502 (24 Cümada 'l-ahıra 908 del calendario islamico) e al 14 dicembre 1502 (calendario cristiano). Si tratta di una lettera di Bayazid II per il doge Leonardo Loredan in cui si discute delle capitolazioni di pace che saranno poi ratificate a Venezia il 20 maggio 1503, a conclusione del secondo conflitto veneziano-ottomano scoppiato nel 1499. Babinger morì nel 1967 e non poté più occuparsi del documento. Ricordiamo invece uno studio di Hunger di poco posteriore su un altro documento greco di Bayazid II dall'Archivio di Stato di Venezia: *Pirateria in der Aegaeis anno 1504. Brief Bayezids II an Leonardo Loredan*, in *Byz*, 40 (1970), pp. 361-376.

¹¹ Nella busta 45 troviamo altri documenti ordinati cronologicamente dal 7 gennaio 1479 al 2 dicembre 1484.

Descrizione precedente: A. BOMBACI, *Il "Liber Graecus": un cartolario veneziano comprendente inediti documenti ottomani in greco (1481-1504)*, in F. MEIER (a cura di), *Westöstliche Abhandlungen: Rudolf Tschudi zum siebzigsten Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Schülern*, Wiesbaden, 1954, pp. 288-303.

Coperta: il manoscritto è protetto da una carta bianca dove una mano recente ha apposto in alto il numero 1324 e di seguito la descrizione "1478-1504. Registro membranaceo di cc. 100, intitolato *Grecus* in greco e latino relativo a rapporti con i sultani". Sulla coperta pergameneacea si legge al centro "Grecus", in caratteri maiuscoli. Sotto si leggono le date "dal 1478 fino al 1504"; in alto a destra il numero 7. Una mano più recente riporta a matita: "Documenti restituiti dal Gov(erno) austriaco" e la segnatura della busta "B 45". Sempre sulla coperta ci sono due etichette rettangolari bianche e blu riportanti i numeri 1324¹² e 231 in inchiostro di china nero. Sul dorso di copertina si legge "*Graecus – Pacta Turcica*". Sul retro della coperta c'è la parola "Grecus" ripetuta due volte, vergata in inchiostro blu.

Rubrica: prima del foglio di guardia c'è una rubrica alfabetica cartacea di quaranta fogli misuranti 331 × 120 mm. La copertina della rubrica riporta "Libro alfabetato, contiene vari trascritti capitoli di pace del 1478". All'interno si trova un indice alfabetico delle cose notevoli secondo la lettera iniziale del soggetto, del toponimo o del mittente, con un'indicazione della collocazione nel *Liber* per ciascun documento. Alla fine del manoscritto, dopo la carta di guardia, ci sono due fogli volanti bianchi con appunti in italiano di mano recente circa il contenuto del *Liber*.

Numerazione: i fogli non presentano rigature e sono progressivamente numerati con cifre arabe da uno a cento collocate in alto a destra. L'inizio di ogni documento all'interno del *Liber* è contrassegnato da etichette simili a quella in copertina, apposte nel XIX secolo. Le etichette sono numerate da 1321 a 1566 secondo un ordine cronologico che comporta qualche inesattezza, determinata soprattutto dal non seguire il sistema veneziano del computo degli anni (*more veneto*), secondo il quale l'anno era fatto iniziare l'1 marzo, con due mesi di ritardo rispetto al calendario gregoriano. Nella numerazione delle etichette dunque, i documenti datati nei mesi di gennaio e febbraio sono erroneamente retrodatati di un anno. Tutti i documenti sono inoltre contrassegnati da numeri apposti da un'unica mano sotto le etichette (stesso numero per le traduzioni).

¹² Gli altri documenti della busta 45 sono ordinati in ordine crescente da 1319 a 1398 tramite etichette apposte recentemente. Dopo il *Liber* seguono nella busta alcuni fogli con brevi regesti dei documenti greci. Dopo ogni regesto è indicata la collocazione del documento nel *Liber* ed è apposta un'etichetta bianca e blu, riportante il numero del documento corrispondente (per la numerazione del *Liber Graecus*, si fa riferimento alla descrizione che segue): nr. 1321 = LG 1; nr. 1322 = LG 2; nr. 1326 = LG 7; nr. 1327 = LG 8; nr. 1328 = LG 9; nr. 1329 = LG 11; nr. 1330 = LG 12; nr. 1331 = LG 13; nr. 1334 = LG 3; nr. 1336 = LG 4; nr. 1337 = LG 5; nr. 1340 = LG 6; nr. 1343 = LG 14; nr. 1344 = LG 15; nr. 1350 = LG 16; nr. 1351 = LG 17; nr. 1353 = LG 18; nr. 1355 = LG 21; nr. 1356 = LG 20; nr. 1357 = LG 29; nr. 1358 = LG 30; nr. 1359 = LG 31; nr. 1362 = LG 22; nr. 1363 = LG 23; nr. 1364 = LG 24; nr. 1365 = LG 25; nr. 1366 = LG 27; nr. 1367 = LG 28; nr. 1370 = LG 43; nr. 1372 = LG 32; nr. 1373 = LG 33; nr. 1375 = LG 34; nr. 1376 = LG 35; nr. 1379 = LG 41; nr. 1380 = LG 44; nr. 1382 = LG 42; nr. 1383 = LG 51; nr. 1385 = LG 45; nr. 1387 = LG 40; nr. 1394 = LG 46; nr. 1396 = LG 47.

1. (ff. 1^r-2^v) *Capitoli di pace stipulati tra Mehmed II e Giovanni Dario, segretario e ambasciatore della Signoria di Venezia. 25 gennaio 1479.*
 Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.
 Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 2. Copia: ASV, Libri Commemoriali, XVI, 142; Commemoriali, regesti, vol. XVI, 127. Traduzione: ASV, Libri Commemoriali, XVI, 142 (regesti XVI, 126). Ed.: MM III, pp. 295-298; D. GILLILAND WRIGHT – P. A. MACKAY, *When the Serenissima and the Gran Turco made love: the peace treaty of 1478*, in *Studi Veneziani*, 53 (2007), pp. 261-277.

2. (f. 3^r) *Lettera giurata (ὄρκωμοτικός) di Mehmed in cui annuncia il ritorno di Giovanni Dario a Venezia e fornisce le credenziali dell' inviato Lütfi bey. 29 gennaio 1479.* Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.
 Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 3. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 3 bis; ASV, Libri Commemoriali, XVI, 137 (regesti XVI, 130). Ed.: MM III, p. 298.

3. (ff. 3^r-4^v) *Deliberazioni di Mehmed II riguardo ai confini, in seguito agli accordi raggiunti con l'ambasciatore Benedetto Trevisan. 23 settembre 1479.* Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.
 Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 4. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 5 e I. 9; ASV, Libri Commemoriali, XVI, 141 (regesti XVI, 134). Ed.: BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, pp. 300-305 (nr. I); cf. IDEM, *Les toughras enluminés de la collection de documents turcs des Archives d'État de Venise*, in *Atti del secondo congresso internazionale d'arte turca*, Napoli, 1965, tav. XV, fig. 1.

4. (ff. 4^v-5^r) *Conferma degli accordi raggiunti con Benedetto Trevisan; rassicurazioni riguardo ai mercanti veneziani che commerceranno liberamente in territorio ottomano. 7 ottobre 1479.* Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.
 Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 6. Copia: ASV, Libri Commemoriali, XVI, 142 (regesti XVI, 137). Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 7 e I. 8; ASV, Libri Commemoriali, XVI, 143 (regesti XVI, 138). Ed.: MM III, p. 298.

5. (ff. 5^v-6^r) *Mehmed impone provvedimenti riguardo ad alcune navi mercantili turche catturate da navi veneziane in tempo di pace. 12 ottobre 1479.* Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.
 Ed. BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, pp. 305-306 (nr. II).

6. (f. 6^{rv}) *Comunicazione di Mehmed circa l'arrivo del bailo Battista Gritti a Costantinopoli e l'avvenuta consegna alla Porta dei diecimila ducati*

pattuiti con Venezia. 17 novembre 1479. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.

Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 9b; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XVI, 141 (regesti XVI, 141). Ed. BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, p. 307 (nr. III).

7. (ff. 6^v-7^v) *Ordini di Mehmed affinché il castrum di Galata nei pressi di Lepanto sia distrutto. Dà inoltre altre prescrizioni riguardo alcuni confini in Albania e in Morea*. 7 gennaio 1480. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.

Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 10. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 11 e I. 12. Ed.: MM III, pp. 293-295 (datato al 7 gennaio 1479).

8. (ff. 7^v-8^r) *Mehmed si felicita con la Signoria veneziana la quale ha rafforzato la sicurezza dei suoi territori consegnandogli il malfattore Jovan Crnojević*. 7 gennaio 1480. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.

Ed.: BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, pp. 309-310 (nr. VI).

9. (f. 8^r) *Lettera credenziale di Mehmed per l'inviato ottomano Hasan bey, il quale riferirà a voce notizie non contenute nella lettera*. 7 gennaio 1480. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.

Ed.: BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, p. 308 (nr. IV).

10. (f. 8^{rv}) *Mehmed chiede che gli venga donata la metà di un vivaio nel territorio di Santa Maura e che appartiene per metà alla Signoria, per metà all'impero ottomano*. 7 gennaio 1480. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.

Ed.: BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, pp. 308-309 (nr. V).

11. (ff. 8^v-9^r) *Mehmed ordina che gli siano inviati da Venezia due artefici, un architetto e uno scultore*. 7 gennaio 1480. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.

Ed.: BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, pp. 310-311 (nr. VII).

12. (f. 9^{rv}) *Mehmed raccomanda a Venezia Ahmed Pasha, comandante della flotta in procinto di attaccare Otranto, chiedendo inoltre aiuto nell'impresa*. 17 febbraio 1480. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.

Ed.: BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, pp. 311-313 (nr. VIII).

13. (ff. 9^v-10^r) *Mehmed comunica alla Signoria che alcuni castra presso la costa di Corfù furono espugnati e distrutti dal comandante della flotta,*

Ahmed Pasha, su suo esplicito ordine. 17 febbraio 1480. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.

Ed.: BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, pp. 313-314 (nr. IX).

14. (f. 10^{rv}) *Ordina ai rettori di Napoli di Romania e Argo di distruggere alcuni castelli nei territori di loro pertinenza, ricettacolo di malfattori e debitori.* 17 marzo 1480. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana. Originale greco: ASV, Atti Diplomatici e Privati, busta 45, 1342.

Traduzione: ASV, CDT I. 13. Ed.: MM III, pp. 301-302.

15. (ff. 10^v-11^r) *Lettera al doge riguardo alla liberazione di alcuni prigionieri veneziani su richiesta del bailo. Mehmed promette di punire severamente quanti pirati e malfattori abbiano ucciso o danneggiato gli abitanti dei territori della Signoria.* 7 aprile 1480. Testo veneziano.

16. (f. 11^r) *Lettera ai reggenti della città di Corone, affinché gli inviino un artigiano.* 22 aprile 1480. Testo veneziano.

17. (f. 11^{rv}) *Ordina che la delimitazione dei confini stabilita e comunicata dall'emin sia rispettata e che gli vengano restituite alcune località conquistate nel territorio di Corone, Modone, Napoli di Romania e Malvasia.* Testo veneziano. 24 aprile 1480.

Originale veneziano: ASV, CDT I. 14. Copia: ASV, CDT I. 15; cf. *Catalogo della mostra geografica nell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia durante il VI Congresso geografico italiano*, Venezia, 1907, nr. 157; P. REVELLI, *L'Egeo dall'età micenea ai tempi nostri*, Milano, 1912, p. 46; *Firmani imperiali ottomani alla Serenissima* (catalogo di mostra), Venezia, 1956, nr. 1; F. BABINGER, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time*, Princeton, 1978, p. 451.

18. (ff. 11^v-14^v) *Mehmed chiede il rispetto dei confini stabiliti nei capitoli, sottolineando di aver concesso anche a stranieri e nemici di vivere nei suoi territori.* 10 luglio 1480. Testo greco, segue traduzione latina.

Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 17. Traduzioni latine: ASV, CDT I. 18 e I. 19. Ed.: MM, pp. 302-306; cf. J. F. VON HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, 10 voll., Budapest, 1827-1835, vol. IX, p. 353 (nr. 208).

19. (f. 14^v) *Replica del regesto relativo al documento precedente (Replicatae fuerunt superiores litterae Ill. mi Domini Turci die 12 iulii 1480, quae continent repetitionem capitulorum circa fines suorum locorum de quibus controversia est).* 12 luglio 1480. Testo veneziano.

20. (ff. 14^v-15^r) *Mehmed chiede di punire Kladas, comandante degli stradioti, e di consegnare al proprio inviato la famiglia di costui.* 5 novembre 1480. Testo veneziano.
21. (f. 15^r) *Mehmed raccomanda al doge Simone giudeo, il quale ha ottenuto dalla Porta alcune commissioni nella provincia di Forum Iulii.* 27 settembre 1480. Testo veneziano.
22. (ff. 15^v-16^r) *Mehmed comunica di aver ricevuto la metà dei centomila ducati dovutigli dalla Signoria come stabilito nei capitoli di pace.* 23 marzo 1481. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.
Ed.: BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, pp. 314-315 (nr. X).
23. (f. 16^v) *Mehmed comunica di aver ricevuto dall'ambasciatore Niccolò Cocco e dal bailo Battista Gritti i diecimila ducati dovutigli causa mercaturae.* Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana. 23 marzo 1481.
Ed.: BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, pp. 315-316 (nr. XI).
24. (ff. 16^v-19^v) *Mehmed scrive al doge Mocenigo riguardo ai confini in Albania e in Morea, per i quali approva e conferma tutto quanto stabilito tra il suo emin Sinan bey e gli ambasciatori veneziani Niccolò Cocco e Giovanni Dario: quanto Venezia possedeva prima della guerra lo conserverà.* 30 aprile 1481. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.
Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 21. Copia: ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XVI, 150 (registi XVI, 169). Traduzioni veneziane: ASV, CDT I. 22 e I. 23; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XVI, 151 (registi XVI, 170). Traduzione latina: ASV, CDT I. 24. Ed.: MM III, pp. 306-309.
25. (ff. 19^v-21^v) *Mehmed scrive riguardo alle località di Polizza e Vaticca, le quali ordina che vengano immediatamente restituite alla sua giurisdizione.* 30 aprile 1481. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.
Ed.: BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, pp. 316-318 (nr. XII).
26. (ff. 21^v-22^r) *Lettera di licenza dell'ambasciatore veneziano Niccolò Cocco.* 3 aprile 1481. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana. Spazio bianco alla fine del f. 22^v.
Ed.: BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, pp. 318-319 (nr. XIII).
- (f. 24^r) Tit.: "*Hinc incipiunt litterae Domini Turci Baiazid ad Ill. mum Dominium Venetiarum*".

27. *Bayazid giustifica il ritardo nel congedare il capitano della flotta Matteo Loredan*. 30 maggio 1481. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.

28. (ff. 24^v-26^v) *Bayazid comunica di aver accolto l'ambasciatore Antonio Vitturi e propone due opzioni riguardo al saldo del debito di cinquantamila ducati che Venezia deve alla Porta*. 16 settembre 1481. Testo greco, segue traduzione latina.

Copia: ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XVI, 170 (registri XVI, 175). Ed.: MM III, pp. 310-312.

29. (ff. 26^v-31^v) *Capitolazioni di pace tramite l'ambasciatore Antonio Vitturi riguardo i prigionieri, i sudditi, i commerci marittimi e i pirati, il bailo, l'assolvimento del debito di diecimila ducati a favore della Porta, i territori di Polizza, Vatica e Nasso*. 12 gennaio 1482. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.

Originale ottomano: ASV, CDT I. 26. Ed.: M. T. GÖKBILGIN, *Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki Türkçe belgeler koleksiyonu ve bizimle ilgili diğer belgeler*, in *Belgeler: Türk tarih belgeleri dergisi*, 5 (1968), pp. 39-42 (nr. 127); A. GALLOTTA, *Il trattato turco-veneto del 12 gennaio 1482*, in A. GALLOTTA – U. MARRAZZI (a cura di), *Studia Turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata*, Napoli, 1982, pp. 219-235; H. THEUNISSEN, *Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats: the 'Ahd-names. The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political-Commercial Instruments together with an Annotated Edition of a Corpus of Relevant Documents*, in *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies*, 1 (1998), pp. 370-376; cf. VON HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Geschichte*, vol. IX, p. 353 (nr. 210).

Copia dell'originale greco: ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XVI, 171 (registri XVI, 178). Traduzione: ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XVI, 172 (registri XVI, 179). Ed.: MM III, pp. 313-317.

30. (ff. 31^v-33^r) *Lettera del sultano al doge Mocenigo in cui annuncia il ritorno dell'ambasciatore Antonio Vitturi a Venezia e chiede il rinnovamento dei capitoli di pace*. 12 gennaio 1482. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.

Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 27. Traduzione: ASV, CDT I. 37a. Ed.: MM III, pp. 312-313.

31. (ff. 33^r-34^r) *Lettera al doge riguardo ai danni compiuti nel territorio di Zara da Da'ud Pasha e dai pirati contro alcune imbarcazioni*. 5 febbraio 1482. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.

32. (f. 34^{rv}) *Il sultano chiede che avvenga la restituzione dei beni di Hussein per mezzo dell'ambasciatore Niccolò Cocco. 7 marzo 1482. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.*
33. (ff. 34^v-35^r) *Bayazid chiede che gli vengano restituiti tramite Niccolò Cocco, i beni di Yusuf Khan, il quale in tempo di pace era stato catturato e venduto da alcuni sudditi di Venezia. Promette di agire similmente verso i beni veneziani requisiti dai suoi sudditi. 7 marzo 1482. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.*
34. (ff. 35^v-36^v) *Bayazid conferma la pace concordata con l'ambasciatore Antonio Vitturi e annuncia l'arrivo dell'ambasciatore ottomano Hasan bey a Venezia. 25 aprile 1482. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana. Traduzione: ASV, CDT I. 30.*
35. (ff. 37^r-39^r) *Bayazid esorta la Signoria a catturare il fratello Cem e promette in cambio molte e grandi ricompense. 27 agosto 1482. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana. Spazio bianco al f. 39^r.*
Ed.: A. GALLOTTA – G. BOVA, *Documenti dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia concernenti il principe ottomano Cem*, in *Studi magrebini*, 12 (1980), pp. 189-192.
36. (ff. 39^v-40^r) *Bayazid autorizza la Signoria, nella persona del doge Agostino Barbarigo, a punire i corsari che contro il suo volere depremano e affondano navi venete, esortando inoltre a inviare un suo agente a presenziare a un'inchiesta, ordinata al sancak e ai kadı di Albania, per la punizione dei colpevoli e il risarcimento dei danni. 1 luglio 1486. Testo ottomano, segue traduzione veneziana, Originale ottomano: ASV, CDT I. 33. Traduzione: ASV, CDT I. 34. Ed. I. MÉLIKOFF, *Bayazid II et Venise: cinq lettres impériales (nâme-i hümayün) provenant de l'Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, in *Turcica*, 1 (1969), pp. 128-132 (doc. I).*
37. (ff. 40^r-41^r) *Costituzione scritta da Francesco de Franco e Giovanni Luce in rappresentanza del ragusano Andrea Vilcović, riguardo a una galea veneziana la quale gli aveva sequestrato per contrabbando una quantità di piombo ed era poi stata catturata nelle acque di Ragusa. 20 aprile 1486. Testo latino.*
38. (ff. 41^v-42^v) *Dichiarazione di Andrea Vilcović e Iskender bey, inviato di Bayazid, in cui si attesta il pagamento da parte di Giovanni Dario*

dell'indennizzo per il piombo sequestrato da una galea veneziana.
6 ottobre 1486. Testo latino.

39. (ff. 43^r-43^v) *Iskender bey, inviato di Bayazid, esprime soddisfazione per il pagamento dell'indennizzo per il piombo contrabbandato dai veneziani.* 1 ottobre 1486. Testo ottomano, segue traduzione veneziana. Spazio bianco al f. 43^v.
40. (f. 44^{rv}) *Bayazid, dopo aver ricevuto Giovanni Dario, concede in perpetuo Zante a Venezia chiedendo in cambio un tributo annuo di cinquecento ducati. Tiene invece per sé Cefalonia.* 22 aprile 1483. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana. Spazio bianco al f. 44^v.
Copia: ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XVI, 174 (registri XVI, 204). Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 32; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XVI, 174 (registri XVI, 205). Ed.: MM III, pp. 332-333.
41. (ff. 45^r-46^v) *Bayazid scrive riguardo a Cem e chiede alla Signoria di catturarlo vivo o morto, promettendo una lauta ricompensa.* Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana. 9 settembre 1482.
Ed.: GALLOTTA – BOVA, *Documenti*, pp. 192-194.
42. (ff. 46^v-47^r) *Bayazid comunica di aver costituito un emporio denominato Castelnuovo, nel quale i veneziani potranno commerciare a patto di versare tre aspri per ogni transazione.* 24 novembre 1482. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.
43. (ff. 47^r-48^r) *Bayazid raccomanda alla Signoria il proprio inviato Iskender, il quale indagherà sul principe Cem in Francia.* 1 febbraio 1483. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.
Ed.: GALLOTTA – BOVA, *Documenti*, p. 196.
44. (f. 48^{rv}) *Bayazid esorta la Signoria a rispondere alle missive precedenti riguardanti Cem.* 15 settembre 1482. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.
Ed.: GALLOTTA – BOVA, *Documenti*, pp. 194-195.
45. (f. 49^{rv}) *Bayazid raccomanda lo schiavo Hussein.* 24 aprile 1483. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.
46. (ff. 49^v-50^v) *Bayazid scrive riguardo alla nave mercantile carica di frumento di Manuele Sgouromalos catturata da una nave veneziana e ne chiede la restituzione.* 1 ottobre 1484. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.

47. (ff. 50^v-51^r) *Il sultano scrive circa l'uva di Patrasso e coloro i quali ne hanno acquisito l'appalto*. 5 novembre 1484. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.
48. (f. 51^v) *Bayazid scrive ad Andrea Gritti, provveditore di Cipro, riguardo al principe Cem*. 1482. Testo veneziano.
Ed.: GALLOTTA – BOVA, *Documenti*, p. 197.
49. (ff. 51^v-52^v) *Bayazid, dopo aver ricevuto Giovanni Dario, concede in perpetuo Zante a Venezia chiedendo in cambio un tributo annuo di cinquecento ducati. Tiene invece per sé Cefalonia*. 22 aprile 1483. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana (copia del nr. 40).
Copia: ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XVI, 174 (registri XVI, 204). Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 32; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XVI, 174 (registri XVI, 205). Ed.: MM III, pp. 332-333.
50. (ff. 53^r-54^v) *Crisobollo di Andronico II Paleologo in cui concede al pansebastos Sebastos Theodoros Nomikopoulos il territorio di Cranidi nei pressi di Damala, in Argolide*. Aprile 1288. Testo greco, segue traduzione latina. (Nota nel margine sinistro: *Autenticam est apud cancellariam 1487 mense Iunii*).
Ed.: F. DÖLGER, *Ein Chrysbull des Kaisers Andronikos II. für Theodoros Nomikopoulos aus dem Jahre 1288*, in *OCP*, 21 (1958), pp. 58-62, ristampato in IDEM, *Paraspora*, Ettal, 1961, p. 192; cf. F. DÖLGER – P. WIRTH (a cura di), *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, I-V, München – Berlin, 1924-1995, vol. IV, nr. 2128.
51. (ff. 54^v-55^v) *Bayazid domanda che gli vengano restituiti alcuni prigionieri secondo gli accordi contenuti nei capitoli di pace*. 5 gennaio 1484. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.
52. (ff. 55^v-56^r) *Domanda ai rettori di Modone che gli restituiscano i beni dei mercanti Hussein e Haci Ali*. 2 luglio 1488. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.
53. (f. 56^v) *Raccomanda alla Signoria Michele Cantacuzeno e "Duarda", inviati per sbrigare alcuni affari*. 30 giugno 1487. Testo veneziano.
54. (ff. 56^v-58^r) *Credenziali per l'ambasciatore Iskender, il quale discuterà dei confini moreoti secondo quanto stabilito sin da Mehmed II; dei sottoposti all'haraç fuggiti nei territori veneziani; dell'uccisione avvenuta in Morea dell'ambasciatore del re di Tunisi, i cui beni furono*

sicuramente presi da veneziani; di questioni relative a Ragusa e di una fortezza nel territorio di Zante che il sultano chiede sia distrutta.
31 maggio 1487. Testo veneziano.

Copie: ASV, CDT I. 35, I. 36, I. 37b; cf. VON HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Geschichte*, vol. IX, p. 358.

55. (ff. 58^r-59^v) *Risposta del doge Agostino Barbarigo alla lettera precedente.* 10 settembre 1487. Testo veneziano.

56. (ff. 59^v-60^r) *Riguardo a due mercanti veneziani ai quali furono tratti alcuni hyperpyra e della seta.* 10 novembre 1486. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.

57. (f. 60^{rv}) *Bayazid scrive al doge Barbarigo circa alcune navi nemiche che nella regione di Apollonia hanno danneggiato gli affari di Venezia. Promette di punirli e di restituire quanto essi sottrassero tramite kadi e subaşı.* 9 ottobre 1488. Testo veneziano.

Traduzione: ASV, CDT I. 39.

58. (f. 60^v) *Hamza, kadi di Castelnuovo, raccomanda al doge alcuni inviati ottomani vestiti "more cristiano".* 21 marzo 1488. Testo veneziano.

59. (f. 61^{rv}) *Bayazid ricorda che "quei da Ca' Pesaro" devono ancora pagare il debito per l'uva di Patrasso.* 30 novembre 1488. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.

60. (f. 61^v) *Bayazid raccomanda i suoi due inviati Mehmed e Ali, i quali daranno la caccia a uno schiavo fuggito dai suoi territori con molte ricchezze.* 10 febbraio 1487. Testo veneziano.

61. (f. 62^{rv}) *Firmano di Bayazid per i kadi e i subaşı circa i danni provocati dalle imbarcazioni di pirati che mettono in pericolo la regione di Apollonia.* 1488. Testo veneziano.

62. (ff. 62^v-63^r) *Lettera al doge di Mehmet bey, subaşı di Morea, circa il debito per l'uva di Patrasso contratto da Jacopo Bembo e Benedetto da Pesaro.* 26 ottobre 1489. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.

63. (f. 63^r) *Lettera di Bayazid al bailo di Corfù affinché faccia liberare alcuni mercanti e i loro beni requisiti dal capitano di un'imbarcazione veneziana.* 1488. Testo veneziano.

64. (f. 63^r) *Lettera del kadı di Patrasso al capitano generale da mar Benedetto da Pesaro, riguardo ad alcuni debiti contratti da Jacopo Bembo e Benedetto da Pesaro. 30 ottobre 1489. Testo greco.*
65. (ff. 63^v-64^r) *Lettera di Bayazid al bailo di Costantinopoli circa alcuni pirati, e in particolare Kemal reis, affinché siano scovati e puniti. 1492. Testo veneziano.*
66. (ff. 64^r-65^r) *Lettera di Bayazid al doge circa i compiti e i limiti dell'ufficio del bailo. 14 novembre 1492. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.*
67. (f. 65^{rv}) *Lettera di Bayazid al doge Barbarigo sull'arrivo dell'ambasciatore Domenico Trevisan, tramite il quale conferma la pace. 28 aprile 1493. Testo greco. Spazio bianco al f. 65^v.*
68. (f. 66^r) *La Porta conferma di aver ottenuto da Venezia il saldo del debito di cinquecento ducati per la cessione di Zante. 14 aprile 1493. Traduzione veneziana da originale ottomano. Prima della traduzione il f. 66^r presenta uno spazio bianco.*
69. (ff. 66^v-67^r) *Bayazid congeda il segretario veneziano Alvise Sagundino, ambasciatore presso la Porta. 22 dicembre 1493. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.*
70. (f. 67^v) *Bayazid invia l'ambasciatore Kasim a Venezia, raccomandandolo. 2 ottobre 1494. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.*
71. (ff. 67^v-68^v) *Il sultano dice di essere stato informato dal kadı e dai flambulari delle malefatte compiute da un tale Marković ai danni della località di Antivari e chiede che i danni siano ricompensati. 5 novembre 1494. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana.*
Traduzione: ASV, CDT I. 43.
72. (ff. 68^v-69^v) *Bayazid invia il suo schiavo Kasim affinché gli faccia da ambasciatore e investighi sul furto di una somma di denaro destinata al papa, trafugata durante il viaggio. 21 gennaio 1495. Testo greco, segue traduzione veneziana. Spazio bianco al f. 69^v.*
Ed.: GALLOTTA – BOVA, *Documenti*, pp. 198-199.
73. (f. 70^r) *Bayazid conferma la pace e l'amicizia con Venezia tramite l'inviato Andrea Zancani, rinviando a quanto lo stesso Zancani riferirà*

una volta tornato. 15 marzo 1499. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco.

Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 44. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 45 e I. 47. Ed.: MM III, pp. 337-338; cf. MARIN SANUDO, *Diarii*, vol. II, p. 702.

74. (f. 70^v) *Mustafa*, beylerbey di Rumelia, raccomanda al doge Barbarigo l'ambasciatore Andrea Zancani. 17 marzo 1489. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco. Spazio bianco al f. 70^v.

75. (f. 71^r) *Conferma dei cinquecento ducati pagati da Andrea Gritti per Zante con firma di Hussein e Othman figlio di Ali*. 19 aprile 1498. Testo veneziano.

Originale: ASV, CDT I. 48.

76. (f. 71^r) *Cedola di tesoreria per il saldo del tributo da parte di Andrea Zancani con firme di Othman figlio di Ali e di Hussein*. 19 aprile 1499. Testo veneziano.

77. (f. 71^v) *Cedola di tesoreria in cui un'autorità ottomana conferma il pagamento del tributo di millequattrocento ducati da parte dell'ambasciatore Andrea Zancani, in luogo dei 215571 aspri che gli doveva Giovanni Diplovatatzes come dazio per le transazioni avvenute a Costantinopoli e Pera fino al 1481*. 1499. Traduzione veneziana da originale ottomano. Spazio bianco ai ff. 71^v-72^v.

Traduzione: ASV, CDT I. 50.

(f. 73r) Tit.: "*Pax cum Domino Turcho Bayazid*".

78. (ff. 73^r-74^v) *Capitolazioni di pace tra il doge Leonardo Loredan, tramite il segretario Zaccaria de' Freschi, e la Porta, tramite il subaşı Ali bey*. 24 dicembre 1502. Testo veneziano. Il f. 74^v presenta uno spazio bianco.

Originale ottomano: ASV, CDT I. 73¹³. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 74, I. 75, I. 76; ASV, Senato Secreti, reg. 39, ff. 89-91. Ed.: M. H. ŞAKIROĞLU, *1503 Tarihli Türk-Venedik Andlaşması*, in *VIII Türk Tarih Kongresi*, vol. III, Ankara, 1983, pp. 1559-1569; THEUNISSEN, *Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats*, pp. 377-388; cf. BOMBACI, *Les toughras*, tav. XV, fig. 2.

¹³ In contenitore a parte.

Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 77¹⁴. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 78, I. 97; ASV, Libri Commemoriali, XIX, 9 (registi XIX, 12. allegato); MARIN SANUDO, *Diarii*, vol. V, pp. 42-47. Ed.: MM, pp. 344-350; cf. *Firmani imperiali*, nr. 2.

79. (f. 75^v) *Lettera credenziale per il subaşı Ali bey che arriva in qualità di ambasciatore della Porta a Venezia accompagnato dal segretario ducale Zaccaria de' Freschi, il quale trattò i capitoli di pace con il Sultano.* 14 dicembre 1502. Traduzione veneziana da originale ottomano. Spazio bianco al f. 75^v.

Originale ottomano: ASV, CDT I. 79. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 80 e I. 81; ASV, Libri Commemoriali, XIX, 10 (registi XIX, 9); MARIN SANUDO, *Diarii*, vol. V, p. 41. Ed.: MÉLIKOFF, *Bayazid*, pp. 132-136 (doc. II).

80. (f. 76^r) *Lettera di Bayazid al doge circa l'occupazione veneziana del castello di Santa Maura in Morea, il quale deve essere subito restituito alla Porta.* 14 dicembre 1502. Traduzione veneziana da originale ottomano.

Originale ottomano: ASV, CDT I. 82. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 83 e I. 84; ASV, Libri Commemoriali, XIX, 11 (registi XIX, 10); MARIN SANUDO, *Diarii*, vol. V, p. 47. Ed.: MÉLIKOFF, *Bayazid*, pp. 137-140 (doc. III).

81. (f. 76^v) *Lettera del gran visir Hersekoğlu Ahmed Pasha ad Andrea Gritti, in cui comunica le difficoltà nel raggiungimento delle condizioni di pace, che troverà nei capitoli affidati ad uno schiavo dal segretario Zaccaria de' Freschi.* 24 marzo 1503. Traduzione da originale greco. Spazio bianco al f. 76^v.

Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 93. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 94; ASV, Libri Commemoriali, XIX, 11 (registi XIX, 11). Ed.: MM III, p. 341.

82. (f. 77^v) *Ratifica dei capitoli di pace da parte di Bayazid tramite una missiva per il doge Leonardo Loredan, scritta dopo il ritorno a Costantinopoli di Andrea Gritti e dell'inviato Ali bey.* 8 agosto 1503. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco. Spazio bianco al f. 77^r.

Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 103. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 104 e I. 105; ASV, Libri Commemoriali, XIX, 11 (registi XIX, 16); MARIN SANUDO, *Diarii*, vol. V, pp. 75-76. Ed.: MM III, pp. 353-354; cf. BOMBACI, *Les toughras*, tav. XVI, fig. 3.

¹⁴ In contenitore a parte.

Originale ottomano: ASV, CDT I. 101. Traduzione: ASV, CDT I. 102. Ed.: MÉLIKOFF, *Bayazid*, pp. 140-145 (doc. IV); cf. *Catalogo della mostra geografica*, nr. 160; *Firmani imperiali*, nr. 4 e 5.

83. (ff. 77^v-78^r) *Lettera al doge sul prolungamento dell'ufficio del bailo da uno a tre anni, con un ritorno alla pratica precedente; entro i tre anni di permanenza i veneziani residenti nell'Impero non dovranno pagare l'haraç. 6 ottobre 1503. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco. Spazio bianco ai ff. 77^v-78^r.*

Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 110. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 111; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 11 (registri XIX, 22); MARIN SANUDO, *Diarii*, vol. V, p. 454. Ed.: MM III, pp. 355-356.

Originale ottomano: ASV, CDT I. 109. Ed.: MÉLIKOFF, *Bayazid*, pp. 145-149 (doc. V).

84. (f. 78^{rv}) *Firmano di Bayazid per Mehmed Ağa, sancak di Mostar, del paese di Herzegovina e della bassa Bosnia, circa il rispetto delle condizioni di pace. 1503. Traduzione veneziana da originale ottomano. Spazio bianco al f. 78^{rv}.*

Originale ottomano: ASV, CDT I. 133b. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 134a; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 18 (registri XIX, 37). MARIN SANUDO, *Diarii*, vol. V, pp. 286-287.

85. (f. 79^r) *Firmano di Bayazid per Iskender Pasha, sancak dell'alta Bosnia, circa il rispetto delle condizioni di pace. 1503. Traduzione veneziana da originale ottomano.*

Originale ottomano: ASV, CDT I. 133a. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 134b; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 18 (registri XIX, 38); MARIN SANUDO, *Diarii*, vol. V, pp. 287-288.

86. (f. 79^r) *Firmano di Bayazid per tutti i sancak delle regioni costiere quali Morea, Negroponte, Arta, Apollonia circa il rispetto delle condizioni di pace. 1503. Traduzione veneziana da originale ottomano.*

Originale ottomano: ASV, CDT I. 133c. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 134c; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 18 (registri XIX, 39); MARIN SANUDO, *Diarii*, vol. V, p. 288.

87. (f. 79^v) *Lettera di Bayazid per Mehmed ağa di Mostar, il quale sarà ritenuto diretto responsabile di tutto quanto accade nei suoi territori. 1503. Traduzione veneziana da originale ottomano.*

Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 135a; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 37 (registri XIX, 41); MARIN SANUDO, *Diarii*, vol. V, p. 455.

- 88.** (f. 79^v) *Lettera di Bayazid per Iskender Pasha, sancak di Bosnia, in cui prende disposizioni simili a quelle ordinate a Mehmed ağa.* 1503. Traduzione veneziana da originale ottomano.
Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 135b; ASV, Libri Commemoriali, XIX, 37 (registri XIX, 42); MARIN SANUDO, *Diarii*, vol. V, p. 455.
- 89.** (f. 79^v) *Lettera di Firuz bey, sancak di Scutari e d'Albania, al segretario ducale Zaccaria de' Freschi riguardo ad alcune decisioni.* 22 dicembre 1503. Testo veneziano.
Copie: ASV, CDT I. 127 e I. 128; ASV, Libri Commemoriali, XIX, 37 (registri XIX, 35).
- 90.** (f. 80^r) *Lettera di Antonio Loredan, bailo di Corfù, per Andrea Gritti, ambasciatore presso Bayazid, riguardo a un indennizzo che la Porta deve ricevere dal sopracomito Bondinner.* 9 novembre 1503. Testo veneziano.
- 91.** (f. 80^r) *Dichiarazioni di Caratalumi di Corfù, tradotte da Antonio Lanza, in cui dichiara di aver ricevuto un indennizzo dal sopracomito veneziano Andrea Bondinner, colpevole di avergli danneggiato tre galee.* 1 agosto 1503. Traduzione da originale greco. Spazio bianco al f. 80^{rv}.
- 92.** (ff. 80^v-81^r) *Bayazid scrive accreditando lo schiavo Mustafa, incaricato di recuperare i prigionieri turchi reclusi a Santa Maura.* 29 ottobre 1503. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco. Spazio bianco ai ff. 80^v, 81^r-82^v.
Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 112. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 113 e I. 115; ASV, Libri Commemoriali, XIX, 11 (registri XIX, 22); MARIN SANUDO, *Diarii*, vol. V, pp. 762-763. Ed.: MM III, p. 344.
- 93.** (f. 83^{rv}) *Elenco di cinquantaquattro schiavi turchi liberati dopo la conquista veneziana di Santa Maura e consegnati all'ambasciatore Mustafa bey.* 1504. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco.
Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 114. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 116, I. 143, I. 144; ASV, Libri Commemoriali, XIX, 38 (registri XIX, 52); MARIN SANUDO, *Diarii*, vol. V, pp. 762-763.
- 94.** (ff. 83^v-84^r) *Lettera di Bayazid al doge Loredan: un certo Da'ud reis navigando verso Negroponte con una nave da trasporto allo scopo di caricare del grano, fu assalito presso Schiato da tre galee veneziane e*

costretto a fuggire. 4 novembre 1503. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco. Spazio bianco al f. 83^v.

Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 117; Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 118 e I. 119; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 39 (registi XIX, 24); MARIN SANUDO, *Diarii*, vol. V, pp. 763-764. Ed.: MM III, pp. 338-339.

95. (f. 84^v) *Bayazid afferma, tramite l'inviato Jakub bey, di aver già sostenuto con Zaccaria de' Freschi e Andrea Gritti il proprio diritto sull'isola di "Alexio" che chiede gli sia consegnata*. 20 dicembre 1503. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco. Spazio bianco tra *recto* e *verso* del f. 84.

Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 124. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 125 e I. 126; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 39 (registi XIX, 34). Ed.: MM III, pp. 350-351.

96. (ff. 84^v-85^v) *Bayazid chiede al doge Loredan che gli siano inviati nuovamente i capitoli di pace sottoscritti dalla Signoria, accreditando l'ambasciatore Jakub bey per la missione*. 22 dicembre 1503. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco. Spazio bianco ai ff. 84^v-85^r.

Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 129. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 130, I. 131 e I. 132; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 39 (registi XIX, 36); MARIN SANUDO, *Diarii*, vol. V, pp. 993-994. Ed.: MM III, p. 356; cf. BOMBACI, *Les toughras*, tav. XVI, fig. IV.

97. (ff. 85^v-86^r) *Lettera di Bayazid al doge Leonardo Loredan a mezzo del conte Caragia, in cui si lamenta perché un brigantino del sancak di Apollonia Mustafa bey è stato affondato da una galea veneziana*. 25 febbraio 1504. Testo veneziano. Spazio bianco al f. 85^v.

98. (f. 86^r) *Lettera di Mustafa, sancak di Valona, ad Andrea Gritti, riguardo al proprio brigantino affondato dai veneziani*. 18 aprile 1504. Testo veneziano.

Copie: ASV, CDT I. 147; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 42 (registi XIX, 59).

99. (f. 86^v) *Nuova lettera di Mustafa ad Andrea Gritti col medesimo oggetto della precedente*. 18 aprile 1504. Testo veneziano.

Copie: ASV, CDT I. 148; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 42 (registi XIX, 60).

100. (ff. 86^v-87^r) *Bayazid scrive al doge Loredan circa la vicenda dell'imbarcazione del bostancıbaşı ovvero capo dei giardinieri Iskender ağa*

requisita presso Schiro dai veneziani. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco. 24 aprile 1504. Spazio bianco ai ff. 86^v-87^r.

Traduzioni: ASV, CDT II. 150; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 42 (registri, XIX, 61).

101. (ff. 87^v-88^v) *Lettera del bostancıbaşı Iskender ağa ad Andrea Gritti, allo scopo di recuperare la propria imbarcazione. 1504. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco. Spazio bianco ai ff. 87^v-88^r.*

Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 139. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 140; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 43 (registri XIX, 62).

102. (ff. 88^v-89^v) *Lettera del bostancıbaşı Iskender ağa ad Andrea Gritti, allo scopo di ottenere un risarcimento dei danni patiti dalla propria imbarcazione. 27 marzo 1504. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco. Spazio bianco ai ff. 88^v-89^r.*

Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 141. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 142; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 43 (registri XIX, 50); cf. *Catalogo della mostra geografica*, nr. 208. Ed.: I. G. GIANNOPOULOU, *Ἐπιστολὴ εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν τοῦ Μποστάντζη μπασῆ Σκεντέρ μπέη πρὸς τὸν Andrea Gritti*, in *Θησαυρισματα*, 2 (1974), pp. 128-135.

103. (f. 90^v) *Bayazid si lamenta col doge per la violazione dei patti di pace: gli abitanti di Schiato assaltarono una nave dei figli di Ömer bey; inoltre alcune navi di Schiro catturarono quattro giannizzeri e infine i veneziani catturarono due griparie turche e le vendettero. 7 aprile 1504. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco. Spazio bianco al f. 90^r.*

Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 145. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 146; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 43 (registri XIX, 56). Ed.: H. AHRWEILER, *Une lettre en grec du Sultan Bayazid II (1481-1512)*, in *Turcica*, 1 (1969), pp. 150-160; HUNGER, *Pirateria in der Aegaeis*, pp. 361-376.

104. (ff. 90^v-91^r) *Bayazid scrive al doge Loredan che, dopo aver disposto di spostare le navi ottomane dal porto di Apollonia a quello di Costantinopoli, vuole che esse non siano molestate quando attraversino i territori veneziani. 1504. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco. Spazio bianco ai ff. 90^v-91^r.*

Originale greco: ASV, CDT II. 153. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT II. 154; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 44 (registri XIX, 65).

105. (f. 91^v) *Lettera di Firuz bey, sancak di Scutari d'Albania, al provveditore veneziano di Cattaro: chiede che i confini stabiliti siano rispettati*

da entrambe le parti. 21 luglio 1504. Testo veneziano. Spazio bianco al f. 91^v.

- 106.** (ff. 92^r-93^r) *Patente ducale del doge Leonardo Loredan, in cui la Signoria conferma i capitoli di pace stipulati dal sultano Bayazid e da Zaccaria de' Freschi.* 2 aprile 1504. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco.

Originale greco: ASV, CDT I. 77 (cf. nr. 78).

- 107.** (f. 93^v) *Hersekoğlu Ahmed Pasha comunica al capitano da mar Andrea Gritti di aver volontariamente rinunciato alla carica di visir, conservando tuttavia la sua posizione di consigliere del sultano.* 10 marzo 1504. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco. Spazio bianco al f. 93^v.

Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 138; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 44 (registri XIX, 48).

- 108.** (f. 94^{rv}) *Bayazid scrive al doge Loredan di volersi attenere a quanto deciso in passato circa le dispute territoriali tra veneziani e ottomani senza seguire quanto si legge nel documento appena portatogli da Venezia dall'ambasciatore veneziano Giorgio Negro e Jakub bey.* 15 giugno 1504. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco. Spazio bianco al f. 94^r.

Originale greco: ASV, CDT II. 151. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT II. 152; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 44 (registri XIX, 64). Ed.: MM III, pp. 357-359.

- 109.** (f. 95^{rv}) *Elenco di ventinove prigionieri e dei loro padroni fatti schiavi a Santa Maura, consegnato da Mustafa bey al segretario ducale Giorgio Negro.* 1504. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco. Spazio bianco al f. 95^r.

Originale greco: ASV, CDT II. 155. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT II. 156; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 45 (registri XIX, 75).

- 110.** (ff. 95^v-96^r) *Ali bey Pasha di Morea scrive al castellano, capitano e provveditore di Napoli di Romania chiedendo il rispetto dei confini sia da parte veneziana sia ottomana.* 11 settembre 1504. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco. Spazio bianco al f. 95^v.

Traduzioni: ASV, CDT II. 157; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 45 (registri XIX, 68).

- 111.** (f. 96^{rv}) *Lettera del bostancıbaşı Iskender ağa al doge Leonardo Loredan in cui ringrazia per la nave mandatagli e per il risarcimento dei*

danni patiti. 15 ottobre 1504. Traduzione veneziana da originale greco. Spazio bianco ai ff. 96^v-99^v.

Originale greco: ASV, CDT II. 159. Traduzioni: ASV, CDT II. 160; ASV, Libri Commemorativi, XIX, 46 (registri XIX, 70).

- 112.** (f. 100^r) *Elenco di doni consegnati dalla Signoria veneziana all'ambasciatore Andrea Zancani per il sultano*. 1499. Testo veneziano. Il f. 100^v è bianco.

3. NOTE SULLA STRUTTURA E I COPISTI DEL *LIBER GRAECUS*

Il contenuto del *Liber* si riferisce ai travagliati rapporti tra Venezia e l'Impero ottomano dalla fine della prima guerra di Morea (1461-1479), durante gli ultimi anni di regno di Mehmed II (1451-1481), fino alla guerra scoppiata tra le due potenze nel 1499 e conclusasi nel 1502, sotto il sultanato di Bayazid II (1481-1512). Il documento più antico del *Liber* è datato al 25 gennaio 1479, il più recente al 15 ottobre 1504.

Nel *Liber Graecus* figurano centododici copie di documenti scritti dalla cancelleria ottomana per la Serenissima: i primi ventisei sono di Mehmed II (uno è ripetuto due volte), di cui venti in greco (con relativa traduzione) e sei in veneziano, tutti concernenti gli accordi di pace del 1479 e le sue immediate conseguenze. Seguono cinquantotto copie di documenti di Bayazid II: di questi, trentanove furono redatti in greco (abbiamo il testo originale di ventotto degli altri undici una traduzione), tredici in turco (di cui tre nel testo originale e dieci in traduzione) e sei in veneziano. I documenti consistono in richieste di collaborazione per il doge Giovanni Mocenigo contro il principe Cem¹⁵, scritte subito dopo la morte di Mehmed II; pacificazioni delle dispute territoriali e tutela dei commerci dagli assalti corsari, nel rispetto delle capitolazioni segnate con il doge Giovanni Mocenigo nel 1482 e con il doge Leonardo Loredan nel 1502, queste ultime ratificate tramite il segretario ducale Zaccaria de' Freschi¹⁶ e il mercante Andrea Gritti¹⁷, dopo la guerra turco-veneziana del 1499-1502¹⁸. Poiché in alcuni casi gli originali greci della collezione Documenti Turchi sono andati perduti, il

¹⁵ LG 35, 41, 43, 44, 48.

¹⁶ M. NEFF, *A Citizen in the Service of the Patrician State: the Career of Zaccaria de' Freschi*, in *Studi Veneziani*, n. s., 5 (1981), pp. 33-61.

¹⁷ G. BENZONI, *Gritti, Andrea*, in DBI, Roma, 2002, vol. LIX, pp. 726-734; A. DA MOSTO, *I Dogi di Venezia nella vita pubblica e privata*, Torino, 1983, pp. 235-246.

¹⁸ Cf. SETTON, *The Papacy*, vol. II, p. 514 sgg.

Liber Graecus costituisce un'importante integrazione all'inventario dei documenti greci di Mehmed II e Bayazid II dall'Archivio dei Frari di Venezia. Inoltre i Libri Commemoriali, collezione in trentatré volumi dei più importanti documenti di natura politica e diplomatica della Serenissima, contengono le copie di otto documenti greci di Mehmed II e Bayazid II relativi agli anni 1479-1484 e conservati nella Collezione documenti turchi e nel *Liber Graecus*¹⁹.

Nel *Liber Graecus* si conservano anche venti missive di autorità ottomane di rango inferiore datate agli anni di regno di Bayazid II (1481-1512), relative a questioni di confini e ai frequenti attacchi dei corsari lungo le coste adriatiche²⁰: undici in greco (di cui due nel testo originale), sei in veneziano, due in turco (di cui uno solo in originale) e una in latino. In particolare, abbiamo: tre lettere del *bostancıbaşı* Iskender ağa; due del gran visir Ahmed *Pasha* Hersekoğlu²¹; due di Firuz *bey*, *sancak* di Scutari d'Albania; due di Mustafa, *sancak* di Valona; due di Mustafa *bey*, inviato di Bayazid II; una di Ali *Pasha* di Morea; una del *kadı* di Castelnuovo; una del *kadı* di Patraso; una di Hamza, capitano di Castelnuovo; una dell'*elçi* Iskender *bey*; una di Mehmed *bey*, *subaşı* di Morea; una di Mustafa, *beylerbey* di Rumelia; una di Andrea Vilcović (insieme a Iskender *bey*) e infine una di un'autorità ottomana anonima.

Ci sono poi sette documenti di autorità e sudditi veneziani: una lettera del doge Agostino Barbarigo; due patenti ducali del doge Leonardo Loredan; una lettera di Antonio Loredan bailo di Corfù; una dichiarazione di Caratalumi, abitante di Corfù; una costituzione di Francesco de Franco e Giovanni Luce; un elenco anonimo di doni consegnati da Andrea Zancani. Infine, l'unico documento del *Liber* emesso da un'autorità bizantina è il crisobollo di Andronico II Paleologo datato al 1288, il cui originale era

¹⁹ Con un'eccezione: nei Libri Commemoriali XVI, 173 (registri XVI, 160-161), troviamo due quietanze in greco conservate solo in traduzione nella CDT, I, 20 a e b; cf. S. LAMPROS, *Δύο ελληνικά έγγραφα ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων τῆς Βενετίας*, in *NE*, 5 (1908), pp. 479-481.

²⁰ Sulla pirateria nell'Adriatico alla fine del XV secolo, cf. HUNGER, *Pirateria in der Aegaeis*; N. VATIN, *Itinéraires d'agents de la Porte en Italie (1483-1495). Réflexions sur l'organisation des missions ottomanes et sur la transcription turque des noms de lieux italiens*, in *Turcica*, 19 (1987), pp. 29-50; S. FAROQHI, *Ottoman views on corsairs and piracy in the Adriatic*, in E. ZACHARIADOU, *The Kapudan Pasha. His Office and his Domain*, Rethymon, 2002, pp. 357-370.

²¹ Stjepan Vukčić Kosača (1456-1517), duca di San Sava, nel 1472 lasciò la Serbia e si rifugiò presso la corte ottomana dove, convertitosi all'Islam, assunse il nome di Hersekoğlu Ahmed *bey*. Nel 1486 fu nominato *beylerbey* di Anatolia e poi *visir*; fu gran *visir* per due volte tra il 1500 e 1506, poi sotto Selim I tra il 1512 e il 1514. Cf. ŠABANOVIĆ, *Hersek-zade Ahmed*, in *EI*²; *Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas*, vol. I, pp. 21-22; G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. II: *Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen*, Leiden, 1958², p. 344 (Χερσόεργλης); H. HELLER, *Venezianische Quellen zur Lebensgeschichte des Ahmed Paşa Hersekoğlu*, in *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies*, 3 (2000), pp. 1-85.

nella cancelleria veneziana, almeno fino al 1487, come si legge in una nota a margine datata al giugno di quell'anno (f. 53r: *Autenticam est apud cancellariam 1487 mense Iunii*).

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Tutti i documenti sono dotati di un breve regesto e di una numerazione progressiva. I regesti, in latino o in veneziano, sono inseriti tra il testo e la traduzione fino al f. 63^v; dal f. 63^v in poi invece precedono il testo e esplicano sempre il mittente, ove si tratti di lettere del sultano (*Dominus turchus*), e l'oggetto della comunicazione.

Le traduzioni sono tutte in veneziano, tranne che in quattro casi particolari relativi a documenti di una certa importanza (due di Mehmed II, uno di Bayazid II e uno di Andronico II Paleologo), la cui traduzione è in latino (ff. 11^v-14^v; ff. 16^v-19^v; ff. 24^v-26^v; ff. 53^r-54^v).

Il registro è organizzato in nuclei, con fogli bianchi a separare le diverse sezioni. Il primo nucleo consiste nei ventisei documenti di Mehmed II, datati tra 25 gennaio 1479 e 3 aprile 1481, tutti numerati e disposti cronologicamente, con testo originale e traduzione a seguire, senza lacune (ff. 1^r-22^r).

Seguono dei fogli in bianco (ff. 22^v-23^v) e poi i documenti del regno di Bayazid II, i quali invece sono inseriti in maniera più disordinata. I primi nove documenti, infatti, sono ordinati cronologicamente (ff. 24^r-39^r), mentre i cinque successivi sono né numerati, né disposti in ordine cronologico, né in due casi presentano il testo originale (ff. 39^v-44^v); segue poi una sezione di trentasei documenti numerati (ff. 45^r-71^v, tranne due nei ff. 53^r-54^v e 58^r-59^v), ma in ordine cronologico non sempre esatto, per un periodo complessivo che va dal 30 maggio 1481 al 19 aprile 1499.

Dopo il f. 72, in bianco, si apre l'ultima sezione (ff. 73^r-96^r), la quale ha un assetto decisamente disordinato e incompleto, con documenti spesso copiati solo in traduzione e numerati secondo un ordine cronologico approssimativo, che copre il periodo dal 14 dicembre 1502 al 15 ottobre 1504. In queste ultime trenta carte osserviamo numerosi spazi bianchi lasciati dal copista tra il regesto e la traduzione, probabilmente per trascrivere in un secondo tempo il testo originale in greco (ff. 69^v-70^{rv}; 76^{rv}; 77^r-78^r; 80^{rv}; 83^v-84^v; 84^v-85^r; 85^v; 86^v-87^r; 87^v-88^r; 88^v-89^r; 90^r-91^r; 93^v; 94^r; 95^r; 95^v; 96^{rv}), o in ottomano (ff. 66^r; 75^{rv}; 78^{rv}). In due casi manca la traduzione dopo l'originale (ff. 63^r, 65^{rv}).

Rimane da spiegare perché il crisobollo del 1288 di Andronico II Paleologo, unico documento bizantino del *Liber Graecus*, sia stato inserito proprio nei ff. 53^r-54^v. Il crisobollo consiste nella donazione al πανσέβαστος

σεβαστός Theodoros Nomikopoulos²² del territorio di Cranidi in Argolide, regione contesa tra Veneziani e Ottomani e conquistata da questi ultimi nella guerra del 1463-1479. Probabilmente la cancelleria veneziana, che possedeva l'originale, volle inserire una copia del crisobollo nella sezione del *Liber* riguardante i primi anni di regno di Bayazid II, assieme ai documenti sultaniali che confermavano le spartizioni dei confini – *in primis* quelli di Morea – già decise nella pace del 1479, poi rinnovata nel 1482²³.

A differenza dell'omogeneità presente nella prima sezione del *Liber Graecus*, si fa strada nella seconda parte un maggiore disordine: si può dunque desumere che verosimilmente i primi documenti siano stati copiati insieme e in un solo momento da un copista a scopo di registrazione – *a posteriori* – dei capitoli di pace sanciti con Mehmed II nel 1479, alla conclusione della prima guerra veneziano-turca. A sostegno di una datazione piuttosto tarda nel regesto di un documento datato al 17 febbraio 1480, f. 9^r, si legge “...*et fuit eo tempore quo capto fuit Hidrotum in Appulia vel paulo post*”. La caduta di Otranto in realtà avvenne sei mesi dopo, l'11 agosto 1480. L'errata datazione di un evento così importante per le vicende dell'epoca prova che con ogni probabilità il documento fu trascritto nel *Liber Graecus* parecchio dopo il 1480, a distanza dagli avvenimenti, e che quindi la redazione del *Liber* vada situata alla fine del XV secolo, alcuni anni dopo la fine del regno di Mehmed II (1481).

I documenti di Bayazid invece sarebbero stati copiati poco dopo la loro acquisizione da parte della Serenissima, come registrazione di eventi presenti e quindi in maniera meno sistematica. L'ultimo documento trascritto in greco è del 1495 (ff. 68^v-69^v): probabilmente già in quel tempo l'immediata registrazione degli originali non era più indispensabile per la cancelleria veneziana, anche perché i documenti greci in arrivo da Costantinopoli erano sempre più rari. Nonostante il declino del greco come lingua diplomatica però, l'ultimo documento in greco scambiato tra Venezia e la Porta è di trent'anni successivo: si tratta del *fethname* di Süleyman I per il doge Andrea Gritti, redatto dopo la vittoriosa campagna militare in Ungheria e il primo assedio di Vienna del 1529²⁴.

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²² Cf. *PLP*, nr. 20698.

²³ Per le capitolazioni del 1479 cf. LG 1, per quelle del 1482 cf. LG 29. Alla fine della guerra del 1463-1479 Venezia aveva perso Lemno, Negroponte, Brazo di Maina e Argo in Morea, Scutari in Albania, le isole ioniche di Santa Maura, Zante e Cefalonia. Con il trattato del 1482 Venezia cedette alla Porta anche Polizza in Albania e Vatica in Morea.

²⁴ ASV, CDT II. 250; ed. MM III, pp. 361-364; J. MÜLLER, *Ein griechisches Sendschreiben des Sultan Suleyman an Andrea Gritti*, Wien, 1860; cf. M. T. GÖKBILGIN, *Venedik Devlet*

I copisti del *Liber Graecus* utilizzarono una scrittura minuta e corsiveggiante, senza tachigrafie e con rare legature. Spiriti e accenti sono correttamente segnati e la grafia tende a normalizzare quella dei documenti originali. Due mani simili (a, b), la seconda distinguibile per il modulo delle lettere leggermente più grande rispetto alla prima mano e per alcune caratteristiche peculiari (ad esempio la legatura – αρ-) scrissero rispettivamente i ff. 1^r-24^r, 24^v-60^r, trascrivendo sia i documenti in greco sia la relativa traduzione. Nei ff. 60^v-72^v intervenne una terza mano (c) ben distinguibile dalle prime due per il tratto sfuggente e il modulo minore delle lettere. Tale mano è molto simile a quella che trascrisse otto documenti greci di Mehmed II e Bayazid II nel sedicesimo volume dei Libri Commemoriali, con lievi differenze rispetto agli apografi del *Liber Graecus*²⁵. Infine, nell'ultima sezione del *Liber*, ff. 73^r-100^r, si osserva una quarta mano (d), che trascrisse i documenti solo nella traduzione veneziana in una tipica scrittura notarile.

In particolare per le prime due mani, si osserva una elegante scrittura cancelleresca che ricorda lo stile τῶν Ὀδηγῶν²⁶, molto inclinata a destra. I caratteri sono corsivi e particolarmente accentuati verso l'alto i tratti acuti; l'epsilon assomiglia quasi a un'eta; il gamma è di forma maiuscola; sono assenti particolari legature tranne quelle per epsilon-rho e rho-iota; ci sono poche tachigrafie, tra cui quelle per κ(αὶ), ἄν(θρωπ)οί, ἰω(άννης), le desinenze –ου – e –ας, – εν – in corpo e in fine di parola. Le stesse mani copiarono i documenti greci e la relativa traduzione. Nelle traduzioni italiane, la prima e la seconda mano adottarono un'umanistica corsiva cancelleresca piuttosto elegante e ariosa, con *ductus* fluente e leggermente inclinato verso destra²⁷. L'inizio della prima riga è sempre arretrato a sinistra rispetto alle righe successive rientranti e aventi quindi un ampio margine a sinistra. La scrittura può qualificarsi come cancelleresca per una serie di

Arşivindeki vesikalar külliyatında kanunî sultan Süleyman devri belgeleri, in *Belgeler: Türk tarih belgeleri dergisi*, 1 (1964), pp. 119-120; THEUNISSEN, *Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats*, pp. 155-159. Il *fethname* di Süleyman I è l'ultimo documento greco di un sultano ottomano se si esclude il decreto di Selim II del 1570 riportato in M. CRUSIUS, *Turcograecia*, Basilea, 1584, pp. 344 sgg.; ed. MM III, pp. 366-367, ritenuto però concordemente un falso.

²⁵ Nella sezione *Acta graeca imperatorum Othmanidarum et equestris ordinis Hospitalis S. Ioannis*, in MM III, pp. 282-367, sono trascritti fedelmente alcuni originali della Collezione documenti turchi e gli apografi dei Libri Commemoriali, ma non quelli del *Liber Graecus*, ignoto a Miklosich e Müller.

²⁶ Sulla persistenza dello stile τῶν Ὀδηγῶν cf. D. HARLFINGER, *Zu griechischen Kopisten und Schriftstilen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, in *La Paléographie grecque et byzantine. Paris, 21-25 Octobre 1974 (Colloques Internationaux du CNRS, 559)*, Paris, 1977, pp. 332-333; I. PEREZ MARTIN, *El « estilo hodegos » y su proyección en las escrituras constantinopolitanas*, in *Segno e Testo*, 6 (2008), pp. 389-458.

²⁷ Cf. M. F. TIEPOLO – P. SCARPA (a cura di), *Esempi di scritture dei secoli XII-XVIII (Quaderni della Scuola di Archivistica, Paleografia e Diplomatica, 2)*, Venezia, 1991, p. 65.

accorgimenti quali il prolungamento della “e” e della “i” maiuscole; i frequenti troncamenti (“ill.mo/a” per “illustrissimo/a”; “ex.mo/a” per “excelentissimo/a”; “hoi” con diacritico ~ sulla i per “homeni”; il diacritico “~” per “m” e “n” in fine di parola); i segni particolari per “che” e l’abbreviazione (ma non sempre usata) “s” per “Signoria”. L’ultima mano del *Liber* si distingue dalle altre per il tratto molto marcato e omogeneo, il modulo delle lettere piccolo e le aste superiori e inferiori molto sporgenti, e la maggiore corsività.

Nel *Liber Graecus* erano copiati documenti in arrivo dalla corte ottomana, redatti in greco da copisti che spesso avevano una conoscenza insufficiente della lingua, come si può osservare da un confronto con alcuni originali della collezione “Documenti turchi” dell’archivio veneziano. Una volta giunti a Venezia, i documenti entravano di diritto nei *Secreta*, la sezione degli Archivi ducali accessibile solo al *secretarius* e agli alti funzionari della cancelleria²⁸, e lì erano ricopiati e tradotti. La volontà di riunire in ordine cronologico e in un unico codice i documenti greci dei sultani ottomani è di per sé significativa. Inoltre la resa ortografica dei documenti fu spesso corretta nella trascrizione dagli antigrafisti. Ci si può dunque interrogare sulla formazione dei funzionari della cancelleria segreta e sul profilo dei maestri che qui insegnavano le *humanae litterae*, inclusi il greco e il latino, e più in generale sulle conoscenze linguistiche del personale amministrativo della Serenissima impegnato nella gestione dei rapporti con la potenza ottomana.

Come ben sappiamo il bailo e gli ambasciatori veneziani in visita nella capitale ottomana erano accompagnati dai dragomanni, gli interpreti ufficiali. Esistevano poi i *giovani di lingua*, cui era impartita un’istruzione poliglotta nella casa bailaggia²⁹. Secondo Marino Cavalli³⁰, bailo a Costantinopoli dal 1557 al 1561, i diplomatici inviati alla Porta avrebbero dovuto conoscere lo slavo, il greco e la lingua turca, altrimenti sarebbero stati come muti³¹, e avrebbero dovuto fare troppo affidamento sui Peroti o altri mediatori locali.

²⁸ La cancelleria è da intendersi allo stesso tempo come luogo fisico, struttura burocratica e archivio. Essa dipendeva dal cancellier grande e si distingueva in *inferiore* e *ducale*; da quest’ultima a partire dal 1402 si formò un’altra cancelleria detta *secretata*, a partire dal 1459 sotto il diretto controllo del Consiglio dei Dieci. Qui erano conservati i documenti di natura politica e di maggior riservatezza: ad esempio sia la collezione documenti turchi sia la miscellanea atti diplomatici e privati appartengono ai *Secreta – Serie diverse*.

²⁹ Cf. E. DURSTELER, *Venetians in Constantinople. Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Baltimore, 2008, p. 35.

³⁰ G. BENZONI, *Cavalli, Marino*, in DBI, Roma, 1979, vol. XXII, pp. 754-758.

³¹ T. BERTELÈ, *Informatione dell’offitio dell’ambasciatore di Marino de Cavalli il vecchio*, Firenze, 1935, p. 85.

Spesso poi gli inviati stessi della Serenissima erano di origine straniera, slava o greca³².

Tuttavia non solo i funzionari impegnati all'estero, ma anche quelli residenti a Venezia e operanti nella cancelleria segreta erano forniti di un'istruzione completa e poliglotta conquistata nelle scuole pubbliche della città. Nel XV secolo, infatti, a Venezia furono fondate in modi e tempi diversi due scuole pubbliche: quella di Rialto, istituita nel 1409 – inizialmente in forma privata – dove si insegnava filosofia, logica, teologia e esegesi aristotelica, e quella di San Marco, fondata tra 1446 e 1450, regolare e pubblica, a netta impostazione umanistica e votata alla formazione dei futuri funzionari della Repubblica, i quali qui apprendevano le *humanae litterae*, compreso il greco. Quasi tutti gli insegnanti della scuola di San Marco erano infatti umanisti e stranieri, affatto legati all'ambiente politico veneziano: Marcantonio Sabellico (1485-1500), Gregorio Amaseo (1500-1502, 1511-1512), Raffaello Regio da Bergamo (1512-1520). Nel 1460 il Senato istituì, sempre “a presso il campaniel” di San Marco, una seconda cattedra pubblica di impostazione ancor più marcatamente filologica e filellenica, dove insegnarono molti umanisti greci o ellenofoni, filologi di professione stipendiati dalla Serenissima: ricordiamo Gian Mario Filelfo (1460), Giorgio da Trebisonda (1460-1462), Giorgio Merula (1468-1483)³³, Giorgio Valla (1485-1500)³⁴, Marcantonio Sabellico (1500-1505) e Marco Musuro (1500-1512)³⁵.

³² Si pensi ad esempio a Costantino Laskaris, omonimo del più famoso dotto e copista, e nobile di origine cipriota inviato nel 1502 in Caramania per guadagnare informazioni su Shah Ismail, “inimico capital de la casa ottomana”, cf. CDT I. 61; MARIN SANUDO, *Diarii*, 59 voll., ed. R. FULIN – F. STEFANI – N. BAROZZI – G. BERCHET – M. ALLEGRI, Venezia, 1879-1902, vol. IV, 1880, coll. 351-357; G. BERCHET, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia*, 2 voll., Torino, 1865, vol. I, pp. 23, 153-157 nr. 20; B. SCARCIA AMORETTI, *Shah Ismail nei “Diarii” di Marin Sanudo*, Roma, 1979, pp. 32-39.

³³ Cf. A. DANELONI, *Merlani, Giorgio*, in DBI, Roma, 2009, vol. LXXIII, pp. 679-685.

³⁴ Sulla biografia di Giorgio Valla (1447-1500), cf. V. BRANCA (a cura di), *Giorgio Valla tra scienza e sapienza*, Firenze, 1981; per la bibliografia precedente, cf. A. PERTUSI, *L'Umanesimo greco dalla fine del secolo XIV agli inizi del secolo XVI*, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, Vicenza, 1980, vol. III/1, p. 241, n. 280.

³⁵ Sull'istruzione dei funzionari di cancelleria e la scuola di San Marco, si veda A. SEGARIZZI, *Cenni sulle scuole pubbliche a Venezia e sul primo maestro d'esse*, in *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 75/II (1915-1916), pp. 640-645 e 650-655; B. NARDI, *Letteratura e cultura veneziana del Quattrocento*, in *La civiltà veneziana del Quattrocento*, Firenze, 1957, pp. 119-129; M. P. STOCCHI, *Scuola e cultura umanistica tra due secoli*, in G. ARNALDI – M. P. STOCCHI (a cura di), *Storia della cultura veneta*, Vicenza, 1980, vol. III/1, pp. 98-114; F. LEPORI, *La scuola di Rialto dalle origini alla metà del Cinquecento*, *ibidem*, vol. III/2, pp. 600-605; G. BENZONI, *Le accademie e l'istruzione*, in *Storia di Venezia*, Roma, 1997, vol. IV/ I, pp. 804, 810-815. Sulla questione dell'umanesimo greco a Venezia si veda V. BRANCA, *L'umanesimo veneziano alla fine del Quattrocento. Ermolao Barbaro e il suo circolo*, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, Vicenza, 1980,

Se gli insegnanti della scuola della cancelleria marciana padroneggiavano il greco o erano di origine greca, anche il personale amministrativo che qui si formava era talvolta non veneziano. Almeno fino ai primi anni del XV secolo i sudditi stranieri della Signoria potevano aspirare a ricoprire ruoli di rango nella cancelleria ducale e segreta. Ne è un celebre esempio Giovanni Dario (1414-1494)³⁶, cretese di nascita, il quale nel 1465 fu nominato segretario del Consiglio dei Dieci, massima carica per un non nobile dopo il cancellier grande. Tale fenomeno, determinato anche dal massiccio arrivo di rifugiati greci e albanesi confluiti a Venezia in seguito all'avanzata ottomana nei territori levantini della Signoria, si arrestò nella seconda metà del secolo, quando ci fu un riassetto delle procedure di ammissione alla cancelleria, la quale diventò accessibile esclusivamente ai cittadini veneziani³⁷.

In conseguenza del quadro descritto finora, è verosimile ipotizzare che negli anni in cui fu redatto il *Liber Graecus* la cancelleria veneziana contasse funzionari con ottime conoscenze di greco, i quali avrebbero potuto ben migliorare, copiandoli e traducendoli, i documenti greci inviati dalla corte ottomana. La mano del primo copista del *Liber* è quasi identica a quella di Costantino Laskaris (1434-1501)³⁸ che, con il tipico *ductus* inclinato e corsivo, ebbe una vasta influenza su molte mani umanistiche, in particolare

vol. III/1, pp. 123-175; PERTUSI, *L'Umanesimo greco*, pp. 177-264; D. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Bisanzio e il Rinascimento. Umanisti greci a Venezia e la diffusione del greco in Occidente (1400-1535)*, Roma, 1967; N. WILSON, *Da Bisanzio all'Italia. Gli studi greci nell'Umanesimo italiano*, Alessandria, 2000, pp. 163-206.

³⁶ PLP, nr. 5155; F. BABINGER, *Johannes Darius 1414-1494. Sachwalter Venedigs im Morgenland und sein griechischer Umkreis*, München, 1961; IDEM, *Veneto-Kretische Geistesstrebungen um die Mitte des XV. Jahrhunderts*, in *BZ*, 57 (1964), pp. 62-77; M. F. TIEPOLO, *Greci nella cancelleria veneziana: Giovanni Dario*, in M. F. TIEPOLO – E. TONETTI (a cura di), *Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studio "I Greci a Venezia" (Venezia 5-7 novembre 1998)*, Venezia, 2002, pp. 257-314.

³⁷ A. ZANNINI, *L'impiego pubblico*, in *Storia di Venezia*, Roma, vol. IV/1, pp. 439-449; M. NEFF, *Chancellery Secretaries in Venetian Politics and Society. 1480-1533*, Los Angeles, 1985, *passim*. Quest'ultima dubita che la conoscenza del greco potesse favorire l'ascesa ai vertici della cancelleria, poiché l'italiano era utilizzato nella diplomazia ottomana e inoltre gli ambasciatori veneziani erano spesso accompagnati da dragomanni. Tuttavia non bisogna dimenticare il prestigio goduto da chi poteva vantare la conoscenza del greco, che tra l'altro continuò a essere utilizzato dai sultani ottomani nelle comunicazioni con Venezia e gli ex-territori dell'Impero Romeo ben dopo la caduta di Costantinopoli.

³⁸ Cf. T. MARTINEZ MANZANO, *Kostantinos Laskaris. Humanist, Philologe, Lehrer, Kopist (Beiträge zur Byzantinistik und Neugriechischen Philologie, 4)*, Hamburg, 1994, *passim*; PLP, nr. 14540; P. CANART – P. ELEUTERI, *Scrittura greca nell'Umanesimo italiano*, Milano, 1991, pp. 12, 88-93, tav. XXXI; *RGK*, vol. I A, p. 124, nr. 223; vol. I B, p. 96; vol. II A, p. 122, nr. 313; vol. III A, p. 138, nr. 362; D. HARLFINGER, *Specimina griechischer Kopisten der Renaissance*, Berlin, 1974, pp. 23-24, figg. 36-37; J. WIESNER – U. VICTOR, *Griechische Schreiber der Renaissance*, in *RSDN*, 8-9 (1971-1972), p. 59; Ch. PATRINELIS, "Ἑλληνες κωδικογράφοι τῶν χρόνων τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως, in 'Ἐπετηρὶς Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου, 8-9

su quella di Giorgio Valla, il quale dal 1462 al 1465 fu suo allievo a Milano e proprio dal 1485 al 1500 insegnò a Venezia nella scuola della cancelleria ducale³⁹. Si può ipotizzare allora che il *Liber* sia stato iniziato negli anni del magistero di Valla a Venezia da un suo allievo della scuola cancelleresca, e che verso la fine del secolo la redazione del *Liber* sia stata continuata da altri copisti della cancelleria.

4. APPENDICE

Si presenta di seguito l'edizione di uno degli originali greci di Mehmed II dalla collezione documenti turchi dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia, concernente la pace del 1479. Segue l'apografo contenuto nel *Liber Graecus* e la traduzione in italiano. Il documento è stato scelto poiché permette di osservare meglio di altri la differenza tra l'originale e l'apografo del *Liber*. Inoltre, esso è tra i pochissimi documenti greci di sultani copiati anche nei Libri Commemoriali, come si può osservare nella fedele riproduzione contenuta nel terzo volume degli *Acta et Diplomata graeca Medii Aevi* di Miklosich-Müller.

Originale della Collezione documenti turchi e copia del *Liber Graecus*:
7 ottobre 6988 (1479), Costantinopoli

Mehmed II al doge Mocenigo

Originale: ASV, CDT I. 6: carta orientale; 825 × 279 mm; inchiostro nero con pagliuzze dorate; scrittura corsiva; in alto *tughra* dorato con fregi neri; prima lettera dorata con fregi azzurri.

Copie: ASV, *Liber Graecus*, ff. 4^v-5^r; ASV, Libri Commemoriali XVI, 142 (registi XVI, 137).

Edizione: MM III, pp. 298-299, nr. XIV (trascrizione dai Libri Commemoriali).

(1958-1959), p. 94; M. VOGEL – V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 242-246.

³⁹ Costantino Laskaris soggiornò continuativamente a Messina dal 1466 fino alla morte, nel 1501; tuttavia rimase in contatto con Giorgio Valla, come testimoniano due lettere greche e una latina inviategli da Laskaris. Sull'influenza di Laskaris copista, in particolare su Giorgio Valla, cf. HARLFINGER, *Zu griechischen Kopisten und Schriftstilen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 341; S. BERNARDINELLO, *Autografi greci e greco-latini in Occidente*, Padova, 1979, p. 24; MARTINEZ MANZANO, *Kostantinos Laskaris*, pp. 294-314.

Traduzioni: ASV, CDT I. 7 e I. 8; ASV, *Liber Graecus*, f. 5^r; ASV, Libri Commemorativi XVI, 143 (registri XVI, 138).

Note: CDT I. 7: carta occidentale; 300 × 220 mm; filigrana: niente di identico nei repertori, ricorda vagamente Briquet, vol. I, nr. 746, *arbalète* (a. 1475); distanza tra i vergelli 27 mm. CDT I. 8: carta occidentale priva di filigrana; 295 × 222 mm; distanza tra i vergelli 33 mm.

Oggetto: “*Mohammed II litteris ad Ioannem Mocenigo Venetiarum ducem datis suam erga Venetos benevolentiam profitetur*” (MM III, p. 298). “*Reversio ser Benedicti Trivisano oratoris ad Dominum Turchum Mehemet, et promissio ut sint securi omnes mercatores qui negotiantur in locis eius mari terraque*” (*Liber Graecus*, f. 5^r).

Analisi: *Salutatio* di Mehmed II al doge Mocenigo (ll. 1-4). Il sultano annuncia di aver degnamente congedato l'ambasciatore Benedetto Trevisan, il quale ha compiuto la sua missione, come era già stato detto in altre comunicazioni (ll. 6-13). Trevisan gli ha raccomandato il bailo di Costantinopoli e i mercanti veneziani (ll. 14-16). Mehmed li tratterà e farà trattare amichevolmente in tutti i suoi domini come se fossero propri sudditi (ll. 16-24) e chiede che Venezia faccia altrettanto con i sudditi turchi (ll. 24-28); l'ambasciatore Benedetto Trevisan farà conoscere più ampiamente le intenzioni del sultano (ll. 28-30). *Datatio e locatio* (l. 30).

Documenti menzionati: l. 6, un'altra testimonianza per Benedetto Trevisan ambasciatore presso la Porta è in CDT I. 4, ll. 5-9.

Testo: CDT I. 6:

¹ Του μεγάλου αυθεντός και μεγάλου ἀμοιράς σουλτάν μουχαμέτ προς ἡ² των ἠψιλώτατον εκλαμπρότατον και ἐπηφανέστατον κῦρ ἰω(άννην) μω ἡ³ ζενέγων και μέγαν δούκαν ἠπέρλαμπρον της βενετί(ας) και των εξής τ(όν) ἡ⁴ ἄξηον και τετιμιμένον και πρέπωντα χαιραιτησμών να δέξετε η εκ⁵ λαμπρότι σου εκ την αυθεντίαν μου το λοιπών γινόσκει η εκλαμπρό⁶ τι σου και δια ἄλων γραμάτῶν της αυθεντίας μου ἐδילוπηήσαμεν τη σύ⁷ ὑψηλότητι πὸς ἦλθεν εις την πόρταν μου ο μεγαλοπρεπής και ἀξήότα⁸ τως ἀπωκρισίάριος ονόματι μπενεδέτὸ τριβηζήάν της εκλαμπρότι⁹ τό σου και πὸς ἐδεξάμεθα αυτών φηληκά τε και τήμια και ἀπειλογίθη¹⁰ μεν εις τα ζητήματα αὐτοῦ καθὸς εκρίναμεν δείκαιον και ἐξοφλήσα¹¹ μεν αυτών και ἦδαμεν και ἐτημήσαμεν πάλην αὐτόν ἐξερχώμενον εις ἐπεί¹² διξην της καθαρὰς στερεὰς και ασαλεύτου ἀγάπισ και φηλήασι¹³ ὅπου

ἔχωμεν μετα σὰς ἡνα γένητε φανερόν καὶ γνóριμων εἰς τοὺς πάντῃ¹⁴τας εἰς τὴν ἐξέλευσιν δὲ αὐτοῦ πάλιν παρέδωκέν μας τῶν μπάηλων¹⁵ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ πραγματευτὰς τὸν κατέργων καὶ караβήον τις υψη¹⁶λότητώ σου καὶ εἰς τούτῳ ἀπιλογίθημ(εν) ὅτι διὰ τὸν ὄρον της καλής¹⁷ ἀγάπης καὶ φηλήας ὅπου ἔχωμεν μετα σὰς θέλομεν βλέπει ἀή¹⁸ ὄλους τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ πραγματευτὰς καὶ ἀν(θρώπ)ους οὗς ἐδικούς μας¹⁹ καὶ εἰς ὅλα τα πράγματα θέλουσιν ἔχη ἀπε μὰς καὶ ἀπε τοὺς ἀν(θρώπ)ους²⁰ μας πάσαν ἀγάπην καὶ καλήν συντροφίαν καὶ θέλουσιν ἦστε ἄνετη ²¹ ἀπὸ πάσις οχλήσεος με τοὺς βήους τὸν καὶ με τὴν συντροφίαν τὸν²² ἐρχόμενοι στάντες καὶ ἐπιστρεφόμενη ἦτε δια ξηράς ἦτε διὰ θα²³λάσις εἰς ὄλους τοὺς τόπους της αὐθεντίας μου διότι οὗτος ἀπετή²⁴ ἡ στερέα καὶ καλή φιλήα καὶ ἀγάπι ὄπου ἔχωμεν μετεσὰς τῷ ὄμιον δὲ ²⁵ ἡμεσταν θαριτή ὅτι θέλή ταιριθεὶ ἀπὸ τὸ μερο σας εἰς ὄλους τοὺς²⁶ ἀν(θρώπ)ους της αὐθ(εν)τίας μου να ἐρχωντε καὶ αὐτὴ ἄνετη καὶ ἀνενοχλητι εἰς²⁷ τοὺς τόπους της αὐθ(εν)τήσας ἦτε διὰ ξηράς ἦτε διὰ θαλάσις ἐρχώ²⁸ μενη στεκόμενη καὶ ἐπιστρεφόμενη μετα τὸν πραγμάτων αὐτὸν τα²⁹ δε περησότερα θέλη ἀναφέρει εἰς πλάτος ὁ ἀποκρισάριος της ³⁰ αὐθεντήσας. ἐγράφη ἐν κονσταντίνουπόλοι ἐν μινὴ οκτόβριο ζ´ ³¹ ἔτη ς ληπῆ

Liber Graecus, ff. 4^v-5^r:

Τοῦ μεγάλου αὐθεντὸς καὶ μεγάλου ἀμοιρὰ σουλτὰν μουχαμὲτ πρὸς τὸν ὑψηλότατον καὶ ἐκλαμπρότατον καὶ ἐπιφανέστατον κῦρ ἰω(άννην) μοτζενίγον καὶ μέγαν δοῦκαν ὑπέρλαμπρον τῆς βενετίας καὶ τὸν ἐξῆς τὸν ἄξιον καὶ τετιμημένον καὶ πρέποντα χαιρετισμόν να δέξεται ἡ ἐκλαμπρότης σου ἀπὸ τὴν αὐθεντίαν μου τὸ λοιπὸν γινώσκει ἡ ἐκλαμπρότης σου καὶ δι' ἄλλων γραμμάτων τῆς αὐθεντίας μου ἐδηλοποιήσαμεν τῇ σῇ ὑψηλότητι πῶς ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν πόρταν μου ὁ μεγαλοπρεπὴς καὶ ἀξιώτατος ἀποκρισάριος ὀνόματι μπενεδέττος τριβιζᾶν τῆς ἐκλαμπρότητος σου καὶ πῶς ἐδεξάμεθα αὐτὸν φιλικὰ τε καὶ τίμια καὶ ἀπελογήθημεν εἰς τὰ ζητήματα αὐτοῦ καθὼς ἐκρίναμεν δίκαιον καὶ ἐξοφλήσαμεν αὐτὸν καὶ εἶδαμεν καὶ ἐτιμήσαμεν πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐξερχόμενον εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς στερεᾶς καὶ καθαρᾶς ἀγάπης καὶ ἀσαλεύτου ἀγάπης καὶ φιλίας ὅ(ου) ἔχομ(εν) μετὰ σὰς ἵνα γενήται φανερόν καὶ γνóριμον εἰς τοὺς πάντας εἰς τὴν ἐξέλευσιν δὲ αὐτοῦ πάλιν παρέδωκεν μας τὸν μπάϊλον τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ πραγματευτὰς τῶν κατέργων κ(αὶ) караβίων τῆς ἐκλαμπρότητος σου καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἀπελογήθημεν ὅτι διὰ τὸν ὄρον τῆς καλῆς ἀγάπης καὶ φιλίας ὅπου ἔχομεν μετὰ σὰς θέλομ(εν) βλέπειν ἀεὶ ὄλους τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ πραγματευτὰς καὶ ἀν(θρώπ)ους ὡς ἰδικούς μας καὶ εἰς

ὅλα τὰ πράγματα θέλουσιν ἔχειν ἀπεμᾶς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦς ἀν(θρώπ)ους μάς πᾶσαν ἀγάπην καὶ καλὴν συντροφίαν καὶ θέλουσιν ἦσθαι ἄναιτοι ἀπὸ πάσης ὀχλήσεως μὲ τοῦς βίους των καὶ τὴν συντροφίαν των ἐρχόμενοι στάντες καὶ ἐπιστρεφόμενοι εἴτε δια ξηρᾶς εἴτε διὰ θαλάσσης εἰς ὅλους τοῦς τόπους τῆς αὐθεντίας μου: διότι οὕτως ἀπαιτεῖ ἡ στερεὰ καὶ καλὴ φιλία καὶ ἀγάπη ὅπου ἔχομεν μετὰ σὰς τὸ ὅμοιον δὲ ἡμεσθα θαρητοὶ ὅτι θέλει τηρηθῆν ἀπὸ μέρους σας εἰς ὅλους τοῦς ἀν(θρώπ)ους τῆς αὐθεντίας μου νὰ ἐρχωνται καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄναιτοι καὶ ἀνενόχλητοι εἰς τοῦς τόπους τῆς αὐθεντί(ας) σου εἴτε διὰ ξηρᾶς εἴτε διὰ θαλάσσης ἐρχόμενοι στεκόμενοι καὶ ἐπιστρεφόμενοι μετὰ τ(ῶν) πραγμάτ(ων) αὐτῶν. τὰ δὲ περισσότερα θέλει αναφέρειν εἰς πλάτος ὁ ἀποκρισιάριος τῆς αὐθεντί(ας) σου. ἐγράφη ἐν κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐν μηνί ὀκτωβρίῳ ζ' ἔτει ς' ληπ'

Traduzione:

Del gran Signore e grande emiro, sultano Maometto, all'illustrissimo, chiarissimo ed eccellentissimo signore Giovanni Mocenigo, famoso doge di Venezia. La tua Chiarità accolga il degno, onorato e conveniente saluto della mia Signoria. Sappia la tua Chiarità che in lettere precedenti della mia Signoria abbiamo notificato alla tua Eccellenza che giunse alla mia Porta il magnifico e degnissimo ambasciatore dell'Eccellenza tua di nome Benedetto Trevisan, che lo accogliemmo amichevolmente e onorevolmente e che risponдемmo alle sue richieste secondo quanto ritenemmo giusto, che lo congedammo, lo riconoscemmo e lo onorammo di nuovo alla sua partenza, a dimostrazione della pura, sicura e immutabile concordia e amicizia che abbiamo con voi, affinché ciò sia manifesto e noto a tutti. Alla sua partenza ci raccomandò ancora il bailo, i nobili e i mercanti delle galee e delle navi dell'Eccellenza vostra, e per questo risponдемmo che secondo i termini della buona concordia e amicizia che abbiamo con voi, considereremo sempre i nobili, i mercanti e i sudditi (vostri) come se fossero i nostri, e tutte le cose avranno da noi e dai nostri sudditi totale concordia e buona compagnia, e coloro che arriveranno, staranno o ritorneranno (nei nostri territori) saranno sicuri da ogni molestia con i loro beni e le la loro compagnia, sia per terra sia per mare, in tutti i luoghi della mia Signoria, poiché così richiede la buona e stabile concordia e pace che abbiamo con voi. Del resto siamo certi che lo stesso sarà osservato da parte vostra nei confronti di tutti i sudditi della mia Signoria, e che coloro che arrivano, stanno o tornano possano giungere e stare sicuri senza molestia nei luoghi della tua Signoria, sia per terra sia per mare, con i loro beni. Le altre informazioni le riferirà diffusamente l'ambasciatore della tua Signoria. Scritto a Costantinopoli il 7 di ottobre, anno 6988.

Prosopografia: Μουχαμέτ: Mehmed II (1432-1481), cf. *PLP*, nr. 17998; G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. II: *Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen*, Leiden, 1958², pp. 201-202 (μουχαμέτης); *Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, 75)*, I-IV, München, 1974-1981, vol. III, pp. 138-140. Ἰω(άννην) Μωζενέγων: Giovanni Mocenigo (1409-1485), doge dal 1478 al 1485. Cf. D. MALIPIERO, *Annali Veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500*, Firenze, 1843-1844, vol. II, p. 668; DA MOSTO, *I Dogi di Venezia*, pp. 204-207, 568; MARIN SANUDO, *Le Vite dei Dogi 1474-1494*, ed. A. CARACCILO ARICÒ (2001), p. 113 sgg. Μπε-νεδέτὸ Τριβηζηνάβ: Benedetto Trevisan, eletto bailo nel 1477 (cf. PIETRO GRADENIGO, *Memorie storico-cronologiche spettanti ad ambasciatori della Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia spediti a vari principi* (ASV, Miscelanea codici, I serie, reg. 74, f. 215^v) e inviato come ambasciatore presso la Porta il 12 giugno 1479 (commissione ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. 29, ff. 18^v-22^r); cf. MARIN SANUDO, *Le Vite dei Dogi*, p. 152; M. P. PEDANI, *Elenco degli inviati diplomatici veneziani presso i sovrani ottomani*, in *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies*, 5 (2002), nr. 56, p. 14; nr. 59 p. 15. *Cariche*: Αὐθέντης: *PLP*, Band I/Register, p. 445 (αὐθέντης / ἀφέντης); LBG, II, p. 230; Lewis, *Efendi*, in *EI*². Ἀμοιρᾶς: MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. II, pp. 66-68 (ἀμιρᾶς); *PLP*, Band I/Register, p. 450 (*Emir*); Dury, “Amīr”, in *EI*²; LBG, I, p. 69 (ἀμηρᾶς). Σουλτάνος: MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. II, pp. 286-289; *PLP*, Band I/Register, p. 487 (*Sultan*); Kramers, “Sultan”, in *EI*². Μέγας δούξ: *PLP*, Band I/Register, p. 468, nr. 1456 e 14524 (μέγας δούκας); p. 450 (*Dux*); LBG, II, p. 408. Ἀποκρισιάριος: *PLP*, Band I/ Register, p. 444 (*Apokrisiar*); LBG, II, p. 169 (ἀποκρισάριος). Μπάηλος: *PLP*, Band I/ Register, p. 445 (*Bailo*); LBG, VI, p. 1051 (μπαῖουλος). Ἄρχων: *PLP*, Band I/ Register, p. 444 (*Archon*); LBG, II, p. 211 (ἄρχων).

Il documento in esame mostra efficacemente le correzioni messe in atto dal copista del *Liber Graecus* rispetto al testo dell'originale, nel quale si osservano i seguenti fenomeni⁴⁰:

⁴⁰ Considerazioni di carattere linguistico sui documenti greci di Mehmed e Bayazid in BABINGER – DÖLGER, *Mehmed's II. Frühester Staatsvertrag*; BOMBACI, *Due clausole*; AHRWEILER, *Une lettre en grec du Sultan Bayazid*, pp. 150-160; HUNGER, *Pirateria in der Aegaeis*; GIANOPOULOU, *Ἐπιστολή*, pp. 128-135; G. HORROCKS, *Greek: a history of the language and its speakers*, London – New York, 1997, pp. 413-414; GILLILAND WRIGHT – MACKAY, *When the Serenissima and the Gran Turco made love*; cf. anche H. HUNGER – K. VOGEL, *Ein Byzantinisches Rechenbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts. 100 Aufgaben aus dem Codex Vindobonensis Phil. Gr. 65: Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Wien, 1963 e introduzione di A. ROLLO a Giorgio Sfranze, *Cronica*, ed. R. MAISANO (CFHB, 29), Roma, 1990, pp. 42-51.

- Spiriti e accenti non sono sempre segnati e a volte sono segnati separatamente; talvolta due accenti compaiono sulla stessa vocale: l. 14 φανερόν con acuto e circonflesso sull'omicron.
- Spiriti in corpo di parola, e in particolare vocali contigue con spirito sulla prima e accento sulla seconda: l. 6 ἐδιλοπηήσαμεν; l. 7 ἀξήότατος; l. 8 τριβηζήάν.
- Accenti su sillabe atone con conseguente presenza di più accenti su una parola: l. 16 ὄρων; l. 24 στερέά.
- Quasi sempre accento acuto invece che grave in fine di parola: l. 20 καλήν συντροφίαν.
- Uso del circonflesso su atone e toniche con funzione di completamento grafico: l. 6 γραμάτων.
- Intercambiabilità di /αι/ con /ε/: l. 4 χαιραιτησμών; frequenti fenomeni di iotacismo, con conseguente alternanza di /η/, /ει/, /ι/, /οι/: l. 6 ἐδιλοπηήσαμεν; l. 24 ὄμιον.
- Consonanti doppie scempiate: l. 6 ἄλων γραμάτων; l. 23 θαλάσις; l. 29 περησότερα. Il nesso γμ è reso foneticamente con il solo μ: l. 15 πραματευτάς.
- Occlusiva labiale sonora espressa con il nesso μπ: l. 8 μπενεδέτò, l. 14 μπάηλον, ma l. 3 βενετίας.
- ν efelcistico inserito davanti a vocale e consonante, come in altri testi demotici del XV secolo: l. 8 ἦλθεν εις, l. 14 παρέδωκέν μας⁴¹.
- Απε/ άπω in luogo di άπό, variabilmente utilizzato con l'accusativo e il genitivo: l. 19 άπε μάς και απε τους άν(θρώπ)ους, l. 21 άπω πάσις οχλήσεος.

E' ipotizzabile che il documento I. 6 sia stato vergato nella cancelleria sultaniale da un copista forse greco ma sicuramente poco avvezzo alla pratica della scrittura; la resa fonetica e non ortografica della lingua testimonia una comprensione orale della stessa e farebbe pensare a una redazione del documento sotto dettatura⁴².

⁴¹ Ad esempio in Giorgio Sfranze, *Cronica*, ed. MAISANO, pp. 42-43.

⁴² Sull'eterogeneo profilo dei copisti operanti nello *scriptorium* di Mehmed II si vedano le osservazioni di RABY, *Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium*; IDEM, *East and West in Mehmed the Conqueror's Library*, in *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 3 (1987), pp. 297-321; introduzione a *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*, ed. D. REINSCH (CFHB, 22), Berlin, 1983, pp. 68-70.

5. TAVOLA DELLE ABBREVIAZIONI

ASV = Archivio di Stato di Venezia.

Briquet = C. M. BRIQUET, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, I-IV, New York, 1985 (prima ed., 1907).

CDT = Collezione documenti turchi.

Commemoriali, registi = R. PREDELLI – G. M. THOMAS (a cura di), *I Libri Commemoriali della Repubblica di Venezia*, I-VIII (Monumenti Storici pubblicati dalla R. Deputazione veneta di storia patria. Serie I, Documenti I, III, VII, VIII, X, XI, XIII, XVII), Venezia, 1878-1914.

DBI = *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, 1925-.

EI² = *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, 2^e édition, I-XIII, Leiden, 1960-2009.

LBG = E. TRAPP (a cura di), *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität: besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts*, I-VII, Wien, 1994-2011.

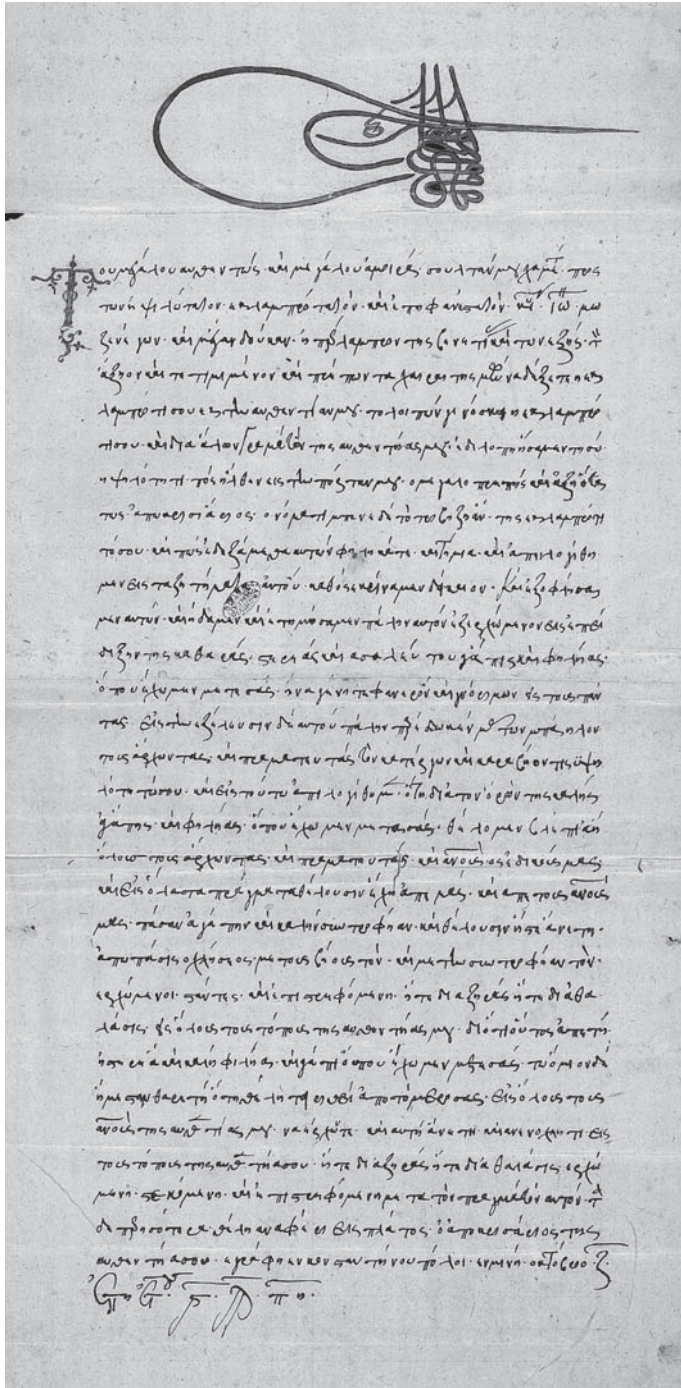
LG = *Liber Graecus*, Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Miscellanea Atti diplomatici e privati, busta 45, nr. 1324.

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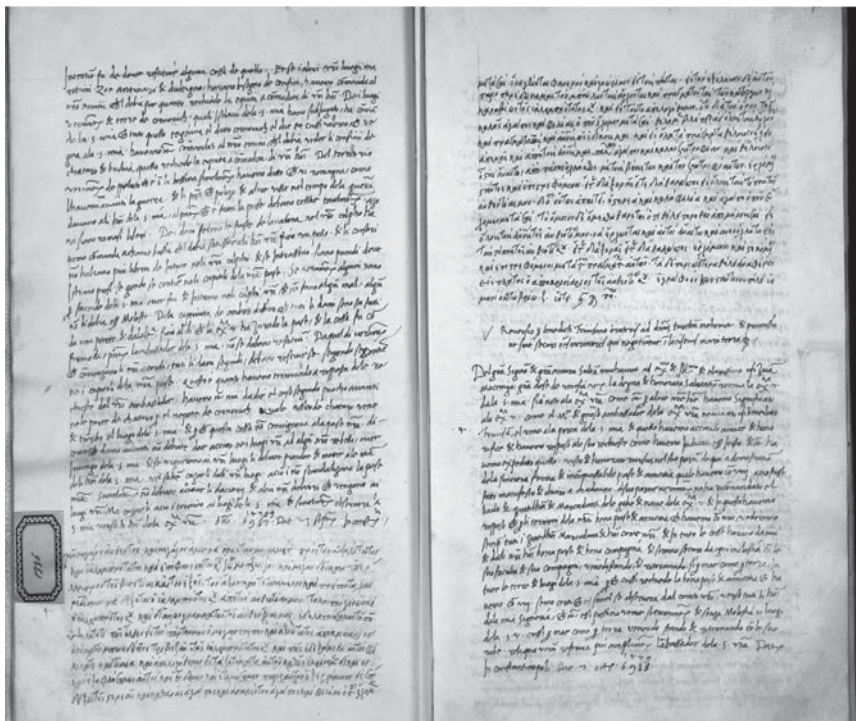
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SUMMARY

The present article offers a description and an analysis of the *Liber Graecus*, a manuscript register from Venice State Archive containing copies and translations of the documents sent from the Ottoman sultans to Venice between 1479 and 1504. Almost all the documents are in Greek, which until Bayazid II's reign was the language used by the Ottomans in diplomatic communications with Western powers. Thanks to *Liber Graecus* not only we have a detailed account of Venetian-Ottoman relationships at the turn of the 16th century, but also we learn more about the activity of the Venetian chancery and the role played by Greek scribes working there.



Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Collezione documenti turchi I. 6



Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Liber Graecus
 (Miscellanea Atti diplomatici e privati, busta 45, nr. 1324), ff. 4^v-5^r.

UN TRATTATO BIZANTINO DI OMOPLATOSCOPIA
(ATHENIENSIS, BIBLIOTHECA NATIONALIS 1493,
FF. 155^V-159^R)

Nell'*Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 1493, un manoscritto cartaceo del XIII sec., ai ff. 155^v-159^r è conservata una versione di omoplatomanzia attribuita alla tradizione turca,¹ che merita di essere attentamente vagliata e riedita, giacché offre la testimonianza di un genere contrassegnato da una notevole fortuna nel periodo medievale.² A riprova della larga diffusione degli scritti in materia veicolati dalla mantica orientale, si registrano diversi paralleli nella letteratura araba e mediolatina.³ È attestata, inoltre, la traduzione latina di Ugo di Santalla, *De spatula*, condotta da un originale arabo.⁴

La tecnica divinatoria tratta dall'esame dell'osso della scapola (ὀμοπλάτη) di un animale sacrificato, in genere un agnello o comunque un ovino, appartiene senza dubbio alla media e tarda greicità, in assenza di riferimenti antichi.⁵ Si constata inoltre la continuità senza soluzione di tale

¹ Il trattato s'intitola f. 155v: βιβλίον παραδοθὲν ἔκ τε Τούρκων καὶ βαρβάρων κτλ. Il ms. 1493 della Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος consta di ff. 206, 0, 24 × 0, 16 cm. Ringrazio il Dr. Th. Koutsogiannis per l'acquisizione delle foto del cod., sulle quali è condotta la presente edizione ed altresì il Prof. A. Rigo per le sue preziose osservazioni.

² Una prima edizione è offerta da A. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, I, *Textes grecs relatifs à l'histoire des religions*, Liège - Paris, 1927, pp. 206-209.

³ Giovanni di Salisbury accosta l'omoplatoscopia allo *haruspicium* con una patente confusione con la ieroscopia, vd. *Policraticus* 2, 27, 461 c-d WEBB 20-22 = KEATS-ROHAN 147, 14-16: *illos, qui in humerulis arietum uel quorumcumque ossibus animalium uaticinantur*. Tommaso d'Aquino, invece, mantiene rettamente la distinzione fra le due tecniche (*Summa Theologica* II, II, 95, 3: *ex figuris in spatula alicuius animalis apparentibus*). Cfr. D. HARMENING, *Supersitio. Überlieferungs- und theoriegeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur kirchlich-theologischen Aberglaubensliteratur des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1979, p. 190.

⁴ Vd. L. THORNDIKE, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First 13 Centuries of our Era*, II, New York, 1923, p. 86, cfr. l'edizione di Ch. BURNETT, *Arabic Divinatory Texts and Celtic Folklore: A Comment on the Theory and Practice of Scapulimancy in Western Europe*, in *Cambridge Medieval and Classical Studies*, 6 (1983), pp. 31-42; IDEM, *Liber de spatula*, in G. BOS, Ch. BURNETT et al. (a cura di), *Hermetis Trismegisti Astrologica et divinatoria (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, 144C)*, Turnhout, 2001, pp. 199-202.

⁵ Cfr. A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERQ, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*, Bruxelles, I-IV, 1876-1879 (= Aalen, 1978), I, pp. 180-181; S. COSTANZA, *La divinazione greco-romana. Dizionario delle mantiche: metodi, testi e protagonisti*, Udine, 2009, pp. 125 s.

metodo di pronosticazione nel folclore neogreco e balcanico in genere,⁶ come ampiamente documentano gli studi di antropologia.⁷

Nella pratica divinatoria usuale presso i Bizantini l'omoplatoscopia s'impose largamente come una rimodulazione della ieroscopia antica⁸ connessa all'ispezione delle viscere delle vittime del sacrificio, per la quale abbiamo notizia di diversi scritti perduti *περὶ θυσιῶν* e simili.⁹ Sono, invece, a noi pervenuti i trattati tramandati dai papiri ieroscopici, che si concentrano nel periodo intercorrente dal II al IV sec. d. C. e completano il quadro della tradizione greca sull'argomento: *P.S.I.* X 1178;¹⁰ *P. Ross. Georg.* I 21;¹¹

⁶ W. R. HALLIDAY, *Greek Divination: A Study of its Methods and Principles*, London, 1913 (= Chicago, 1967), p. 186 ricorda le prove della persistenza dell'esame delle scapole nella Grecia moderna, in Nord Africa, Albania e Macedonia. J. S. BARTHOLDY, *Bruchstücke zur näheren Kenntnis des heutigen Griechenlands*, Berlin, 1805, p. 353 riporta come esperienza autoptica la macellazione di agnelli e l'estrazione dell'osso della scapola a fini divinatori in varie contrade della Grecia.

⁷ Per un'utile sintesi si rinvia al padre della laografia neellenica: N. G. POLITIS, *Ἡ μαγεία παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις Ἑλλησιν, in ΠΑΡΘΕΝΩΝ*, 1872, coll. 1093-1097 per l'omoplatoscopia. Per la fornitura della copia dell'articolo ringrazio sentitamente la cortesia e la liberalità della Γεννάδειος Βιβλιοθήκη. *The Gennadius Library. The American School of Classical Studies at Athens*. Cfr. POLITIS, *Ἡ μαγεία*, col. 1094 per la descrizione delle tradizioni popolari e dei metodi dell'omoplatoscopia, tratta dai lavori di A. Valaoritit. Per l'omoplatomanzia in Serbia e Bosnia, vd. F. S. KRAUSS, *Volksglaube und religiöser Brauch der Südslaven (Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der nichtchristlichen Religionsgeschichte, 2)*, Münster, 1890, pp. 167 ss.

⁸ GIÀ POLITIS, *Ἡ μαγεία*, col. 1093 sostiene a ragione il rapporto di derivazione dalla ieroscopia, in concomitanza con ἀποσπάσματα turchi e, sulla scorta dell'analogo giudizio di E. DODWELL, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece, during the Years 1801, 1805 and 1806*, I, London, 1819, p. 399, rilancia POLITIS, *Ἡ μαγεία*, col. 1095 tale tesi: ἡ ὁμοπλατοσκοπία εἶναι λείψανον τῆς ἱεροσκοπίας τῶν ἀρχαίων.

⁹ Si tratta di opere di notevole interesse dal punto di vista dell'etnografia religiosa attribuite specialmente agli Attidografi, vd. Filocoro in Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromateis* I, 21, 134 l. 6; Suda ε 45, 4 e s. v. φ 441, ove è definito espressamente μάντις καὶ ἱεροσκοπός; Scholia in Euripides, *Alcestis* 968 etc. = *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* (= *FGrH*) T3b, 328 T1; per Demone *FGrH* T3b, 327 T2; cfr. L. ZIEHEN, *Opfer*, *RE* 18, 1939, cc. 579-627; A. TRESP, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Kultschriftsteller (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, 15/1)*, Giessen, 1914, pp. 70 ss., 190 s.; W. K. PRITCHETT, *The Greek State at War, III, Religion*, Berkeley, 1979, p. 73; COSTANZA, *La divinazione*, pp. 102-105.

¹⁰ = PACK2 2107, II sec., ed. V. BARTOLETTI, *Papiri della Società Italiana*, X, Firenze, 1932, pp. 161-163; enumera presagi fausti ed infausti tratti dall'aspetto e dalle peculiarità di varie parti del fegato della vittima (κεφαλῆ, πόδες, στῆθος) annunciati al latore del sacrificio (vd. τοῖς θύουσιν I. 7, τὸν θύοντα I. 16).

¹¹ = PACK2 2108, II sec., ed. pr. di A. BÄCKSTRÖM, *Hieroscopie*, in *Žurnal ministerstva narodnago prosvěšćenija*, 38 (1910), pp. 115-210; ed. alt. G. ZERETELI, *Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen [P. Ross.-Georg.]*, I, *Literarische Texte*, Tbilisi, 1925, pp. 145-153, segnala debitamente nuove letture ed integrazioni. In attesa di un'esegesi puntuale per i numerosi problemi testuali, il papiro rappresenta la più estesa trattazione della materia pervenutaci dell'Antichità, dimostra l'articolazione in sezioni tematiche distinte (cfr. col. I ll. 11-12, col. II ll. 72-73) ed offre un larghissimo repertorio di *voces technicae*, con denominazioni epatiche discusse in modo particolareggiato, probabilmente a fini didattici.

P. Gen. inv. 161,¹² *P. Amh.* II 14.¹³ In quanto manuali pratici d'ispezione delle viscere rappresentano una fonte imprescindibile di informazioni sulle effettive modalità di consultazione, in relazione ad una classe sacerdotale di sacrificatori.

Il silenzio della documentazione posteriore al IV secolo riflette l'efficacia della proibizione imperiale dei sacrifici a partire dal celebre monito di Costanzo II, che ricalca un analogo provvedimento di Costantino: *cesset superstitio, sacrificiorum aboleatur insania*.¹⁴

Nel Medioevo greco la ricchezza concettuale e la varietà di *observatio-nes* della ieroscopia è, quindi, obliterata e soppiantata facilmente da un metodo d'indagine, che si poteva espletare in ambito domestico grazie alle scapole prelevate da un animale prescelto dal gregge familiare.¹⁵ Nella Grecia moderna l'uso si trasmette fedelmente¹⁶ e si perpetua soprattutto in occasione di importanti solennità liturgiche, a dimostrazione della metamorfizzazione delle consuetudini della θυσία, l'antico sacrificio pagano, in ambiente cristiano.¹⁷

¹² = PACK2 2106, II-III sec., ed. A. HURST, *Le papyrus de Genève inv. 161 (Bibliothèque publique et universitaire)*, in I. ANDORLINI MARCONE, G. BASTIANINI et al. (a cura di), *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia (Firenze, 23-29 agosto 1998)*, Firenze, 2001, pp. 669-79, tavv. XXXVI-XXVII; per la discussione e l'attribuzione al genere ieroscopico vd. S. COSTANZA, *P. Gen. inv. 161: un trattato di ieroscopia*, in *Analecta Papyrologica*, 16-17 (2004-2005), pp. 38-40.

¹³ = PACK2 2104, III-IV sec., ed. B. P. GRENFELL, A. S. HUNT, *The Amherst Papyri*, II, London, 1901, pp. 6-7, n. XIV, *Treatise on divination*: è il frammento *de amicitia* da un manuale più ampio di cui si conserva il titolo, τὸ δεύτερον ὑ[π]όμνημα τῶν [π]ρακτικῶν σημείων II. 2-3 e il *nomen auctoris*, celato nella lettera, Φ. I. 1, ove sarebbe allettante, ma troppo azzardato riconoscere il *nomen Philochori*, un reputato trattatista in materia.

¹⁴ Per la proibizione nella costituzione del 341 in *CTh.* 16.10.2 e i divieti ancor più categorici *ibidem*, 16.10.9 e 10 dell'età teodosiana, cfr. L. DE GIOVANNI, *Costantino e il mondo pagano. Studi di politica e legislazione*, Napoli, 1977, pp. 137-139; vd. L. KÁKOSY, *Religion im römzeitlichen Ägypten*, in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, 2, 18, 5 (1995), coll. 2923-3045: col. 2935 per il tentativo di abolire i rituali pubblici.

¹⁵ Nelle costumanze moderne ricorre fra gli obblighi del padrone di casa nell'occorrenza del banchetto di presentare un agnello intero, cotto e di estrarre l'osso della scapola per pronosticare il futuro del vicinato e la sorte di tutto il popolo, come ricorda POLITIS, *Ἡ μαγεία*, col. 1093. La possibilità di prevedere ad un tempo la sorte della οἰκογένεια e dell'ἔθνος, la nazione nel complesso, è evidente già nell'espressione del trattato ateniese, §10: Εἰ δὲ θέλεις γνῶναι νόσους θανασιμους ἐν οἴκῳ καὶ γῶρα, che allarga la visuale dalla cerchia familiare a tutta la comunità.

¹⁶ Sulla lettura delle scapole neogreca vd. POLITIS, *Ἡ μαγεία*, coll. 1093 s.; M. HERZFELD, *The Poetic of Manhood. Context and Identity in a Cretan Mountain Village*, Princeton, 1985, pp. 247-258; W. BURKERT, *Creation of the Sacred. Tracks of Biology in Early Religions*, Cambridge (Mass.) - London, 1996², p. 160.

¹⁷ È il caso notoriamente dell'agnello della festa di Pasqua, del *Megalomartyr* S. Giorgio o altre solennità, che dà sempre profezie veritiere, cfr. POLITIS, *Ἡ μαγεία*, col. 1095. Un segno palese della persistenza della *thysia* in tali occasioni è dato dall'uso del *qurban*, che prevede la soppressione di animali immolati ai Santi o alla Vergine, cfr. S. GEORGIOUDI,

A conferma di un'effettiva dipendenza dalla mantica araba ed orientale, in generale, la τέχνη è stata sempre considerata un genere d'importazione, alieno dal patrimonio genuino di tradizioni nazionali. Lo afferma eloquentemente un trattato composito attribuito a Psello, dedicato all'omoplatoscopia e a svariate tecniche per trarre i presagi dal mondo animale e vegetale sulla base di cause fisiche e naturali.¹⁸ In sede preliminare si dichiara, infatti, il carattere anellenico di tale metodo e la sua radicale diversità rispetto a tutti quelli accennati in precedenza, pur non negandone una certa efficacia sperimentata dai consultanti: τὸ δὲ τῆς ὠμοπλατοσκοπίας βάρβαρον μὲν καὶ ἀλλόκοτον, ἔχει δὲ ὅμως ὡς τοῖς χρωμένοις δοκεῖ μελλόντων προαναφώνησιν.¹⁹

Peraltro nell'atto di accusa contro Michele Cerulario († 1058) formulato da Michele Psello il discusso patriarca di Costantinopoli protagonista dello Scisma viene ritratto come un uomo dedito ossessivamente alle arti occulte. Al detentore del Soglio di S. Andrea si rimprovera in particolare la pratica della scapulimanzia associata, a conferma della sua connotazione barbarica, ad un indovino di origine persiana. Costui trae, infatti, prestigio e credibilità dalla propria provenienza etnica, trovando in tal modo facile udienza presso la Corte patriarcale e accreditandosi così come un esperto indovino, malgrado la sua ignoranza.²⁰

L'égorgement sanctifié en Grèce moderne: les kourbania des saints, in M. DETIENNE – J.-P. VERNANT (a cura di), *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec*, Paris, 1979, pp. 271-307.

¹⁸ Ed. J. M. DUFFY, *Michaelis Pselli Philosophica Minora*, I (BSGRT), Stuttgart - Leipzig, 1992, pp. 113-115, che sostituisce l'ed. di R. HERCHER, *Michaelis Pselli ΠΕΡΙ ΩΜΟΠΛΑΤΟΣΚΟΠΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΩΝΟΣΚΟΠΙΑΣ ex codice Vindobonensi*, in *Philologus*, 8 (1853), pp. 166-168, condotta dal solo *Vindobensis*, *Philosophicus gr.* 14, XVI sec., ff. 11^r-12^v, gemello del *Monacensis gr.* 105, ff. 115^r-116^v. Per gli altri testimoni vd. DUFFY, *Philosophica Minora*, p. XXIII, che inserisce il trattato in esame fra le opere miscellanee (n. 33) e ne postula a ragione l'ortepigrafia a differenza di Hercher che lo ritenne un'opera spuria.

¹⁹ Ed. DUFFY, p. 113, ll. 10-12 (= HERCHER, p. 166, ll. 11-12).

²⁰ Di seguito l'ironia di Psello si scaglia contro la mania esterofila bizantina che preferisce rivolgersi ad un'altra lingua e disprezza la tradizione patria sull'argomento, a cominciare dall'ἀγυρτεία di Porfirio. Nonostante lo scandalo di Psello, la magia e la mantica in ogni tempo e luogo cercano di accreditarsi tramite l'uso di una lingua desueta e/o straniera, vd. M. MAUSS, *Teoria generale della magia e altri saggi*, pres. E. DE MARTINO, Torino, 1965 (ed. or. *Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie*, in *Sociologie et anthropologie*, avv. G. GURVITCH, intr. C. LEVI-STRAUSS, Paris, 1950), p. 55: «La magia ha parlato sanscrito nell'India dei pracriti, egiziano ed ebraico nel mondo greco, greco nel mondo latino e latino presso di noi. Ovunque essa ricerca l'arcaismo, i termini strani, incomprensibili.». Per i cdd. Ἐφέσια γράμματα, che derivano certamente da una *Kultsprache* non greca, vd. S. EITREM, *Vier Elemente in der Mysterienweihe*, in *Symbola Osloensia*, 5 (1927), p. 43; Th. HOPFNER, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber. Seine Methoden*, I, Leipzig, 1924 (= Amsterdam, 1974), §§760-763; K. PREISENDANZ, *Ephesia grammata*, in *RAC*, V (1962), pp. 515-517; H. S. VERSNEL, *The Poetics of the Magical Charm: An Essay on the Power of Words*, in P. A. MIRECKI - M. MEYER (a cura di), *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 141)*, Leiden - Boston - Köln, 2002, pp. 114-117; P. T. STRUCK,

Ἄστρολόγοι δὴ τινες ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ μάντιες, τῶν οὐδὲν μὲν εἰδότεων οὐδ' ὅ τι μαντείας εἶδος ἐπισταμένων δὲ ἄλλως οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους, ὅτι ὁ μὲν Ἰλλύριος, ὁ δὲ Πέρσης, καὶ οὗτος μὲν τὰς ὑποκειμένας τῇ τέχνῃ ὕλας ἐπίσταται, τὸ βδέλλιον, καὶ τὸ τάρροθος, καὶ τὸν κουράλιον λίθον, καὶ τὸ ἀνδροφόνον ξίφος, ὁ δὲ ὅτι τὸ περὶ τὸν ὄμιον ὀστοῦν ἀκριβῶς κατοπτεύει.²¹

(Tr.: Oltre a costoro c'erano astrologi e indovini, di quelli che non sanno nulla, neppure il principio fondante della divinazione e sono creduti del resto non per la loro arte, bensì a causa della loro origine, perché l'uno è dell'Illiria, l'altro Persiano, il primo per il fatto che conosce le materie impiegate nella sua arte, il bdellio, il tarroto, la pietra corallina e la 'spada assassina', il secondo, invece, perché osserva minuziosamente l'osso della spalla.)

Si presenta, quindi, il trattato di omoplatoscopia dell'*Atheniensis*, che è anepigrafo, ma è ancorato saldamente agli orizzonti della sapienza barbarica:

f. 155^v

Speech Acts and the Stakes of Hellenism in Late Antiquity, in MIRECKI-MEYER, *Magic and Ritual*, p. 392.

²¹ Ed. da Parisinus gr. 1182, sec. XIII, f. 148, in: J. BIDEZ, *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs*, VI, Bruxelles, 1928, p. 76. Dai ff. 156-157 è condotta l'ed. di U. CRISCUOLO, *Michele Psello. Epistola a Michele Cerulario (Hellenica et Byzantina Neapolitana, 15)*, Napoli, 1990².

Βιβλίον παραδοθὲν ἔκ τε Τούρκων καὶ Βαρβάρων προδηλωτικὸν τῶν ἐσομένων <ἐκ τῶν> ἐν τῷ ὠμοπλάτῃ φαινομένων τεκμηρίων

Λέγομεν ὅτι ἐκ τῶν παρόντων τεκμηρίων προέγνωνται ταῦτα: ἄερος κατάστασις, νίκη καὶ ἥττα πολέμου, πραγματείας ἔκβασις καὶ ὀδοιπορίας, κίνδυνος θανάτου, ζωῆς διάρκεια καὶ λοιπῶν πραγμάτων τελείωσις.

Ἐκλεξάμενος ἐκ προβάτων ἢ ἐξ ἄρνῶν λάβε καὶ ὃ ἐὰν βούλει τῶν μελλόντων[ων] μαθεῖν προνοματίσας σφά[ξον] ...

<Περὶ ἄερος καταστάσεως>

<1a Εἰ θέλεις γνῶναι τὴν ἄερος κατάστασιν ... ἐὰν ἴδῃς ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει τοῦ ὠμοπλάτου ...>

f. 156

1b [... ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ μέρει τοῦ ὠμο]πλάτου, τὸ ἐναντίον λογίζου.

<Περὶ νίκης ἢ ἥττης πολέμου>

2 Εἰ θέλεις γνῶναι τὸν ἐξιόντα πρὸς<ς> πόλεμον νικῶντα ἢ τὸν πολεμούμενον, καθὼς εἴρηται ποιήσας, ἐὰν ἴδῃς ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει τοῦ ὠμοπλάτου ἐρυθρὰν οὖσαν ὥσπερ νεφέλην, σημεῖον ἔστω σοι μεγίστου πολέμου καὶ αἵματεκχυσίας καὶ ἥττης <πρὸς> τὸν πολεμούμενον.

3 Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ μέρει ἴδῃς ὥσπερ ἴνας ἐπιμήκεις μελαίνας, καὶ τοῦτο τὰ ὅμοια σημαίνει.

4 Εἰ δὲ ἴδῃς ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει μέλαιναν ὥσπερ νεφέλην, εἰς ἥτταν καὶ ἀπώλειαν τῶν τε ἵππων καὶ τῶν κινουμένων πολεμίων λογίζου.

5 Εἰ δὲ ἴδῃς ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ μέρει<ι> ἐρυθ<θ>ρότητα οὖσαν, ὁμοίως ἀπώλειαν τῶν ἐξιόντων πολεμίων προγίνωσκε.

6 Εἰ δὲ ἴδῃς ἀμφοτέρω τὰ μέρη κατὰ φύσιν λευκὰ ὄντα <εἰρήνην> καὶ μόνον πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα κύκλω [μ]εμελασμένα, τοῦτο ἀμιξίαν [τοῦ] πολέμου δηλοῖ.

<Περὶ ὀδοιπορίας> διὰ θαλάσσης<ς>

f. 156^v

7 Εἰ θέλεις γνῶναι τοῦ διὰ θαλάσσης ἀπ[ο]δημοῦντος τὴν ἔκβασιν, κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα ποιήσας, ἐὰν ἴδῃς ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει ὥσπερ ἴνας ἀγκιστροειδεῖς ἐρυθράς, ἀναλόγως τοῦ πλήθους κίνδυνον τῶν ἀποδήμων σημαίνει.

8 Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ μέρει ἴδῃς πεπερασμένην εὐθεῖαν ἐρυθρὰν, σημειοῦ ἔκβασιν τοῦ ἀποδημοῦντος, πολυχάρμονα καὶ ἐπικερδῆ.

**Libro trasmesso dai Turchi e dai Barbari che preannunzia il futuro
<dagli> indizi che appaiono nella scapola.**

Dichiariamo che dai presenti indizi si ha la preveggenza dai seguenti fatti: condizione dell'aria, vittoria e sconfitta in guerra, risultato di un'attività e di un viaggio, pericolo di morte, durata della vita e compimento di tutti gli altri affari.

Scegli una pecora o un agnello, poi prendilo e dopo avere enunciato prima ciò che intendi sapere degli eventi futuri, sgozzalo...

<Riguardo alla condizione dell'aria>

1a Se vuoi sapere la condizione dell'aria... se vedi nella parte destra della scapola ...>

1b ... <nella parte sinistra> della scapola, considera il contrario.

<Riguardo alla vittoria o alla sconfitta in guerra>

2 Se vuoi sapere se colui che parte per la guerra sarà vincitore o sconfitto, fa' come è stato detto, se vedi nella parte destra della scapola una macchia rossa a forma di nuvola, sia segno per te di un grave conflitto, spargimento di sangue e disfatta dei combattenti.

3 Se vedi nella parte sinistra qualcosa di simile a nervature allungate, nere, anche questo significa la stessa cosa.

4 Se vedi nella parte destra una specie di nuvola nera, considerala come un segno della sconfitta e rovina dei combattenti a cavallo e di fanteria.

5 Se vedi nella parte sinistra che c'è un arrossamento, preannuncia ugualmente la rovina dei combattenti in marcia.

6 Se vedi che entrambe le parti sono bianche secondo natura <significa pace> e, solo se nella sommità sono annerite in cerchio, questo indica torbidi di guerra.

<Riguardo al viaggio> per mare

[F. 156^v]

7 Se vuoi sapere il destino del viaggiatore per mare, fa' secondo quanto è stato stabilito, se vedi nella parte destra qualcosa di simile a fibre rosse di forma uncinata, significa similmente pericolo per la maggior parte di coloro che si trovano in viaggio, lungi dalla patria.

8 Se vedi nella parte sinistra una linea dritta rossa, ininterrotta, presagisci per il viaggiatore un destino ricco di successi e proficuo.

9 Ἐπὶ δὲ εἰπεῖν, ὅσας ἴδης ἐκατέρωθεν ἀγκιστροειδεῖς γραμμὰς, ἀνάλογον ἀπώλειαν νόει καὶ τὰς ἐπιμήκεις εὐθείας ὅσας ἴδης, ἀνάλογον χαρὰν ἐπινόει.

Περὶ νόσων καὶ ὑγείας

10 Εἰ δὲ θέλεις γινῶναι νόσους θανασίμους ἐν οἴκῳ καὶ χώρῳ ἢ ὑγείαν, κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον ὀνοματίσας σκόπει· καὶ ἐὰν ἔχη τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος ἵνας ὀρθὰς ἐρυθράς, ἀναλόγους τοῦ πλήθους νόει τὰς νόσους καὶ θανάτους.

11 Εἰ δὲ ταύτας ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ ἴδης, ὑγείαν καὶ νόσων ἀπαλλαγὴν γίνωσκε ἐν πᾶσιν.

f. 157^r

12 Εἰ δὲ ἴδης τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος λευκὸν καὶ καθαρὸν, καὶ τοῦτο ὑγείαν δηλοῖ.

Περὶ μεταστάσεως ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον.

13 Εἰ θέλεις γινῶναι τὴν τῆς τοπικῆς μεταστάσεως ἔκβασιν ὅποια ἔσται, ὡς ἀνώτερον εἴρηται προνοματίσας διασκόπησον. Ἐὰν ἴδης ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει πρὸς τὰ ἄνω ὡς οἷα νεφέλην ἐρυθρὰν, σημειοῦ ταχύτητα μεταστάσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐκ τόπου, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἐγγίζει πρὸς τὰ ἄνω ἢ νεφέλη.

14 Εἰ δὲ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος ἴδης ὡσπερ ἵνας ὀρθὰς ἀπὸ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω, ἐν τῇ μεταστάσει λογίζου πικρίαν καὶ θλίψιν τὴν ἐπὶ γυναικί.

15 Εἰ δὲ ἴδης ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει ἀγκιστροειδεῖς γραμμὰς ἐρυθράς ἢ μελαίνας, μὴ μεταστῆς ἐκ τοῦ τόπου· κίνδυνον γὰρ <καὶ> ἀπώλειαν δηλοῖ.

Περὶ ἀσθενοῦντος

16 Εἰ βούλει γινῶναι τὸν ἀσθενοῦντα εἰ σώζεται ἢ κινδυνεύει, κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα ποιήσας, ἐὰν ἴδης ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει μίαν μόνον ἵνα πεπερασμένην ἀπὸ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω ἐρυθρὰν, σημειοῦ μακρονοσίαν μόνον.

17 Εἰ δὲ ἴδης πολλὰς ἐν αὐτῷ ἵνας, κίνδυνον θανάτ[ου] // f. 157^v ταχὺν νόει.

18 Εἰ δὲ ἴδης ἐν τε τῷ ἀριστερῷ μέρει καὶ δεξιῷ μέρει ἵνας ἢ σπιλάδας μελαίνας, ὑγείαν καὶ μακροζωΐαν διάγνωθι.

9 Per dirla in breve, tutte le volte che vedi da ambo le parti linee uncinatate, similmente intendi rovina e tutte le volte che vedi linee diritte, allungate, similmente prevedi gioia.

Riguardo alle malattie e alla salute

10 Se vuoi sapere malattie letali, in casa e nel paese, oppure la salute, enuncia nel modo suddetto ed osserva: se la parte destra ha fibre rosse, diritte, in proporzione al numero, annuncia malattie e lutti.

11 Se invece le vedi nella parte sinistra, sappi che ciò indica salute e liberazione dalle malattie per tutti.

[f. 157]

12 Se vedi la parte destra bianca e monda, anche questo indica salute.

Riguardo al trasferimento da un luogo ad un altro

13 Se vuoi sapere quale esito avrà il cambiamento di residenza, considera come è detto più avanti e indaga. Se vedi nella parte destra in alto una sorta di nuvola rossa, interpreta la rapidità di un trasferimento propizio da un luogo ad una distanza grande, tanto quanto è vicina la nuvola alla parte superiore.

14 Se nella stessa parte vedi delle fibre diritte, dall'alto in basso, pronostica nel trasferimento amarezza ed afflizione per la donna.

15 Se vedi nella parte destra linee uncinatate, rosse o nere, non ti spostare da quel luogo; perché indica pericolo <e> rovina.

Riguardo all'infermo

16 Se vuoi sapere se l'infermo si salvi o se sia in pericolo, fa' secondo le suddette istruzioni, se vedi nella parte destra solo un nervo rosso che passa dall'alto al basso senz'interruzione, intendi soltanto una lunga malattia.

17 Se vedi molti nervi, consideralo un pericolo di morte [f. 157^v] a breve termine.

18 Se vedi nella parte sinistra e in quella destra nervi o punti neri, pronostica salute e lunga vita.

Περὶ δεσμίου

19 Εἰ θέλεις γνῶναι δεσμίου λύτρον ἢ ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς θάνατον, καθὰ προεῖρηται πράξας, ἐὰν ἴδης ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει καὶ τῷ ἀριστερῷ ἵνας ὀρθὰς ἐρυθράς, εἰς λύτρωσιν τοῦτο καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ δεσμίου σκόπει ἀναλόγως τῶν φαινομένων ἰνῶν.

20 Εἰ δὲ ἴδης κατὰ πλάτος τὰς εὐθείας, ἀναλόγως τοῦ πλήθους τῶν εὐθειῶν τοὺς χρόνους τῶν δεσμῶν ἐπιλόγισαι.

21 Εἰ δὲ ἴδης τὰς αὐτὰς εὐθείας πρὸς τὴν λαβὴν τοῦ ὠμοπλάτου οὔσας, ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς θάνατον ἐπινόει.

Περὶ πληθυσμοῦ θρεμμάτων

22 Εἰ θέλεις γνῶναι περὶ τούτου, λαβὼν ἐκ τῶν πρωτείων θρεμμάτων, ἔψησον ὕδατι θερμῷ καὶ ἐὰν ἴδης ἀμφοτέροις μέρεσιν ὡσεὶ νεφέλας ἀμαυράς, γίνωσκε ὅτι πληθυνθήσονται ἀναλόγως τοῦ πλήθους τῶν νεφελῶν.

23 Εἰ δὲ ἴδης ἐρυθράς, ἢ ἀπώλεια ἔσται, ἀναλόγως τοῦ πλήθους τῆς ἐρυθρότητος.

Περὶ πένητος καὶ πλουσίου

f. 158^r

24 Εἰ γνῶναι θέλεις πένητα εἰ πλουτήσει καὶ πλούσιον εἰ πένης ἔσται, ὡς εῖρηται ποιήσας, ἐὰν ἔχη τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος ἵνας ὀρθὰς ἐρυθράς, ἀναλόγως τοῦ πλήθους ὁ πλούσιος πένης ἔσται.

25 Ἐὰν δὲ ἔχη ἀμφοτέρα τὰ μέρη ἵνας ὀρθὰς μελαίνας, ὁ πένης πλουτήσει.

26 Εἰ δὲ ἀναμεμιγμένας ἴδης ἐρυθράς ταῖς μελαίνας, ὁ πλεονασμὸς τοῦ ἐτέρου νικήσει τὸν ἕτερον κατὰ τὸ <v> εἰρημένον τρόπον.

27 Εἰ δὲ ἴδης λευκότητα καὶ μόνην ἐν αὐτῷ, τοῦτο διαμένει μέχρι θανάτου.

Περὶ ἐρωμένης γυναικός

28 Εἰ σπουδὴ σοι προειδέναι εἰ ταύτης ἐρῶν ἐπιδέχεται σοι ταύτη συναφθῆναι, καθὰ πολλάκις εῖρηται προονοματίσας, ἐὰν ἴδης ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει τοῦ ὠμοπλάτου ὡσπερ τινὰ νεφέλην ἐρυθράν, σημειοῦ ὅτι καὶ ἐκούσης τῆς ἐρωμένης δρᾶς τὸ σπουδαζόμενον.

29 Εἰ δὲ ἴδης τὸ δεξιὸν μὲν καθαρὸν, τὸ δὲ ἀριστερὸν θαμβόν, ἀδύνατός σοι τούτου ἢ διεξάνυσις.

Riguardo al prigioniero

19 Se del prigioniero vuoi sapere il riscatto o la morte in prigione, fa' com'è detto sopra; se vedi nella parte destra e sinistra fibre rosse, diritte, consideralo un segno per la liberazione e la vita del prigioniero, conformemente alle venature che appaiono visibili.

20 Se, invece, vedi le linee diritte secondo la larghezza, conformemente al numero delle linee calcola gli anni della prigionia.

21 Se vedi che le stesse linee diritte sono sull'ansa della scapola, pronostica la morte in prigionia.

Riguardo all'incremento delle greggi.

22 Se vuoi sapere in merito a questi argomenti, prendi un cucciolo dal gregge, fallo cuocere in acqua calda e se vedi su tutte e due le parti delle nuvole appena percettibili, sappi che le greggi si moltiplicheranno come il numero delle nuvole.

23 Se invece le vedi rosse, sarà la rovina, come il numero delle macchie rosse.

Riguardo al povero e al ricco

[f. 158^r]

24 Se vuoi sapere se il povero si arricchirà e se il ricco diventerà povero, fa' come stabilito: se la parte destra ha fibre rosse, diritte, conformemente al numero il ricco sarà povero.

25 Se tutte e due le parti hanno fibre nere, diritte, il povero si arricchirà.

26 Se le vedi rosse inframmezzate a quelle nere, l'eccedenza di beni dell'uno prevarrà sull'altro, secondo il modo suddetto.

27 Se vedi una chiazza bianca ed una sola, questa condizione allora permane fino alla morte.

Riguardo alla donna amata

28 Se hai la preoccupazione di prevedere se, amando codesta donna, tu debba aspettarti di essere unito a lei, procedi secondo quanto abbiamo ripetuto molte volte; se vedi nella parte destra della scapola una sorta di nuvola rossa, interpreta che con il consenso dell'amata farai ciò per cui ti affanni.

29 Se vedi la parte destra monda, quella sinistra opaca, torbida, per te è impossibile la realizzazione di questo desiderio.

Περὶ πολυπαιδίας καὶ ὀλιγοτεκνίας

30 Εἰ διὰ γνώσεώς σοι σπουδάζεται πολυτεκνίας καὶ ὀλιγο- // f. 158^v τεκνίας καὶ περὶ τῆς τούτων ζ[ωῆς] μαθεῖν, εἴση οὕτως· κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα συμπαραλαβών, ἐὰν ἴδῃς <πρὸς> τὰ ἄνω μέρη ἦτοι πρὸς τὸ λεγόμενον τραγανὸν καθαρότητα καὶ λευκότητα, τοῦτο λογίζου εἰς ὀλιγοτεκνίαν.

31 Εἰ δὲ ἴδῃς καὶ τὸ ἀριστερὸν καθαρὸν καὶ λευκόν, τοῦτο καὶ εἰς στέρησιν λογίζου τῆς γαμετῆς διὰ θανάτου.

32 Εἰ δὲ ἴδῃς εἰς τὸ ἄνω μέρος τοῦ ὁμοπλάτου πλησίον τοῦ τραγανοῦ ἴνας ἐρυθρὰς καὶ μαύρας καθάπερ γραμμὰς τὰς ἐν ὑφάσμασιν, ταῦτα πολυτεκνίαν σημαίνει· εἰ μὲν περισσότερα τὰ ἐρυθρά, ἀρρένων, εἰ δὲ πλείονα τὰ μέλανα τῶν γραμμῶν, θηλειῶν πλῆθος.

33 Ὅμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ μέρους.

34 Ἐὰν ἴδῃς ἴνας καὶ στιγμὰς ἐρυθρὰς καὶ μαύρας, καὶ τοῦτο πολυτεκνίαν καὶ ζωὴν σημαίνει.

35 Εἰ δὲ ἴδῃς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος ἔχον ἐρυθροὺς ἢ μέλανας κύκλους ὥσει στεφάνους, τοῦτο κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῶν στεφάνων, γυναικῶν συζυγίαν λογίζου· εἰ δὲ μόνον ἐρυθροὺς, τοῦτο εἰς πρόσωπον γυναικῶν // f. 159^r π[ολεμίων] καὶ μαχίμων ἡγοῦ· εἰ δὲ μέλα[νας] τοῦτο εἰς καταδεδουλωμένας λογίζου.

Tit. ἐκ τῶν inseruit Del. · τῶ] hic et infra ὁμοπλάτης, ὁ, masc., item Psell. ed. Duffy · **Praef.** σφά[ξον] supplevit Del. · inter f. 155^v et f. 156^r folium unum deperditum esse statuit Del. · **1** περὶ ἀέρος καταστάσεως, rubricae titulum, in lacuna inserui · **1b** ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ μέρει τοῦ ὁμοπλάτου supplevi, aliquid de dextra homoplateae parte excidisse (§1a) suspicatus · **2** περὶ νίκης ἢ ἥττης πολέμου ante εἰ θέλεις κτλ., novi capitis initium, ego: in lacuna ante fol. 156^r inseruit Del. <πρὸς> τὸν πολεμούμενον, cl. *ibid.*, πρὸς> ... πολεμούμενον, scripsi] τὸν πολεμούμενον cod.: τὸν πολεμουμένων Del. · **4** εἶδῃσ cod. · **6** εἰρήνην supplevi, cl. Psell. ed. Duffy, p. 114, l. 29 (= Hercher, p. 167, l. 8) · **7** περὶ ὀδοιπορίας inserui, cll. titulis reliquis θέλης cod. · **11** ὑγείας cod.] Del. correxit · **13** εἶδῃσ cod. · ταχῦτῆτος μετὰστασίν cod.] correxit Del. · **15** καὶ ante ἀπόλειαν inserui] ἀπολείας correxit Del. · **17** ταχύν] ταχέος maluit Del. · **24** θέλοις cod. · πλούσια cod. · ἴνα cod. · **25** πλουτίση cod. · **26** τόν prius ego, alterum correxit Del.] τό utrimque cod. · **27** αὐτῷ sc. δεξιῷ] μόνην, ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ κτλ. proposuit dub. Del. · **29** θαμβός l. θαμπός i. e. *non perlicens, opacus* · διεξάνυση cod. · **30** συμπαραλαβών correxit Del.] συμπαρανάβος cod. · πρὸς prius, cll. § 13 πρὸς τὰ ἄνω, *ibidem* πρὸς alterum, inserui: εἰς Del. · **35** μέλανας prius] μέλαινας cod.

Riguardo alla prole numerosa e scarsa

30 Se hai cura di prevedere una prole numerosa o scarsa [f. 158^v] e vuoi sapere riguardo alla vita dei figli, lo potrai sapere in tal modo: procedi così secondo le istruzioni precedenti: se vedi nelle parti superiori o nella cosiddetta cartilagine pulizia e bianchezza, consideralo un segno di una prole scarsa.

31 Se vedi anche la parte sinistra monda e bianca, ritienilo anche un segno di privazione della sposa, che ti viene sottratta dalla morte.

32 Se vedi nella parte superiore della scapola vicino alla cartilagine fibre rosse e scure, al pari delle linee nei tessuti, ciò significa una ricca prole: se la maggior parte delle linee sono rosse, indica una prevalenza di maschi; se nere, di femmine.

33 Ugualmente anche per la parte sinistra.

34 Se vedi fibre e macchie rosse e scure, anche questo significa prole numerosa e vita.

35 Se vedi che la parte destra ha cerchi rossi o neri come corone, interpretalo secondo la misura delle corone come una coppia di mogli; se sono solo rossi, intendi un esempio di mogli ostili e litigiose; se neri, invece, mogli sottomesse.

OSSERVAZIONI

Il titolo attribuisce l'opera in esame alla *Turcica traditio* e ne chiarisce al contempo il soggetto, assumendo un carattere palesemente esplicativo. Il debito professato con la sapienza orientale corrisponde all'apporto di tale ambito culturale, evidenziato, come notato, anche dal *περὶ ὁμοπλατοσκοπίας καὶ οἰωνοσκοπίας* pselliano. I notevoli legami testuali fra il manuale ateniese e la sezione iniziale dell'opera ascritta a Psello tradiscono la dipendenza da un modello comune ed il rimaneggiamento di materiali *περὶ ὁμοπλατῶν* circolanti nel mondo bizantino del XII-XIII secolo, com'è facile constatare dagli elementi di confronto proposti di seguito.

Nella prefazione apposta in apertura nell'*Atheniensis* è riportato l'indice degli argomenti sviluppati in seguito nella trattazione, insieme con una descrizione pratica del metodo a carattere eminentemente didattico sfortunatamente mutila a causa della perdita di un foglio nel manoscritto.

La tendenza ad illustrare nel dettaglio la tecnica divinatória con un prologo espositivo assolve ad una spiccata funzione informativa e didascalica per principianti e praticanti ancora alle prime prove. Allo stesso scopo nell'*incipit* del manuale palmomantico immediatamente successivo a quello in esame (f. 159^{r-v}) compare una premessa sull'interpretazione delle membra umane palpitanti²² e sulle diverse conseguenze del responso, a seconda della determinata categoria di appartenenza dei consultanti.²³ Anche per la letteratura palmomantica la prefazione esplicativa rappresenta un'eccezione assoluta, dal momento che gli altri trattati medievali iniziano sempre *in medias res*, senza preamboli di sorta. Si tratta, pertanto, di un indirizzo consapevole da parte del protoredattore dell'*Atheniensis*, al quale si ascrivono con tutta probabilità i due trattati *de scapulis* e *de palpitationibus*. In tal modo il compilatore ha inteso favorire presso un ampio pubblico di fruitori l'apprendimento pratico e la diffusione dei metodi divinatori prescelti.

La predilezione per un esemplare ovino ai fini dell'ispezione delle scapole è chiaramente enunciata nel prologo del trattato: ἐκλεξάμενος ἐκ προβάτων ἢ ἐξ ἀρνῶν λάβε. Una conferma puntuale si legge nelle dichiarazioni preliminari di Psello, *de homoplatoσκοπία*: οἱ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν

²² *Atheniensis*, f. 159, DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, p. 209, ll. 26-31; S. COSTANZA, *Due incipit palmomantici bizantini*, in *BZ*, 108 (2008), pp. 1-17: Ἡ μὲν φύσις τοῦτο κατεῖχεν ἐν ἑαυτῇ ἀπ'ἀρχῆς, ἐπιενόηται δὲ τοῦτο ἡμῖν καὶ ἐξηύρηται πολυπειρία καὶ δοκιμῇ τοῦ ἀποτελέσματος, οὗ κέρδος βιωφελὲς ἢ τῶν ἐσομένων προεῖδησις. Ἄρκτεον δὲ περὶ τῆς δηλώσεως ἐκάστου ἀνθρωπέου μέλους παλλομένου· καὶ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς.

²³ *Atheniensis*, f. 159, DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, p. 209, l. 31 - p. 210, l. 5: Ἡ δὲ κρίσις οὐκ ἔστιν ἴσως ἐκάστῳ προσώπῳ· ἄλλη γὰρ πένητος καὶ ἄλλη πλουσίου, ἄλλη ἀγάμου καὶ ἄλλη τῶν ὑπογάμων, ἑτέρα παρθένου καὶ ἑτέρα τῆς μὴ παρθένου.

χρηστηριάζοντες πρόβατον ἢ ἄρνα τῆς ἀγέλης ἀπολεξάμενοι.²⁴ Un'analoga preferenza è indicata dalla ieroscopia greca ed orientale.²⁵

Dopo aver precisato la scelta dell'animale da ispezionare, l'omoplato-mante ateniese indica che l'indagine è diretta indiscriminatamente a tutti gli aspetti del futuro concernenti gli interessi del consultante, senza limitazioni di sorta: καὶ ὁ ἐὰν βούλει τῶν μελλόντων μαθεῖν προνοματίσας σφάξον]. Similmente Psello rileva: πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ νοῦν τιθέασιν ἢ καὶ τῇ γλώσσει προφέρουσιν περὶ οὗ ἂν μαθεῖν βούλοιντο.²⁶

Rispetto alle differenti sezioni tematiche del manuale ateniese, Psello presenta una tripartizione impostata sui pronostici relativi risp. alla vita del consultante;²⁷ alle condizioni dell'aria;²⁸ alla guerra.²⁹

Evidentemente in questo caso l'autore ha operato una selezione, presentando i temi a suo avviso più significativi fra quelli elaborati in un libro *de scapulīs*, limitando l'attenzione al destino individuale nei termini generali di vita o morte e al problema cruciale dell'esito di un eventuale conflitto, un motivo evidentemente molto sentito in un'età di forti tensioni ed inquietudini. Sono scartate, invece, le risposte connesse all'amore, alla prole, alla ricchezza o a questioni più specifiche come un viaggio per mare, un trasloco, il decorso clinico della malattia, che sono soddisfatte, invece, puntualmente dal Βιβλίον παραδοθὲν ἔκ τε Τούρκων καὶ Βαρβάρων, nel quale è agevole riconoscere un manuale completo in materia.

Anche nella lettura dei segni ricavati dalle scapole in età moderna l'interesse del consultante si concentra ossessivamente sul destino individuale, vale a dire sulla previsione della durata della vita e sulle vittorie e/o sconfitte riportate contro i nemici.³⁰

²⁴ DUFFY, p. 113, ll. 12-13 (= HERCHER, p. 166, ll. 10-11: χρηστηριάζοντες).

²⁵ Vd. Th. SZYMANSKI, *Sacrificia Graecorum in bellis militaria*, Diss. In., Marpurgi Cat-torum [Marburg], 1908, p. 79, M. L. WEST, *The East Face of Helicon. West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*, Oxford, 1997, p. 41.

²⁶ DUFFY, p. 113, ll. 13-14 (= HERCHER, p. 166, ll. 12-13).

²⁷ DUFFY, p. 113, ll. 18-19 (= HERCHER, p. 166, ll. 17-20). L'osservazione è localizzata nella sporgenza della scapola, vd. DUFFY, p. 113, l. 19 (= HERCHER, p. 166, ll. 17-18: ζωῆς μὲν οὖν καὶ θανάτου κρίσιν ἐν τῇ ἐξοχῇ τῆς ῥάχεως ἔχουσι).

²⁸ In questo caso si devono ricercare le particolarità della parte centrale fra le due scapole, vd. DUFFY, p. 114, ll. 1-3 (= HERCHER, p. 166, l. 20 - p. 167, l. 1: ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξύ μέρει τοῦ ὀμοπλάτου). In particolare sulla formazione di membrane cartilaginee DUFFY, p. 114, ll. 23-24 (= HERCHER, p. 167, ll. 2-3: εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἱ μεταξύ τοῦ ὀμοπλάτου δύο ὑμένες ... φαίνονται).

²⁹ DUFFY, p. 114, ll. 26-30 (= HERCHER, p. 167, ll. 5-9).

³⁰ Vd. A. KARAGIANNIS, *Λειτουργία δοκίμιον*, I, Izmir, 1872, p. 128, citato da POLITIS, *Ἡ μαγεία*, col. 1093: dalla scapola si traevano le predizioni della morte di alcuni membri del vicinato e si profetizzavano le vittorie in guerra controbilanciate, tuttavia, da molte sconfitte sul campo. Per l'esame fatidico della scapola condotto a tal fine nel corso della Rivoluzione

Tornando al confronto fra i due scritti *περὶ ὀμοπλατῶν* bizantini, la *ἀέρος κατάστασις* è ricordata nell'*Atheniensis* nel prologo, ma la risposta è quasi interamente perduta nel foglio caduto tra l'attuale f. 155^v e 156^r. La corrispondente sezione sui *περὶ τὸν ἀέρα πάθη* nello Psello comprova l'importanza del problema.

Nell'*Atheniensis* si recuperano solo le parole finali del pronostico, attribuito con tutta probabilità alla parte sinistra della scapola, dalla quale si doveva evincere un responso di segno contrario (§1b: τὸ ἐναντίον λογίζου) rispetto a quello dedotto dalla parte destra (§ 1a), che va postulato immediatamente prima, donde l'integrazione proposta e i differenti snodi espositivi prospettati. Nella formula εἰ θέλεις γνῶναι si registra, infatti, una frase cerniera che segnala il passaggio ad un altro tema divinatorio ed è impiegata a tal fine all'inizio di ogni sezione del trattato.³¹ Per le strategie di articolazione interna si richiede a questo punto necessariamente il passaggio al capitolo successivo sulla guerra, la cui titolatura (*περὶ νίκης κτλ.*) è omessa per errore dallo scriba.

Tornando a considerare la porzione di testo perduta prima del §1a, che si ricostruisce in lacuna dal confronto con §1b, nel foglio caduto si leggeva sicuramente la conclusione della prefazione esplicativa con gli ultimi avvertimenti offerti al lettore sulle modalità d'indagine dalle scapole.³² Alle istruzioni perdute apposte di seguito al precetto di macellare un agnello (*σφά[ξον]* ...) l'omoplatomante ateniese fa riferimento di continuo, rinviando a quanto già stabilito una volta per tutte all'inizio della discussione. A dimostrazione dell'unità concettuale dei vari capitoli *de scapulis*, i paragrafi iniziali di una nuova sezione tematica contengono un accenno esplicito al *modus operandi* definito preventivamente nell'introduzione.³³

Nel corso dell'esposizione fa eccezione soltanto il cap. *περὶ πληθυσμοῦ θρεμμάτων*, ove manca il rimando consueto a quanto già detto in precedenza e compare, invece, un'indicazione dettagliata sulla scelta di un esemplare

greca (Nauplia, 1826), vd. POLITIS, *Ἡ μαγεία*, col. 1094, con riferimento alla Περιγραφήν ὀμοπλατοσκοπίας ἐποίησεν καὶ ὁ Στ. Ξένος ἐν Ἡρωῖδι Ἑλλεν. Ἐπαναστάσεως, t. I.

³¹ Ricorre regolarmente ad apertura di sezione, insieme con espressioni equivalenti, del tutto affini, usate negli ultimi due casi: εἰ σπουδὴ σοὶ προειδέναι §28 nel cap. per la donna amata; εἰ διὰ γνώσεώς σοι σπουδάζεται §30 nel cap. dedicato alla prole.

³² Cfr. DUFFY, p. 113, ll. 15-18 (= HERCHER, p. 166, ll. 13-16): dopo la macellazione dell'agnello l'autore offre indicazioni precise sulle modalità di estrarre la scapola, mondarla e separarla dalle carni dell'agnello, per condurre l'indagine della divinazione sulle diverse parti.

³³ Per tali continui segnali prescrittivi di rinvio, vd. §§2 καθὼς εἴρηται ποιήσας, 7 e 16 κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα ποιήσας, 10 κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον ὀνοματίσας σκόπει, 13 ὡς ἀνώτερον εἴρηται προονοματίσας διασκόπησον, 19 καθὰ προείρηται πράξας, 24 ὡς εἴρηται ποιήσας, 28 καθὰ πολλάκις εἴρηται προονοματίσας, 30 εἴη οὕτως: κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα συμπαραλαβόν (Delatte corr.: συμπαρανάβος cod.).

ovino e sulla cottura da effettuarsi, debitamente, in acqua calda.³⁴ Non è da escludere che tali didascalie, presenti con regolarità in ogni sezione della redazione originale, siano state poi unificate per esigenze di brevità in un'unica annotazione iniziale, valida in linea generale senza eccezioni. Il copista dell'*Atheniensis*, o un suo immediato predecessore, avrebbe, quindi, sostituito le diciture esplicative con il richiamo καθὼς εἴρηται e simili, rendendo più fluido il discorso: la nota estesa rimasta per dimenticanza nel breve capitolo sull'incremento delle greggi (§§22, 23) sarebbe da considerare dunque come la spia isolata di tale processo di semplificazione.

Infine, a coronamento del discorso preliminare, non doveva mancare una dichiarazione enfatica sull'eccellenza del metodo paragonabile a quanto affermato da Psello, il quale riconosce esplicitamente con enfasi nella scapola il μαντεύματος ὄργανον, la sede naturale della divinazione,³⁵ erede *recta via* per la media gremità dell'analogo ruolo di prestigio esercitato dal fegato presso gli Antichi.³⁶

Prima della conclusione a carattere generale pensata per tutti i possibili casi suggeriti dall'interrogante³⁷ la terza sezione dello scritto di Psello, che è dedicata al tema bellico, presenta una coincidenza stringente del responso con l'analogo sezione del trattato ateniese, a riprova della derivazione da un modello comune variamente compulsato e riadattato.

Giova confrontare dunque la duplice redazione sull'argomento, di cui si è sottolineata l'importanza in tutte le fasi della travagliata storia del popolo greco:

Atheniensis 1493

§ 2 Εἰ θέλεις γνῶναι τὸν ἐξίοντα πρὸς πόλεμον νικῶντα ἢ τὸν πολεμούμενον, καθὼς εἴρηται ποιήσας, ἐὰν ἴδῃς ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει τοῦ ὀμοπλάτου ἐρυθρὰν οὖσαν ὥσπερ νεφέλην, σημεῖον ἔστω σοι μεγίστου πολέμου καὶ αἱματεκχυσίας καὶ ἥττης <πρὸς> τὸν πολεμούμενον.

§ 3 Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ μέρει ἴδῃς ὥσπερ ἵνας ἐπιμήκεις μελαίνας, καὶ τοῦτο τὰ ὅμοια σημαίνει.

Psell., ed. DUFFY

p. 114, ll. 26-28 (= HERCHER, p. 167, ll. 5-7): Εἰ δὲ περὶ πολέμου τις ἐρωτῶν, εἰ μὲν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει τοῦ ὀμοπλάτου ἐρυθρὸν φανείη νεφέλιον ἢ ἐν θατέρῳ μέρει γραμμὴ ἐπιμήκης καὶ μέλαινα, ἄνελε ὅτι μέγας ἔσοιτο (ἔσται HERCHER) πόλεμος.

³⁴ Vd. §22: λαβὼν ἐκ τῶν πρωτείων θερμμάτων, ἐψησον ὕδατι θερμῷ.

³⁵ DUFFY, p. 113, l. 16 (= HERCHER, p. 166, l. 14).

³⁶ Vd. Plato, *Timaeus* 72b; Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* VIII 7, 15 (τρίπους μαντικῆς), cfr. G. BLECHER, *De extispicio capita tria (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, 2/4)*, Giessen, 1904, p. 228 (58).

³⁷ DUFFY, p. 114, ll. 30-32 (= HERCHER, p. 167, ll. 9-11).

§§ 4-5 Εἰ δὲ ἴδης ... προγίνωσκε.

om.

§ 6 Εἰ δὲ ἴδης ἀμφοτέρα τὰ μέρη κατὰ φύσιν λευκὰ ὄντα <εἰρήνην> καὶ μόνον πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα κύκλω [μ]εμελασμένα, τοῦτο ἀμιξίαν [τοῦ] πολέμου δηλοῖ.

p. 114, ll. 28-30 (= HERCHER, p. 167, ll. 8-9): Εἰ δὲ ἄμφω τὰ μέρη κατὰ φύσιν ἴδοις λευκὰ, εἰρήνην μέλλουσαν χρηστηρίαζε.

Nelle fonti è attestata la nozione comune che una nuvola rossa o una linea nera siano segno di un conflitto imminente. È ancora evidente qui l'influenza simpatica per la legge di analogia universale fra il significante ed il significato divinatorio. In sede di pronosticazione per la scapola destra è acclarato il legame semiotico fra il colore rosso e lo spargimento di sangue, la αἵματεκχυσία posta in risalto dall'*Atheniensis* §2 e dall'omoplatomanzia neogreca (σημεῖον αἵματοχυσίας).³⁸ Lo stesso avviene per il colore nero associato simpaticamente alla morte per la scapola sinistra nei due scritti bizantini e per la sommità delle scapole solo nell'*Atheniensis* §6.

Di contro il nitore bianco ed immacolato delle due parti richiama evidentemente una condizione positiva di pace, come afferma Psello. Da qui la necessità d'integrare nell'*Atheniensis* § 6 εἰρήνην caduto per aplogia, in presenza del concomitante responso infausto (ἀμιξίαν [τοῦ] πολέμου) omesso nel manuale pselliano, in cui si rileva un caso del tutto sporadico ed isolato, compreso entro una condizione nel complesso favorevole. Del resto senza tale supplemento rimane inesplicito il nesso sintattico καὶ μόνον con valenza fortemente limitante, che introduce un'eccezione alla regola generale esposta nel §6. Si risolve così l'incongruenza sintattica dell'*Atheniensis* riguardo alle due scapole e si ribadisce la coincidenza concettuale delle fonti, il cui apparente disaccordo è dovuto solo ad un accidente della tradizione. Relativamente alla dizione, Psello rivela una fase più avanzata nel processo linguistico con la tendenza ipocoristica tipica della lingua tarda.³⁹

In definitiva, nell'osservazione della scapola l'associazione semantica del rosso/nero a conseguenze funeste, spiacevoli e viceversa del bianco/candido ad eventi lieti, favorevoli s'impone latamente come l'idea-base posta all'origine di questa forma divinatoria, con tutta l'elementare semplicità di

³⁸ È riferito da VALAORITIS, *Περιγραφὴν ὁμοπλατοσκοπίας* (cit. in POLITIS, *Ἡ μαγεία*, col. 1094): καθὼς αἱ σκιαί, αἴτινες παρατηροῦνται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄστου (ὅπερ ἰδίως καλεῖται χτένι) προμηνηνοῦσι πένθος αἰ λειψάδες καὶ τὰ κοιλώματα εἰκονίζουσι μνήματα ἀνεωγμένα.

³⁹ Vd. νεφέλιον *pro* νεφέλη. Nella ristrutturazione dei temi nominali, i due trattati sono accomunati, invece, dal cambio sistematico di genere del termine chiave per la scapola da ὁμοπλάτη, ἡ a ὁμοπλάτης, ὁ.

uno schema binario di facile suggestione evocativa protrattosi fino alle speculazioni dell'omoplatomanzia neogreca.⁴⁰

Il dualismo esegetico è affermato con piena convinzione dal lavoro di sintesi attribuito a Psello nella prima dichiarazione tratta dall'esame della scapola, a conferma del fausto significato dell'osso bianco e mondo per questo metodo divinatorio: καὶ εἰ μὲν αὕτη (sc. ἡ ῥάχις, la sporgenza della scapola), ἐκατέρωθεν ἐστὶ λευκὴ καὶ καθαρὰ, ζωῆς ἐντεῦθεν λαμβάνουσι σύμβολα.⁴¹

Si noti per inciso che θαμβός, antonimo di καθάρως, con connotazione semiotica negativa a § 29 rinvia alla voce mesogreca, mod. θαμπός e vale a indicare la mancanza di trasparenza e l'opacità dell'osso che si presenta torbido e scuro.

Nel trattato ateniese, frutto di una rielaborazione consapevole, tale contrapposizione originaria emerge con tutta evidenza nella sezione testé commentata, ma è ulteriormente complicata in molti altri casi con l'innesto della bipartizione spaziale fra destra e sinistra oppure con la sovrapposizione geometrica della linea diritta o uncinata, con opposto valore semantico.

Per il primo aspetto si veda il cap. περὶ νόσων καὶ ὑγείας, ove le linee rosse sono foriere di altrettanti casi di malattia e morte sulla scapola destra (§10); ma al contrario di salute sulla sinistra (§11), donde la coincidenza positiva fra quest'ultima e l'atteso verdetto favorevole della scapola destra, quando essa si presenti bianca e candida (§12).

In secondo luogo l'opposizione fra linee uncinata (ἀγκιστροειδεῖς), funeste e linee lunghe e diritte (ἐπιμήκεις, εὐθεῖαι), beneauguranti, segno di un procedere lesti, senza ostacoli, è chiaramente enunciata nel cap. sui viaggi per mare §9 e riflette precise metafore spaziali.

Lo schema di base sopra esposto è, invece, capovolto nel cap. conclusivo sulla prole, ove il colore bianco, immacolato della scapola è associato alla scarsità (§30) o addirittura all'assenza di prole (§31) e diventa un segno infausto, in quanto richiama la sterilità; mentre macchie rossastre o nere preannunciano molti nascituri (§§32-34).

Per la datazione, difficile da stabilire in termini assoluti, in assenza di riferimenti cronologici o storici sicuri, si deve ritenere anzitutto che

⁴⁰ Vd. l'esame di venature rosse (μία φλέβα ... κόκκινη) e simili segni fatidici sull'osso della scapola nel resoconto di A. VALAORITIS, *Ἀθανάσης Διάκος*, 1867, pp. 94-95, cit. in POLITIS, *Ἡ μαγεία*, col. 1094: è sì una trasposizione letteraria, ma è desunta fedelmente dalle pratiche della superstizione popolare con acuto spirito d'osservazione. Come rileva POLITIS, *Ἡ μαγεία*, col.1095, gli omoplatomanti greci del XIX sec. erano particolarmente restii a divulgare i segreti della loro scienza tramandati di generazione in generazione: i lavori della laografia restano, quindi, la principale fonte della documentazione, in assenza di una trattatistica sull'argomento paragonabile a quella attestata per il periodo medievale.

⁴¹ DUFFY, p. 113, l. 19 - p. 114, l. 1 (= HERCHER, p. 166, ll. 18-20). Al contrario, se la parte è affetta da sinchisi, questo è indizio di morte.

l'*Atheniensis* del XIII sec. non è l'originale del trattato, ma una copia, com'è comprovato da guasti e mende che presuppongono alcuni passaggi nella tradizione testuale. Il problema è ulteriormente complicato dall'autenticità del trattato pselliano e dal grado di attendibilità assegnato alla titolatura. Da un lato, infatti, l'attribuzione a Michele Psello, nome di straordinario prestigio nel campo delle scienze occulte, rientra fatalmente nel novero delle pseudepigrafie nobilitanti. Dati i notevoli punti di contatto, si palesa la conoscenza della versione ateniese *de scapulis* ed un tentativo posteriore di sistematizzazione della τέχνη. Tale scritto rappresenta, pertanto, un *terminus ante quem*. D'altro lato, a fronte delle facili suggestioni esotiche elaborate dai falsari, se non si liquida il richiamo a scritti turchi ed arabi come un mero tentativo di autopromozione della letteratura esoterica, si deve postulare un originale nella tradizione orientale da ricercare in una versione alloglotta immessa sul mercato bizantino della superstizione direttamente o attraverso una mediazione.⁴² Nell'*Atheniensis* il registro linguistico è nel complesso abbastanza sorvegliato e non appare troppo volgarizzato. La composizione della versione greca si può assegnare, quindi, ragionevolmente ad un periodo compreso fra X e XI-XII sec.

In ogni caso il manuale qui riportato si rivela del massimo interesse per l'elaborazione di una tecnica molto vitale di pronosticazione e riflette un modello di società ancora ad alto tasso di dinamismo e mobilità, come comprovano i responsi relativi a viaggi, trasferimenti di residenza e passaggi di ricchezza. Nei paragrafi finali trova largo spazio espositivo anche il riferimento alla vita sentimentale e familiare, che è omesso, invece, nello scritto del *corpus Psellianum*. Tale componente risulta men che evanescente nella maggior parte della trattatistica divinatoria medievale, fa eccezione però il trattato palmomantico dell'*Atheniensis*, ove diversi responsi sono pensati per il pubblico femminile, tenuto in evidente considerazione dal compilatore di questa raccolta miscellanea di *apotelesmatica*.⁴³

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⁴² Il sistema mantico bizantino è fatalmente influenzato dai popoli orientali in possesso di complesse tradizioni in materia e si rivela permeabile a reciproche contaminazioni, cfr. M. MAVROUDI, *Occult Science and Society in Byzantium: Considerations for Future Research*, in P. MAGDALINO - M. MAVROUDI (a cura di), *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, Washington DC, 2007, pp. 56-59.

⁴³ In linea con la tradizione palmomantica tardoantica a f. 159r sono enumerate varie spiegazioni, distinguendo tra l'altro fra donne nubili e maritate, vergini e non (ἄλλη ἀγάμου καὶ ἄλλη τῶν ὑπογάμων, ἑτέρα παρθένου καὶ ἑτέρα τῆς μὴ παρθένου), cfr. COSTANZA, *Due incipit*, pp. 11 ss.

SUMMARY

In the Late Byzantine period particular attention was paid to various kinds of foreseeing the future. That is why so many treatises on divination have been copied and transmitted to us – among other things the handbooks on divining from a lamb's shoulder blade. This method originally goes back to a foreign tradition. We present the edition of an anonymous treatise in Ms. *Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 1493, which is ascribed to Turkish wisdom. We subsequently make a comparison with Psellus' contribution on omoplatomancy.

καὶ πᾶν εἶδος· ποιεῖ δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἡ
 ἡ πρὸς· γὰρ δὲ γραῖασι τῶν μοτῶν
 εἰρήνησ' ἄνοικία, οἱ μὲν φάσκει
 ἢ ὀχύλοσ' δὲ αὐτῆσ' ἄνοικία ματῶν
 μῆροσ' μὲν ἄνοικίῃσ'· ἀπο
 γλαυκώσασθ' ἄνοικίῃσ'·
 βοτάνη λαπαθῶσ'.

† υἱὸν ἰορδάνου πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 καὶ ἡδὲ τῶν πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 τῶν ἄνοικίῃσ' ἄνοικίῃσ' ἄνοικίῃσ'
 πλάττει φαινομένη τῶν ἄνοικίῃσ'
 εἰσὶν· — ἄνοικίῃσ' ἄνοικίῃσ' ἄνοικίῃσ'
 πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 αἰσθάνεται· ἄνοικίῃσ' κατὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 ἄνοικίῃσ' καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 τῶν ἄνοικίῃσ' ἄνοικίῃσ' καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 ἀρκεία καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 τῶν ἄνοικίῃσ' ἄνοικίῃσ' καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἢ ἄνοικίῃσ' ἄνοικίῃσ' ἄνοικίῃσ'
 καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον

LA PARAFRASI IN PROSA DI NONNO DI PANOPOLI
NEL MS. *ATHOUS DIONYSIOU* 326
EDITIO PRINCEPS DEL MIRACOLO DEL CIECO (GV. 9)

E' soltanto a partire dalla seconda metà dell'Ottocento, grazie a studi tesi ad analizzare la versificazione dell'esametro nonniano¹ e soprattutto grazie ai lavori intrapresi negli ultimi anni², che la figura di Nonno di Panopoli ha cominciato ad emergere, svelando tutto il fascino di una personalità radicata

¹ Si tratta di tutta una serie di studi iniziati da H. TIEDKE (e.g. *Quaestionum Nonnianarum specimen*, diss., Berolini, 1873; *Nonniana*, in *RM*, 33 [1878], pp. 530-537; *Quaestionum Nonnianarum specimen alterum*, in *Hermes*, 13 [1878], pp. 59-66, 266-275), A. LUDWICH (*Beiträge zur Kritik des Nonnos von Panopolis*, in *Programm des königlichen Friedrichs-Collegiums*, Königsberg, 1873, pp. 1-145; *Zur Metabole des Nonnos*, in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 35 [1880], pp. 497-513), A. SCHEINDLER (*Quaestionum Nonnianarum pars I*, Brunae, 1878) e che dopo il lavoro di A. WIFSTRAND, *Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos. Metrisch-stilistische Untersuchungen zur späteren griechischen Epik und zu verwandten Gedichtgattungen* (Skrifter utgivna av vetenskaps-societeten i Lund, 16), Lund, 1933, giungono a compimento nei *Prolegomena* di R. KEYDELL, *Nonni Panopolitani Dionysiaca*, Berolini, 1959.

² Dopo la traduzione inglese delle *Dionisiache* di W. H. D. ROUSE, *Nonnos, Dionysiaca*, Mythological Introduction and Notes by H. J. ROSE and Notes on Text Criticism by L. R. LIND, I-III, London - Cambridge (Mass.), 1940 e la già citata edizione di KEYDELL, si sono avuti una serie di studi a cura di G. D'IPPOLITO, fra cui emerge il suo volume *Studi nonniani. L'epillio nelle Dionisiache*, Palermo, 1964. Sul versante francese non si può non ricordare l'attività intrapresa da F. VIAN et al., nel fornire un'edizione critica completa di tutte le *Dionisiache* (cf. e.g. F. VIAN, *Nonnos de Panopolis, Les Dionysiaques*, Tome I, *Chants I-II*, Paris, 1976; D. ACCORINTI - P. CHUVIN [éd.], *Des Géants à Dionysos. Mélanges de mythologie et de poésie grecques offerts à F. Vian* [*Hellenica*, 10], Alessandria, 2003). In Italia un'opera di introduzione, traduzione e commento è stata coordinata da D. GIGLI PICCARDI (*Nonno di Panopoli. Le Dionisiache*, I, *Canti I-XII*, Milano, 2003) con la collaborazione di F. GONNELLI (*Nonno di Panopoli. Le Dionisiache*, II, *Canti XIII-XXIV*, Milano, 2003), G. AGOSTI (*Nonno di Panopoli. Le Dionisiache*, III, *Canti XXV-XXXIX*, Milano, 2004) e D. ACCORINTI (*Nonno di Panopoli. Le Dionisiache*, IV, *Canti XL-XLVIII*, Milano, 2004). Per la *Parafraasi*, al fine di sostituire l'ormai datata edizione di A. SCHEINDLER, *Nonni Panopolitani Paraphrasis S. Evangelii Ioannei (BSGRT)*, Lipsiae, 1881, un progetto di edizione critica dell'opera è stata avviata da E. Livrea e continuata da lui e da altri studiosi: cf. E. LIVREA, *Nonno di Panopoli, Parafraasi del Vangelo di S. Giovanni. Canto XVIII*, Napoli, 1989; D. ACCORINTI, *Nonno di Panopoli, Parafraasi del Vangelo di S. Giovanni. Canto XX*, Pisa, 1996; E. LIVREA¹, *Nonno di Panopoli, Parafraasi del Vangelo di S. Giovanni. Canto B (Biblioteca Patristica, 36)*, Bologna, 2000; C. DE STEFANI, *Nonno di Panopoli, Parafraasi del Vangelo di S. Giovanni. Canto I (Eikasmos. Quaderni Bolognesi di Filologia Classica. Studi, 6)*, Bologna, 2002; G. AGOSTI, *Nonno di Panopoli, Parafraasi del Vangelo di San Giovanni. Canto Quinto*, Firenze, 2003; C. GRECO, *Nonno di Panopoli, Parafraasi del Vangelo di S. Giovanni. Canto tredicesimo (Hellenica, 12)*, Alessandria, 2004; M. CAPRARA, *Nonno di Panopoli, Parafraasi del Vangelo di San Giovanni. Canto IV (Testi e Commenti, 3)*, Pisa, 2005 (ma 2006).

profondamente nella cultura tardoantica-protobizantina da un lato e in quella cristiana dall'altro lato³. In verità, una grande fortuna del poema sacro nonniano, la *Parafrasi del Vangelo di S. Giovanni*, si riscontra già nel periodo umanistico, dove dagli inizi del '500 fino ai primi anni del '600 si annoverano una quindicina di edizioni, fra le quali spicca *in primis* quella Aldina del 1504, senza ovviamente contare le varie ristampe⁴; si tratta di un interesse facilitato dall'amore per la poesia biblica, ritenuta altamente edificante, nonché dalla conoscenza dell'altro grande *epos* di Nonno, le *Dionisiache*, la cui rivalutazione risale almeno ad Angelo Poliziano⁵. Gli umanisti apprezzano l'eleganza dello stile della parafrasi nonniana, considerata addirittura dal gesuita A. Possevino un nobile e sublime esempio di ortodossia cattolica⁶. È ben noto, infatti, che i Padri della Chiesa, al pari degli autori classici, svolsero un ruolo di grande importanza nell'ambito di quel vasto programma di recupero dell'antichità che caratterizzò il XV sec. La tradizione patristica, infatti, non venne mai considerata inferiore a quella classica, bensì, al pari di essa e insieme ad essa, parte integrante di un unico e rilevante passato culturale, che doveva essere riscoperto ed assimilato nel pieno dei suoi contenuti e della sua correttezza formale. Le molteplici espressioni della *renovatio* umanistica (filosofia, teologia, filologia, letteratura) si rivolsero anche ai Padri greci e latini. Spesso a seguito di precise istanze storiche, in primo luogo quelle conciliari, i loro codici vennero ricercati, copiati, annotati, corretti e custoditi nelle biblioteche di ecclesiastici e privati; le loro opere furono lette, commentate e soprattutto tradotte, ponendosi spesso al centro di accesi dibattiti intellettuali⁷. Ne è un chiaro esempio

³ Cf. G. AGOSTI, *Poemi digressivi tardoantichi (e moderni)*, in *Compar(a)ison*, 1 (1995), pp. 131-151.

⁴ Juvenis, Bordatus, Nansius sono soltanto alcuni degli umanisti che si sono occupati della *Parafrasi*. Su ciò si rinvia all'articolo di G. AGOSTI, *Prima fortuna di Nonno in età umanistica*, in A. GUIDA - V. FERA (ed.), *Vetustatis indagator. Scritti offerti a F. Di Benedetto*, Firenze - Messina, 1999, pp. 89-114; A. KUHN, *Literarhistorische Studien zur Paraphrase des Johannes-Evangeliums von Nonnos aus Panopolis, Jahresberichte des Gymnasiums Ges. Jesu in Kalksburg 1906*, Kalksburg, 1906, pp. 104ss.

⁵ Sull'epica biblica rinascimentale cf. M. THIBAUT DE MAISÈRES, *Les poèmes inspirés du début de la Genèse à l'époque de la Renaissance*, Louvain, 1931, mentre sul Poliziano e Nonno cf. F. M. PONTANI, *Nonniana*, in *Museum Patavinum*, 1 (1983), pp. 353-378 e AGOSTI, *Prima fortuna*, pp. 105ss.

⁶ Importante è la parziale traduzione ad opera del Possevinus (1603), che considerando *Parafrasi A 1-45* un esemplare di ortodossa teogonia cristiana, lo riporta accompagnato da una sua traduzione. Cf. in merito AGOSTI, *Prima fortuna*, p. 90, n. 4.

⁷ Cf. M. CORTESI, *Umanisti alla ricerca di Padri greci*, in S. GENTILE (ed.), *Umanesimo e Padri della Chiesa. Manoscritti e incunaboli di testi patristici da Francesco Petrarca al primo Cinquecento*, Milano, 1997, pp. 63-75; EADEM (ed.), *I Padri sotto il torchio. Le edizioni dell'antichità cristiana nei secoli XV-XVI. Atti del Convegno di studi, Certosa del Galluzzo, Firenze, 25-26 giugno 1999*, Firenze, 2002.

la risonanza di cui godette la versione dell'*Oratio ad adolescentes* di San Basilio, eseguita dal Bruni⁸. Per gli umanisti il ritorno a questi testi significò la possibilità di risalire alle origini stesse del pensiero cristiano e di utilizzarne i fondamenti non solo a scopo erudito, ma anche per l'elaborazione delle nuove idee rinascimentali di uomo e *humanitas*⁹.

Se dunque è ben attestato il grande interesse nutrito dalla tradizione umanistica per la *Parafrasi del vangelo di S. Giovanni*, meno noto è l'apprezzamento del poema nonniano in ambito greco-orientale. Tuttavia, l'individuazione nel ms. *Athous, Dionysiou* 326 di una parafrasi in prosa della parafrasi nonniana, testimonia come il poema biblico fosse letto e apprezzato, a tal punto da meritare una sua riscrittura in prosa¹⁰. Si tratta di un ms. scritto nel XVIII secolo, ἰδιόγραφον Νικοδήμου τοῦ ἁγιορείτου; secondo E. Livrea¹¹, che se n'è occupato per il canto B della *Parafrasi nonniana*, non sembra però da ritenersi l'autore del ms., vista la diversa mano in *Athous, Esphigmenou* 276 ed *Athous, Panteleimonos* 628. Oltre al *De insomnis* di Sinesio di Cirene e al *Panegyricus* di Niceforo Gregora, contiene tutta la *Parafrasi* (ff. 65-156^v), preceduta dal *titulus νόννου ποιητοῦ πανοπολίτου μεταβολή τοῦ κατὰ ἰωάννην ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου*, e seguita dal colofone τέλος καὶ τῷ ξυντελεστῇ δόξα. Si tratta probabilmente di una copia di un'edizione a stampa, forse quella dello Juvenis del 1556¹². Il ms. merita comunque una menzione particolare, perché ai ff. 162-247 reca la parafrasi in prosa del poema nonniano, designata erroneamente da Lambros come ἀνεπίγραφος θεολογικὴ συγγραφή, ma che non è altro se non una elegante parafrasi, attenta al testo nonniano e al suo andamento stilistico, volta a parafrasare anche ciò che è presente nel vangelo. Dai pochi *excerpta* non appare utile ai fini della *constitutio textus* della *Parafrasi del vangelo di S. Giovanni* di Nonno; è comunque degna di nota per l'impegno e l'approfondimento esegetico-teologico con cui è

⁸ Cf. P. VITI, *San Basilio e Leonardo Bruni: le prime edizioni dell' "Oratio ad adolescentes"*, in *I Padri sotto il torchio*, pp. 115-126.

⁹ Cf. M. CORTESI - C. LEONARDI (ed.), *Tradizioni patristiche nell'Umanesimo. Atti del Convegno, Firenze, Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 6-8 febbraio 1997*, Firenze, 2000.

¹⁰ Bibliografia: S. P. LAMBROS, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους ἐλληνικῶν κωδικῶν*, I, Cambridge, 1865, p. 411, number 3860; J. GOLEGA, *Studien über die Evangeliendichtung des Nonnos von Panopolis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bibeldichtung im Altertum (Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie, 15)*, Breslau, 1930, p. 5; LIVREA, *Nonno di Panopoli, Parafrasi*, p. 78; A. ZUMBO, *Per la fortuna della Parafrasi di Nonno: il ms. Athous Dionysiou 326*, in C. MORESCHINI (ed.), *Esegesi, parafrasi e compilazione in età tardoantica (Atti del Terzo Convegno dell'Associazione di Studi Tardoantichi, Pisa 1994)*, Napoli, 1995, pp. 397-404.

¹¹ LIVREA¹, *Nonno di Panopoli, Parafrasi*, p. 124.

¹² LIVREA, *Nonno di Panopoli, Parafrasi*, p. 78.

trattato il poema nonniano, nonché per la presenza di rare forme, verbali e lessicali non ampiamente attestate o non conosciute¹³. Spiccano l'utilizzo di forme verbali composte e la predilezione per termini afferenti all'ambito prosastico. Di questa parafrasi sono stati editi il capitolo secondo (Nozze di Cana), il terzo (dialogo con Nicodemo) e il sesto (moltiplicazione dei pani-discorso di Cafarnaò)¹⁴. Viene presentata adesso l'*editio princeps* del miracolo del cieco fin dalla nascita, narrato in *Gv.* 9. Giovanni è l'unico evangelista a presentare un lungo racconto incentrato sulla guarigione di un uomo, cieco fin dalla nascita. Dopo aver spalmato del fango misto a saliva sugli occhi dell'uomo, Cristo gli ordina di andarsi a lavare presso l'acqua della piscina di Siloe. Così, costui che non aveva mai visto la luce, dopo essersi lavato gli occhi, riacquista la vista. Nella narrazione giovannea il prodigio del cieco nato è inserito con l'intento di mostrare ai Giudei increduli la grandezza e la potenza divina, che riescono ad operare quanto è impossibile alla natura umana¹⁵.

Il ms. di difficilissima lettura pone alcuni problemi di decifrazione. E' stato suddiviso secondo le pericopi giovannee e anche la punteggiatura è stata restituita secondo i criteri moderni. Si è cercato di conservare il più possibile il testo, limitando le correzioni e gli interventi. Per poter esprimere un giudizio sul valore di questo testo, bisognerà aspettarne tutta l'*editio princeps*¹⁶.

¹³ Per indicare il ms. si adotta la sigla **D** = *Athous, Dionysiou* 326.

¹⁴ Dopo l'*editio princeps* del capitolo B eseguita da LIVREA¹, *Nonno di Panopoli, Parafrasi*, pp. 125-129, è stato edito sempre da Livrea il capitolo III, in corso di stampa sulla *BZ* e da chi scrive nella sua tesi di dottorato: *Nonno di Panopoli. Parafrasi del Vangelo di S. Giovanni. Canto sesto*. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento (tutor D. GIGLI PICCARDI), Università degli studi di Firenze, 2009, pp. 118-121.

¹⁵ Su *Gv.* 9,1-41 cf. e.g. C. K. BARRETT, *The Gospel according to St. John*, London, 1978², pp. 353-366; S. GRASSO, *Il Vangelo di Giovanni, commento esegetico e teologico*, Roma, 2008, pp. 405-430; R. SCHNACKENBURG, *Il Vangelo di Giovanni*, trad. it., II, Brescia, 1977, pp. 403-460; Y. SIMOENS, *Secondo Giovanni. Una traduzione e un'interpretazione*, trad. it., Bologna, 2002, pp. 413-420. Per seguire e attuare eventualmente un confronto con la riscrittura nonniana del miracolo giovanneo, si veda il testo greco edito da SCHEINDLER, *Nonni Panopolitani Paraphrasis*, pp. 100-110. Più in generale, per un'analisi e una visione del miracolo del cieco nelle riscritture poetiche cf. R. FRANCHI, *Il miracolo operato da Cristo in favore dei ciechi nelle riscritture poetiche*, in *SE*, 49 (2010), pp. 33-65.

¹⁶ Un doveroso e particolare ringraziamento spetta a Mons. Paul Canart per aver ricontrollato e corretto in alcuni punti con perizia e attenzione l'iniziale decifrazione del ms. da me eseguita, fornendo utili suggerimenti e importanti interventi di correzione e di lettura.

Κεφάλαιον Ι

(f. 197^r) **1.** Καθ' ὁδὸν δὲ βαδίζων, ἄνδρα ἐώρακε καθήμενον, ὃς γε πηρὸς τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐξέθωρε τῆς μητρώας γαστρὸς καὶ τυφλὸς περιϊών, ἠρώτα ἐλεημοσύνην. Οὐδέποτε δὲ τοιοῦτον βρέφος ἀόμματον ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ὁ χρόνος ἦγαγε. **2.** Τότε δὲ τῶν μαθητῶν ὁ χορὸς πυθόμενος εἰρήκει πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν· “Εἰπέ ἡμῖν, διδάσκαλε, περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, τίς ποτε εἰς θεὸν ἐξήμαρτεν, οὗτοσί ἢ τούτου γε οἱ γεννήτορες, ὃς γε προῆλθεν ἐκ μήτρας ἀνάπηρος τοῦς ὀφθαλμούς;” **3.** Ὁ δ' Ἰησοῦς, ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἐπιμαρτυρῶν, ἐδίδαξεν αὐτούς, λέγων· “Οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὐθ' οὗτος, οὐθ' οἱ τοκεῖς αὐτοῦ ἠμπλάκεσαν, ἀλλὰ νεύματι θείῳ οὕτωσί ἐγεννήθη, εἰς ἔκβασιν τοῦ φανῆναι δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος θεοῦ τὰ θεῖα ἔργα. **4.** Καί γε ἡμῖν ἐποφείλεται τὰ θεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ διαπεπραχέναι τοῦ ἀειζῶντος ἔργα, ἐξ ὅτου ἂν εἶη ἔτι ἡμέρα. Μετὰ μικρὸν γὰρ νῦξ προσελεύσεται, ἐν ἣ οὐδεὶς ποτε τῶν ἀνθρώπων δυνατὸς ἂν εἶη ἐξεργάζεσθαι· ἕως οὗν ἡμέρα ἀνέστηκε, διαπράζομαι. **5.** Εἰμί δὲ δῆπουθεν τοῦ ἐν σκότῳ κόσμου φῶς, ἄχρις ὅτου τῷ κόσμῳ ἀνδάνω”. **6.** Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰπὼν (f. 197^v) ὁ βασιλεύς, πτύσας ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου ἑαυτοῦ στόματος ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς, καὶ ἀνακυκώσας τῇ κόνει τῆς γῆς τὸ πτύσμα, πηλὸν πεποίηκεν ὀμματοποιόν, ὄνπερ χρίσας ὑγρὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς τυφλοὺς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὀφθαλμούς, τὸν ἄνδρα ὠμάτωσεν, ὅπερ ἢ φύσις παρασχεῖν ἐξησθένησε. Καὶ ἐν ἀφωτιστῷ προσώπῳ διπλοῦς σχεδιάσας κύκλους ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τὴν λαμπηδόνα ἐτύπωσε, νεοκτίστους ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πηλοῦ δημιουργήσας κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἐκ τοῦ χοός, ἐξ οὗ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον σῶμα. **7.** Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ἐκέλευσε τὸν ἄνδρα, θεῖον εἰπὼν λόγον· “Ἄπιθί μοι νισόμενος τὰς σεαυτοῦ παρεῖās εἰς τὴν Σιλωᾶμ τὴν κολυμβήθραν, ἔνθεν ἐκρέει πάγκοινον ὕδωρ ἀπὸ πηγῆς πλησιοχώρου, προνομασθὲν ἀπὸ τῆς σῆς ἀποστολῆς ἐκεῖσε ἀποστελλομένου”. Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ὁ Χριστὸς εἰρήκει εἰς αὐτόν· “Ὁ δὲ σπεύσας ἐκεῖσε ἐπορεύθη, κάκ τῆς πηγῆς ὕδωρ ἐξαντλῶν κοίλαις ταῖς χερσί, τὰ ἀπολιπόντα τὸ σκότος ὀμματα ἐπένιψεν”. Ἀπονισάμενος δὲ τοὺς τῶν ἄρτι μορφωθέντων ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ κύκλους, ἐξαίφνης ἀνέβλεψεν, ὅπερ αὐτὸ ἢ φύσις χορηγήσαι οὐδὲ δύναται, καὶ ὡς ποτε (f. 198^r) τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἄηθες φῶς ἐφεώρακε. Νισάμενος δ'

2. ἡμῖν (ἢ ex ὁ) D | ἀνάπηρός D || 4. ἀνθρώπων: per compendium legitur || 6. ὀφθαλμούς: χρίσας suprascr. D | εἰωθὸς D: εἰωθὸς correxi || 7. ἐκρέει D: ἐκρέει Canart | πάγκοινον Canart, difficillimum lectu, nam antea ft. πάγγενον (?) scripserat, postea alt. γ in κ corr. et supra lineam add. οἱ | Χριστὸς: per compendium legitur | κάκ: sic et semper D | ἐπένιψεν: ἐπ suprascr. D | οὐ δεδύ.ται D: οὐδὲ δύναται proposuit Canart

ἐπανήλθε καὶ πάντα ἰστάμενος περιέβλεπε. **8.** Θεωροῦντες δ' αὐτὸν ξένοι τε καὶ αὐτόχθονες παραπορευόμενοι ἀνδρῶν ἀναβλέποντα ἐξ ἀφωτίστων ὀφθαλμῶν, γείτονες καὶ γνωστοὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπεφθέγγοντο περὶ αὐτοῦ, λέγοντες· “Οὐχ οὗτος τυγχάνει ὢν ὁ τυφλώ<τ>των ἐν τῇ πόλει περιϊών, ὁ τὸ πρῶην ἐπαιτῶν καὶ ὡς εἰώθει τὴν δεξιὰν προβαλλόμενος τοῖς παριοῦσιν;” **9.** Ἔτεροι δέ τινες αὐτοῖς ἀντέλεγον ἀποκριθέντες· “Οὐ δῆτα οὗτός ἐστιν ἑτέρῳ δέ τοι μόνον παρείκασται;” Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ ποτε τυφλώ<τ>των ἀριδίῳ περιῆκεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔφασκεν ὡς αὐτὸς ἐγὼ εἶμι. **10.** Ἐπακροώμενος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων λαὸς ἐπερωτῶν, ἔλεξεν πρὸς αὐτόν· “Πῶς δὴ σοῦ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἀνεφύθησαν;” **11.** Ὁ δὲ θεοφιλῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰρήκει πρὸς αὐτούς· “Ὁ Χριστὸς ἀκούων, ἀνὴρ ὄνπερ ὁ λαὸς Ἰησοῦν προσαγορεύει, οὗτος δῆτα ἀνέφξέ μου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· ἀποπτύσας γὰρ ἐπ' ἐδάφους καὶ ἄκροις τοῖς δακτύλοις ἀνακυκῶν πηλὸν ἐκ τοῦ πτύσματος ἐκπεποί(φ. 198^v)ηκεν, ἐξ οὗ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐπιχρίσας ὀφθαλμούς τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Σιλωὰμ τὴν κολυμβήθραν τὴν ἀστυγείτονα ἐμοὶ βεβαδικέναι ἐνετείλατο. Ἀποσμήχων δ' ἐγὼ τὸν περιτρέχοντα τοῖς ἐμοῖς πηροῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς πηλόν, αἰφνιδίως ἐώρακα φῶς, ὅπερ πρῶην οἱ ἐμοὶ οὐκ εἶχον ὀφθαλμοί”. **12.** <Οἱ> Ἰουδαῖοι δ' αὐτὸν ἀφρόνως τε καὶ ἀναιδῶς εἶροντο λέγοντες· “Ποῦ ποτε ἐκεῖνος τυγχάνει διατρίβων;” Ὁ δ' εὐφρονῶν ἐβόησε εἰς αὐτούς· “Οὐκ οἶδα ποῦ ποτε ἐκεῖνος ἐμφιλοχωρεῖ”. **13.** Μετὰ σπουδῆς δ' αὐτοὶ λαβόντες τὸν ποτε τυφλόν, προσήγαγον πρὸς τοὺς θεομάχους τῶν ἱερέων. **14.** Ἦν δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἐβδόμη τῶν ἡμερῶν, καθ' ἣν ἀπραξίαν ἄγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸν πηλὸν πεποιηκός τε καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ὀμματώσαντος. **15.** Εἶρετο δ' αὐτὸν τὸ στίφος τῶν ἀπίστων φαρισαίων· “Ὅτῳ τρόπῳ, λέγων, ὀμματώθη;” Ὁ δὲ θαρρῶν εἶρηκε πρὸς αὐτούς· “Θεῖον πηλὸν περιθέμενος τοῖς ἐμοῖς αὐτὸς ὀφθαλμοῖς, διετύπωσεν ὀμματα. Ἐγὼ δέ, τοῦ ἐκεῖνου κελεύσει, ἐπὶ τὴν γειτινῶσαν ἀπιὼν πηγὴν καὶ ὕδατι τὸν πηλὸν ἀπονιψάμενος, ἐστὼς περιβλέπω”. **16.** Τηνικαῦτα δὲ τινες ὑπὸ φθόνου βλασφημούντων φαρισαίων ἔφαντο· (f. 199^r) “Οὐ γὰρ δήπουθεν οὗτος ἐκ θεοῦ πέφυκε, τὸν θεῖον παραβαίνων νόμον καὶ τὸ σάββατον οὐ τηρῶν”. **17.** Ἔτεροι δέ τινες ἀντέβαινον προσειπόντες· “Ἄλλὰ τίνα τρόπον ἄνθρωπος ἁμαρτωλὸς ταῦτα πάντα τὰ πολυειδῆ τῶν θαυμάτων οἷός τέ ἐστι πεποιηκέναι;” Διχῆ δὲ διαιρεθέντος τοῦ λαοῦ, ἄμιλλα ἰσχυρὰ ἀμφοτέρωθεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγγόνει περὶ αὐτοῦ, δι' ὃ δὴ καὶ ἀνδρὶ τῷ ποτε τυφλώττωντι εἰρήκεσαν· “Σὺ δὴ τίνα περὶ ἐκεῖνου φρονεῖς, τίνα ἄττα ἡμῖν

8. πρῶην: sic et semper D

προσερεῖς;” Ὁ δ’ ἄρτι ἀναβλέψας μηδὲν δεδιώς, λόγον ἔλεξε πρὸς αὐτοὺς πιστόν, ὅτι πάντως δὴ ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶ προφήτης. **18.** Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ λαοὶ οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ, καίπερ ἀληθεύοντι πρὶν ἢ τοὺς αὐτοῦ γονέας οἱ ἄπιστοι ἀρχιερέων μετεπέμψαντο. **19.** Προσεληλυθῶτων δὲ διεπυθάνοντο αὐτῶν μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ φθόνου· οἵτινες τῶν πολιτῶν εἶπον “ Ἐκ μήτρας τυφλὸς προελθὼν τῆς μητρὸς ἄρ’ οὗτος ὑμέτερος υἱός· πόθεν δ’ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν προσηκόμενος φῶς ἀνέβλεψε;” **20.** Ἀλλ’ (f. 199^v) ἐκεῖνοι, δεδιότες μετὰ σοφισμάτων εὐφρονούντες, ἀπεκρίναντο πρὸς αὐτούς· “Μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἀναβλέψας οὗτος ἡμέτερός ἐστι παῖς, τοῦτο πανάληθές ἐστι ναὶ μὲν καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ μήτρας ἀνάπηρος τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς γεγέννητο, **21.** ὅτω δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ ἀνεώχθησαν αὐτοῦ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί, τίς δὲ ὁ αὐτὸν ὀμματώσας, ταῦτα οὐκ εἰδότες ἄψογοί ἐσμεν. Αὐτὸν γὰρ ἐπερωτᾶτε εἰδῶτα τε καὶ παρόντα τὸν νεανίσκον· οὐ γὰρ νήπιόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ’ ἀκμάζουσαν φέρει τὴν ἡλικίαν, καὶ τῆς ἐτέρων φωνῆς οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἐπιδεῆς. Ὁ ἰκανὸς γὰρ ἐστὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τ’ ἀληθῆ λέγειν, τελείαν ἄγων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἡλικίαν”. **22.** Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφεκτικῶς ἐπεφθέγγαντο τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οἱ γεννήτορες, αὐτοὺς δὴ τούτους ἐκδεδιτόμενοι. Ἐμμανῶς δὲ οἱ φαρισαῖοι τῷ Χριστῷ ἐπιβασκαίνοντες τῶν ἀμιμήτων αὐτοῦ ἔργων ἕνεκα, συνθήκας πρὸς πάντα τὸν πειθήνιον λαὸν πεποίηται, ὅπως μὴ ἐπιθήξειε τοῦ θεοκλήτου θειοτάτου ναοῦ παῖς, ὃς ἂν διαμνημονεύσειε καὶ Χριστὸν αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσειε. **23.** Τοῦθ’ ἕνεκα οἱ τὸν ποτε τυφλὸν φύσαντες εἰρήκεσαν (f. 200^r) τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· “Μὴ δῆτα ἡμῶν τοῦ δὲ ἡμετέρου παιδὸς εἰδότης, περὶ τούτου πυθάνεσθε. Δύναται γὰρ οὗτος ὑμῖν ἐπερωτῶσιν ἐξειπεῖν ἅπαντα, ἅτε δὲ ἀκμάζουσαν ἄγων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἡλικίαν”. Ὁ γὰρ τοῦ τυφλώττοντος γεννήτωρ ἀπορία συνεκέρασε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον, ὑποκρύπτων αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν, ὅστις αὐτὸν ὀμμάτωσεν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ ἐχθιστος λαὸς παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσηται τοῦτο, κατιδὼν ἀναβλέψαντα τὸν αὐτοῦ υἱόν. **24.** Ὅθεν δὲ μεταστειλόμενοι τῶν ἀρχιερέων οἱ φθονεροί, ὃς ποτε ἀνὴρ περιφοιτῶν, τυφλώτων ἐβάδιζε, τούτω οὕτως ἐπεφθέγγαντο· “ Ἀλλ’ ὦ τέκνον ἡμῶν, γυνῶθι τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ μεγίστας τὰς χάριτας, ὃς γε ἐλεήσας, ἐπεδαψιλεύσατό σοι τὸ φῶς τῶν ὀμμάτων· ὃν δ’ αὐτὸς σὺ δοξάζεις ἀνδρα, τούτω ὅλως ἐμεμήλει ἀπάσης ἀμαρτίας”. **25.** Ἀλλ’ ὁ ἀνὴρ μηδὲν δεδιώς, αὐτοῖς προσωμίλησεν· “ Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἐπίπαν οὐκ ἔγνων, εἰ ὡς ἀληθῶς οὗτός ἐστι ἀμαρτωλός. Ἐν δὲ σαφῶς ἐξεπίσταμαι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐκ μητρώας νηδύος πεπηρωμένος τοῖς

20. ὑμέτερός ἐστι D: ἡμέτερός correxi | post πανάληθές ἐστὶν deletum καὶ μ || **24.** περιφοιτῶν: π suprascr. D | τῷ ὑψίστῳ θεῷ D: τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ correxi

ὄφθαλμοῖς γεγεννημένος, ἄρτι ἴσταμαι βλέπων”. **26.** Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων λαὸς πυθόμενος ἔφατο πρὸς αὐτόν· “Εἰπέ οὖν ἡμῖν τίνα ἄττα δεδρά(φ. 200^v)κεσε διὰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ τεχνήμονος πηλοῦ, ἐξηφάνισέ σου δὲ τὸν ἐν τοῖς σοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ζόφον”. **27.** Ἐφοβος οὖν ἀνὴρ ἐλευθέρως αὐτοῖς ἐπεφθέγγετο· “ Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἅπαξ ὑμῖν φιλαλήθως εἶπον, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν ἐμὸν οὐκ ἀκηκόατε λόγον. Τί τοῖνυν αὖ πάλιν ἐφίεσθε περὶ τούτου ἐπακοῦσαι; Μὴ τι θεὸς τὰς ὑμετέρας κεκίνηκε ψυχάς, ἐφ’ ᾧ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθητὰς γενέσθαι;” **28.** Οἱ δ’ αὐτὸν ἐξυβρίζοντες αὐτίκα μάλα ἔλεξαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ· “Σὺ μὲν δὴ εἶης ἐκείνου μαθητὴς τοῦ τὸν νόμον ἡμῶν λύοντος· ἡμεῖς δὲ μαθηταὶ ἐσμεν τοῦ ἐκείνου προτιμοτέρου θεοῦ ἀνδρός, αὐτόχρομα θεράποντες τῶν τοῦ νομοθέτου Μωσέως λόγων. **29.** Τοῦτον οὐδ’ ὄλωσ πόθεν ἐστὶν ἐγνώκαμεν”. **30.** Ὁ δ’ ἀποκρινάμενος ἔφη αὐτοῖς· “ Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ θαυμαστότερον, ὅτι καίπερ οὗτος ὑφ’ ὑμῶν οὐ γινωσκόμενος ὅμως αὐτὸς τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἠνέφξεν ὀφθαλμούς. **31.** Πάντες δὲ δήπου σαφῶς ἐπιστάμεθα τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ συνοχέα τῶν πάντων θεὸν μὴ τι πεφυκότα ἁμαρτωλῶν ἀνδρῶν κατακούειν κεκραγόντων, ἀλλ’ ὅτῳ ἐμεμήλει θεοσεβείας καὶ ὅς ἂν καθαρᾷ τῇ ψυχῇ τὰς θείας ἐκτελέσειεν ἐντολάς, τούτου λιτανευομένου ὡς τάχιστα θεὸς ἐπακούει. (f. 201^v) **32.** Ἐπ’ αἰῶνος οὐκ ἠκούσθη τοιοῦτος λόγος, ὡς ὠμμάτωσέ τις τὸν ἐκ μήτρας γεννηθέντα τυφλόν. **33.** Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐτύγγανεν ὢν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θεοῦ οὗτος ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἂν ποτε τηλικούτον οἶός τε ἦν μόνος ἐξανύσαι θαῦμα”. **34.** Τότε δ’ ἱερεῖς ὑπὸ φθόνου τὸν ἄνδρα καθύβρισαν, ἐπειπόντες· “Σὺ δὲ ὡς ἐπίπαν, καίπερ ἐν ἁμαρτίαις γεννηθεῖς, ἀλλὰ σοφοὺς ἱερέας ταῦτα φλυαρῶν διδάσκεις;” Εἰς πολλὰ αὐτῷ ἠπειληκότες, αὐτίκα τοῦ νεῶ ἐξέωσαν. **35.** Ὁ δ’ Ἰησοῦς, ὁ τὰ πάντα εἰδῶς (cf. *Esth.* 4,17d; *Bar.* 3,32), ἀκούων ἐξελεχθέντα τὸν ποτε τυφλόν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλαζόνων ἀρχιερέων, εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν· “Σὺ δὲ πιστεύων δοξάζεις τὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θεοῦ υἱόν;” **36.** Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· “Καὶ τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος, κύριε, ἵνα αὐτῷ πιστεύω”. **37.** Ὁ δ’ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῷ ἔλεξε· “Καὶ ἐώρακας αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ νῦν σοὶ φθεγγόμενος, οὗτος ὑπάρχει ἐκεῖνος”. **38.** Ὁ δ’ εἰρηκῶς· “Πιστεύω σοί, κύριε”, καὶ ἅμα εἰπὼν, ἐπὶ τὴν <γῆν> ἐρειδάμενος, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀχχένα κατακλίνας τοῖς ἀθανάτοις ἑαυτοῦ ποσί, κατησπάσατο τὰ φαιδρὰ αὐτοῦ πέδιλα. **39.** Ἀκούων δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὸν σοφὸν τοῦτον λόγον προσέλεξεν· “Εἰς κατά(φ. 201^v)κριμα παραγέγονα ἐγὼ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄφρονα

28. τῶν νόμον D || **30.** ἐστι: v cancellatum || **34.** φλυαρῶν D: φλυαρῶν correxi || **38.** post ἐπὶ τὴν suppl. γῆν Canart

καὶ πεπλανημένον τοῦτον κόσμον, πρὸς τὸ ἀποβαίνειν τοὺς τῆ φύσει τυφλώττοντας διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀγαθὴν προαίρεσιν ἀναβλέποντας, τοὺς δὲ τῆ φύσει ὀμματωθέντας διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φαύλην γνώμην πεπηρωμένους τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς”. **40.** Τῶν δὲ αὐτῶ παρεπομένων καὶ παρόντων φαρισαίων ὁ χορὸς ἐπεφθέγγετο τῷ Χριστῷ λέγοντες: “Μὴ τ’ ἄρα καὶ ἡμεῖς τυφλοὶ γεγόναμεν;” **41.** Εἶπε δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ ἀπιστοῦντι λαῷ· “Εἰ σκότος περικεκάλυφε τὸ φῶς τῶν ὑμετέρων ὀφθαλμῶν, ἀνειδήμονας ἂν εἶπον ὑμᾶς τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀμπλακημάτων. Νῦν δὲ σαρκικῶς ὄρωντες, πνευματικῶς μάλα τυφλοὶ ἐστε· οἷς γὰρ ἂν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡς ἀμαρτίαις ἀμετανοήτως ἐμμένωσιν, οὗτοι διὰ κενῆς τοῖς σωματικοῖς ὄρωσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς”.

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SUMMARY

John chapter 9 begins with Jesus passing by the blind man: «As Jesus passed by, he saw a man who was blind from birth. And his disciples asked him: “Rabbi, who sinned, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?”. Jesus answered: “Neither this man nor his parents sinned, but that the works of God should be revealed in him”» (John 9,1-4). This article offers the first critical edition of John’s account of Jesus healing the blind man, contained in the ms. *Athous Dionysiou* 326. The starting point is not the Gospel according to St. John, but the *Paraphrase of St. John’s Gospel* of Nonnus of Panopolis. In fact, the anonymous author has rewritten in an elegant prose the *Paraphrase of St. John’s Gospel* of Nonnus, where St. John’s Gospel appears in a new light, as it is rendered into poetic verse.

41. ὀφθαλμῶν: vix legitur

LA QUESTION DU TITRE
DANS LA LITTÉRATURE BYZANTINE
QUELQUES PISTES DE RÉFLEXION AUTOUR DU
TERME ‘ΥΠΙΟΜΝΗΜΑ¹

L'étude des titres dans la littérature byzantine semble pleine de promesses : serait-il possible, à partir de ceux-ci, de donner une nouvelle analyse de sa division en genres telle que vue et comprise par les auteurs byzantins eux-mêmes ? Pour arriver à ce résultat, la route est encore longue et les obstacles nombreux. Au-delà des difficultés purement matérielles², la masse d'informations à traiter est immense et les questions soulevées nombreuses. Nous nous proposons de parcourir trois de ces questions.

Nous donnerons d'abord rapidement quelques pistes de réflexion autour de la question de l'autorité du titre (ou « comment définir exactement l'objet de la recherche ? »), un colloque consacré à ce sujet ayant traité de cela plus en profondeur³. Dans un deuxième temps, nous nous attacherons à mieux comprendre la valeur du titre comme identifiant d'une œuvre en prenant comme exemple le cas d'un recueil de citations, le *Florilège Coislin*, afin de voir de quelle manière les extraits cités sont identifiés par le compilateur. Enfin, nous arriverons au cœur de la problématique et suivrons l'évolution sémantique d'un terme « générique », le terme ὑπόμνημα, utilisé comme titre pour des œuvres de nature différente afin d'essayer de définir les points communs entre celles-ci, et mieux cerner le genre qui se cache derrière ce terme.

¹ Cet article s'insère dans un projet de recherches élaboré à la Katholieke Universiteit de Leuven et intitulé « On titles and chapters. Investigations into the nature of patristic and Byzantine literature » (promoteurs : P. Van Deun et R. Ceulemans).

² Par exemple : manque d'intérêt pour le titre dans de nombreuses éditions où les variantes du titre ne sont pas prises en compte ; uniformisation des titres dans les catalogues de manuscrits où ceux-ci sont la plupart du temps cités sous la forme d'une traduction moderne, en latin ou dans la langue du catalogueur ; difficulté quant à la datation et à la détermination du lieu d'origine du manuscrit rendant peu aisée l'identification d'un titre avec une époque ou un lieu géographique donné, etc.

³ Il s'agit du colloque international de Chantilly consacré aux titres : J.-C. FREDOUILLE, M.-O. GOULET-CAZÉ, P. HOFFMANN, P. PETITMENGIN (éd.), *Titres et articulations du texte dans les œuvres antiques. Actes du colloque international de Chantilly, 13-15 décembre 1994 (Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité, 152)*, Paris-Turnhout, 1997.

1. L'AUTORITÉ DU TITRE

Une des premières difficultés à laquelle le chercheur est confronté est la question de l'autorité du titre : le titre sous lequel une œuvre nous est connue est-il le fait de son auteur ou est-il dû à une « autorité » différente, un commentateur, un traducteur, un éditeur plus récent, un copiste ? Dans le cas d'une autorité différenciée, quel est vraiment l'objet de notre étude : le titre « original » ou le titre tel qu'il apparaît à un moment de l'histoire du texte ?

Certains cas sont clairs : le titre est cité par l'auteur lui-même à l'intérieur même de l'œuvre ou dans un autre de ses travaux ou bien l'auteur justifie dans son texte l'usage du titre choisi. Les exemples d'auto-référence sont nombreux. Nous nous contenterons d'en citer deux. Clément d'Alexandrie justifie à de nombreuses reprises dans son traité intitulé *Stromates* l'utilisation de ce terme comme titre de son œuvre⁴. Citons, à titre d'exemple, *Stromates* IV, II, 6, 2-3 (CPG 1377)⁵ :

Ἦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν κυρίαν ἔχουσιν οἱ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων Στρωματεῖς ἀτεχνῶς κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἐκείνην ἀπηνθισμένοι προσφορὰν, περὶ ἧς ὁ Σοφοκλῆς γράφει·

ἦν μὲν γὰρ οἶδος μαλλός, ἦν δ' <ἀπ'> ἀμπέλων
 σπονδῆ <τε> καὶ ῥάξ ἐν τεθησαυρισμένῃ,
 ἐνῆν δὲ παγκάρπεια συμμιγῆς ὀλαῖς
 λίπος τ' ἐλαίου καὶ τὸ ποικιλώτατον
 ξανθῆς μελίσσης κηρόπλαστον ὄργανον.

« Voilà pourquoi ces tapis bigarrés de notes portent un titre tout à fait approprié selon cette antique et exquise offrande, dont Sophocle écrit : “ Il y avait une touffe de laine, une libation, du fruit de la vigne, une grappe de raisin soigneusement mise en réserve ; et il y a toutes sortes de fruits mêlés à des grains d'orge, le suc gras de l'olive et le très complexe objet que façonne avec la cire l'abeille dorée ” ».

Mentionnons également Galien qui consacre un traité entier sur ses propres œuvres et la manière de les lire (*Sur ses propres livres*).

Dans d'autres cas, c'est le commentateur qui est responsable du titre d'une œuvre telle qu'il nous est connu ; c'est le cas de la fameuse *Métaphysique* d'Aristote – qui doit sans doute son titre à sa place à l'intérieur du

⁴ Clément d'Alexandrie, *Stromates* V, I, 10, 1 ; VII, III, 111, 1. À ce propos, voir A. MÉHAT, *Études sur les Stromates de Clément d'Alexandrie (Patristica Sorbonensia, 7)*, Paris, 1966, pp. 96-106.

⁵ Voir A. VAN DEN HOEK, *Clément d'Alexandrie, Les Stromates. Stromate IV*, avec une traduction de C. MONDÉSERT (†) (SC, 463), Paris, 2001.

corpus aristotélicien, c'est-à-dire μετὰ φυσικῆν, « après la physique »⁶ – ou de certains traités attribués à Hippocrate, comme nous le dit Galien⁷ :

« Ce livre a été pourvu, en fonction des opinions et du bon plaisir, de beaucoup de titres. Plusieurs écrivent son titre *Sur les lieux, l'air et l'eau* ; d'autres l'écrivent : *Sur l'eau, l'air et les lieux* ; d'autres *Sur les lieux, l'eau et l'air*. D'autres écrivent *Sur l'air, l'eau et les lieux* ; d'autres encore *Sur l'eau, les lieux, l'air*. Par ma vie, il y a, comme c'est facile à expliquer, pour trois choses différentes changements et interversions. D'autres ont rejeté le mot air et ont mis à la place de l'air les saisons, comme l'ont fait Dioscoride et Capiton (...). Peut-être qu'Hippocrate n'a mis aucun titre à ce livre et ne l'a communiqué à personne de son vivant. Peut-être a-t-il écrit le titre et ne sommes-nous pas tombé dessus⁸ ».

La plupart du temps cependant, le titre transmis par les manuscrits est souvent le seul titre que nous possédons d'une œuvre à moins que celle-ci ne nous soit connue par ailleurs au travers de témoignages indirects. Il nous faut donc faire confiance aux copistes et dans le cas de traditions divergentes, à l'éditeur. Tout ceci bien sûr lorsque nous avons la chance de posséder un titre permettant véritablement de différencier une œuvre d'une autre. En effet, l'emploi de termes généraux est courant et notre recherche d'identification du genre d'une œuvre à travers eux peut paraître souvent vaine⁹. Ceci n'est valable que dans les cas où un titre existe, ce qui n'est pas considéré comme une nécessité par les auteurs anciens et médiévaux¹⁰. Bien souvent, l'*incipit* de l'œuvre suffit pour désigner celle-ci, ou encore une description générale de son contenu, comme nous le montreront les exemples suivants, tirés du *Florilège Coislin*.

2. LE TITRE D'UNE ŒUVRE EST-IL INDISPENSABLE POUR SON IDENTIFICATION ?

2.1. *Le traitement des titres dans le Florilège Coislin*

Le *Florilège Coislin* est une anthologie dont les citations sont classées par ordre alphabétique¹¹. Il a vraisemblablement été compilé à la fin du

⁶ P. HOFFMANN, *La problématique du titre des Traités d'Aristote*, dans FREDUILLE, GOULET-CAZÉ, HOFFMANN, PETITMENGIN, *Titres et articulations*, pp. 75-103.

⁷ À ce sujet, nous renvoyons à l'article de J. JOUANA, *Remarques sur les titres dans la collection hippocratique*, dans FREDUILLE, GOULET-CAZÉ, HOFFMANN, PETITMENGIN, *Titres et articulations*, pp. 55-73.

⁸ Traduction tirée de JOUANA, *Remarques sur les titres dans la collection hippocratique*, p. 65.

⁹ Cf. la troisième section de cet article.

¹⁰ Cf. E. NACHMANSON, *Der griechische Buchtitel : einige Beobachtungen* (Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift, 47, 19), Darmstadt, 1969.

¹¹ Certaines parties du texte ont déjà été publiées : I. DE VOS, E. GIELEN, C. MACÉ, P. VAN DEUN, *L'art de compiler à Byzance. La lettre Γ du Florilège Coislin*, dans *Byz*, 78 (2008),

IX^e ou au début du X^e siècle. Les manuscrits les plus anciens datent en effet du X^e siècle et le texte le plus récent cité dans le *Florilège* semble être la *Lettre 57* de Théodore Studite, adressée à son oncle Platon et envoyée soit en 797, soit en 809-811 (quoiqu'il en soit avant la mort de Platon en 814).

Un bref survol du texte permet déjà de se faire une idée du peu d'importance donnée au titre pour l'identification d'une œuvre dans le *Florilège*. Sur l'ensemble des citations que présente le *Florilège* (environ un millier), seule une cinquantaine sont précédées du titre de l'œuvre citée. Le titre ne semble donc pas jouer de rôle prépondérant dans l'identification de l'œuvre. En effet, lorsqu'une identification est présente, le *Florilège* se contente généralement de donner le nom de l'auteur, ou dans le cas du texte biblique, le livre d'où la citation est tirée. Le peu d'intérêt que le *Florilège* semble avoir pour les titres des œuvres est peut-être lié au public auquel ce texte était destiné et pourrait être un élément, si ténu soit-il, dans l'élaboration de l'image que nous avons de celui-ci. Il pouvait s'agir d'un public de lettrés, pour qui l'identification par l'auteur était suffisante, les œuvres des auteurs cités étant censées être connues de lui, ou encore un public pour lequel le poids de l'autorité de l'argument était suffisant, sans avoir besoin de mettre en doute et donc de vérifier une citation, la mention de l'auteur à lui seul rendant l'argument de la citation inattaquable.

Le *Florilège* semble traiter les titres des œuvres de différentes manières :

- Une grande majorité des titres présents dans le *Florilège* correspondent aux titres tels qu'ils nous sont connus par les manuscrits de l'œuvre citée, le *Florilège* jouant dès lors son rôle de témoin indirect de la tradition, et nous permettant de confirmer qu'à l'époque de sa rédaction le texte était connu, ou non, du compilateur sous le titre attribué par les manuscrits. On trouve, par exemple, pour le *Discours 20* de Grégoire de Nazianze (*Sur la théologie, c'est-à-dire sur l'installation des évêques* ; CPG 3010 [20]), la mention suivante dans le *Florilège*, Lettre Tau, 1, 1 : Τοῦ Θεολόγου ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ περὶ δόγματος καὶ καταστάσεως ἐπισκόπων. Ce titre correspond au titre long Περὶ δόγματος καὶ καταστάσεως ἐπισκόπων de l'œuvre, titre qui appartient à une des principales familles de manuscrits des œuvres de Grégoire, le groupe M, composée

pp. 159-223 ; IDEM, *La Lettre B du Florilège Coislin : editio princeps*, dans *Byz*, 80 (2010), pp. 72-120 ; R. CEULEMANS, I. DE VOS, E. GIELEN, P. VAN DEUN, *La continuation de l'exploration du Florilegium Coislinianum : la Lettre Eta*, dans *Byz*, 81 (2011), pp. 74-126. Pour le premier livre, on dispose de T. FERNÁNDEZ, *Book Alpha of the Florilegium Coislinianum. A Critical Edition with a Philological Introduction*, thèse de doctorat défendue à la KU Leuven en 2011. Pour les parties non publiées, les recherches ont été effectuées sur le manuscrit *Parisinus, Coislinianus* 294, témoin de la première recension de l'anthologie.

- de manuscrits présentant une collection de 45 discours du Théologien, par opposition au groupe N, contenant une collection de 52 discours¹².
- Il arrive aussi que le *Florilège* donne une version abrégée du titre de l'œuvre, suffisante, ou non, pour identifier celui-ci : Lettre Epsilon, 4, 4, Ἑρμηνεία τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου = (Pseudo-)Jean Chrysostome, *De angusta porta et in orationem dominicam* (CPG 4527). Titre grec : Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Θεὸν πολιτεύεσθαι, καὶ εἰς τὸ Στενὴ ἢ πύλη καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· καὶ ἑρμηνεία τῆς προσευχῆς τοῦ « Πάτερ ἡμῶν » (PG 51, coll. 41-42).
 - Dans d'autres cas, il donnera l'*incipit* du texte : Lettre Alpha, 79 : Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου λόγος οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Πρώην περὶ ἀκαταλήπτου = Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome, *Homilia de anathemate* (CPG 3430). Titre grec : Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἀναθεματίζειν (PG 48, col. 946).
 - Ailleurs, il s'agira de l'identification de la partie de l'œuvre où trouver la citation : Lettre Epsilon, 17, 3 : Μεθοδίου ἐπισκόπου Φιλίππου καὶ μάρτυρος ἐκ τοῦ β' λόγου τοῦ Ἀντιρρητικοῦ οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Ἰδόμεν οὖν αὐτίκα γοῦν τῶν τῆδε βασιλέων αἱ εἰκόνες – « De Méthode, évêque de Philippe et martyr, tiré du second livre des *Antirrhétiques*, qui commence par : Ἰδόμεν οὖν αὐτίκα γοῦν τῶν τῆδε βασιλέων αἱ εἰκόνες¹³ ».

Dans certains cas, l'identification du texte cité par le compilateur est inexacte ou peu précise. Ces inexactitudes sont cependant peu nombreuses ; nous en avons identifié trois¹⁴ :

- Lettre Gamma, 11 : Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου λόγος εἰς τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τοῦ ἀποστόλου. Il s'agit en fait du *Propter fornicationes autem unusquisque suam uxorem habeat* de Chrysostome (CPG 4377). Titre grec : Διὰ δὲ τὰς πορνείας ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐχέτω (PG 51, col. 207)¹⁵.
- Lettre Epsilon, 17, 5 : Τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου ἔτι περὶ Τριάδος. Il s'agit en fait du *De Spiritu Sancto* de Basile de Césarée (CPG 2839). Titre grec : Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Un des manuscrits de cette œuvre, l'*Oxoniensis*, *Bodleianus*, *Auctarium* E.2.09 (XI^e siècle) donne, erronément, le

¹² Voir J. MOSSAY, avec la collaboration de G. LAFONTAINE, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 20-23* (SC, 270), Paris, 1980. La signification exacte de ce titre a fait l'objet d'une discussion chez les différents éditeurs de ce texte. À ce propos, nous renvoyons aux pp. 45-50 de l'introduction à l'édition de l'abbé Mossay.

¹³ Il s'agit d'un fragment du *De resurrectione* de Méthode (CPG 1812) ; cet extrait ne semble être conservé que dans les *Antirrhétiques* du patriarche Nicéphore et dans quelques florilèges (par exemple les *Sacra Parallela*) ; à propos du fragment, consulter l'édition de G. N. BONWETSCH, *Methodius* (GCS), Leipzig, 1917, p. 379, ll. 9-16, ainsi que, pour Nicéphore, l'édition de J. B. PITRA, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, IV, Paris, 1858 (= Graz, 1963), p. 290, ll. 18-29.

¹⁴ Nous tenons compte ici uniquement des citations identifiées par un titre.

¹⁵ Cf. DE VOS, GIELEN, MACÉ, VAN DEUN, *L'art de compiler à Byzance*, p. 165.

titre Περὶ θεολογίας τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος¹⁶ ; se peut-il que de là vienne la mauvaise identification du *Florilège* ?

- Lettre Omicron, 10, 1 : Γρηγορίου Νύσσης, βίβλος τῆς ἑξαήμερου. Il s'agit en fait du *De officio hominis* de Grégoire de Nysse (CPG 3154). Titre grec : Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γενέσεως (PG 44, col. 124).

Tous ces exemples, c'est-à-dire l'absence de titre en tête de citation, l'utilisation d'*incipit* ou d'abréviations, confirment notre intuition première : le titre ne joue qu'un rôle secondaire dans le chef du compilateur du *Florilège* pour l'identification des citations. Il peut être omis ou remplacé par différents types d'énoncés permettant l'identification de l'œuvre (par exemple : description du sujet, description de la partie de l'œuvre où se trouve la citation).

2.2. Le traitement des titres par Photios

Cette tendance semble se confirmer dans d'autres anthologies et compilations de l'époque byzantine¹⁷. On peut prendre l'exemple d'un autre recueil de la même époque (IX^e siècle), important pour l'histoire de la littérature byzantine, la *Bibliothèque* de Photios. Il s'agit d'un ensemble de notes de lecture, répertoriant 280 notices (ou codex) de longueur variable et présentées par le patriarche Photios à son frère Tarasios. Plusieurs études ont été publiées sur cette œuvre, consacrées notamment aux circonstances de sa rédaction et aux différents codex qui la composent. Nous ne reviendrons pas sur les identifications et présentations des différentes œuvres citées dans la *Bibliothèque*, Jacques Schamp ayant déjà largement étudié celles-ci¹⁸.

Si Photios cite dans la majorité des cas les œuvres sous les titres que nous leur connaissons, il utilise aussi d'autres types d'identifiant, comme le faisait le compilateur du *Florilège*¹⁹ :

- Identification par la description du sujet : *Bibliothèque*, cod. 6, 3b, ll. 17-18 : Ἀνεγνώσθη Γρηγορίου Νύσσης ὁμοίως ὑπὲρ Βασιλείου κατὰ Εὐνομίου – « J'ai lu également l'attaque de Grégoire de Nysse contre Eunome, en faveur de Basile ». Le traité *Contra Eunomium* (CPG 3135) est facilement identifiable derrière cette description. Pour le codex

¹⁶ B. PRUCHE, *Basile de Césarée. Sur le Saint-Esprit* (SC, 17bis), Paris, 1968², p. 250.

¹⁷ Voir à ce propos : M. CACOUROS, *Littérature philosophique à Byzance et sa postérité à l'époque moderne*, dans *Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études* (EPHE, Section des sciences historiques et philologiques), 142 (2011), pp. 63-70.

¹⁸ *Photios historien des lettres. La Bibliothèque et ses notices biographiques* (*Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège*, 248), Paris, 1987.

¹⁹ Toutes les citations et traductions de la *Bibliothèque* sont tirées de R. HENRY, *Photios, Bibliothèque*, I-VIII (*Collection byzantine*), Paris, 1959-1991.

suisant, Photios se contente de faire référence à l'œuvre qu'il vient juste de citer pour identifier le deuxième texte, sans donner de titre : Ἀνεγνώσθη ἑτέρα πραγματεία τοῦ αὐτοῦ Γρηγορίου Νύσσης περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως – « J'ai lu un autre traité du même Grégoire sur le même sujet » (cod. 7, 3b, ll. 28-29).

- Identification par la description du sujet et l'*incipit* de l'œuvre : Ἀνεγνώσθη τοῦ μακαρίου Νείλου ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸ Πάσχα λόγου πρώτου, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Ἀναστάσεως λόγοις τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἡμέραν τιμήσωμεν – « J'ai lu du Bienheureux Neilos, tiré de son premier discours sur la Pâques, qui commence par Ἀναστάσεως λόγοις τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἡμέραν τιμήσωμεν » (cod. 276, 512a, ll. 40-42)²⁰. On lit aussi : Ἀνεγνώσθη τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἐκ τῆς περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος πρώτης ὁμιλίας, ἧς ἡ ἀρχή· Χθὲς ἡμῖν, ὃ φιλόχριστοι, οἱ ψευδόχριστοι ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐλάλουν – « J'ai lu de Jean Chrysostome, tiré de sa première homélie sur l'Esprit Saint, qui commence par Χθὲς ἡμῖν, ὃ φιλόχριστοι, οἱ ψευδόχριστοι ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐλάλουν » (cod. 277, 516a, ll. 31-34)²¹.
- Identification par un terme générique : *Bibliothèque*, cod. 225, 240a, ll. 13-14 : Ἀνεγνώσθη τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Εὐλογίου πάπα Ἀλεξανδρείας βιβλίον ἐν λόγοις β'. « J'ai lu de Saint Eulogios, archevêque d'Alexandrie, un ouvrage en deux livres ²² ».

En ce qui concerne l'utilisation de termes génériques, on trouve chez Photios une ambivalence entre ἐρμηνεία et ὑπόμνημα. Il utilise indifféremment les deux termes pour désigner, entre autres, le *Commentaire à l'Évangile de Saint Jean* de Cyrille d'Alexandrie (CPG 5208) :

- cod. 229, 250a, ll. 21-23 : ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς Κύριλλος ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, ἐν οἷς τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην ὑπομνηματίζει, οὕτω φησί
- cod. 229, 251a, ll. 3-4 : ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ὑπομνήματι
- cod. 229, 255b, ll. 1-2 : καὶ ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην ὑπομνήματος βιβλίου ζ'
- cod. 229, 255b, ll. 4-5 : καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπομνήματος τοῦ εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην βιβλίου β'
- cod. 229, 255b, ll. 6-7 : καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπομνήματος τοῦ εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην βιβλίου θ' καὶ η'

²⁰ Il s'agit de l'*Oratio altera in Pascha* (CPG 6078 [2]).

²¹ CPG 4188 (*De spiritu sancto*).

²² CPG 6976.

- cod. 229, 258a, l. 25 : καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρμηνείᾳ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου
- cod. 229, 258a, ll. 40-41 : ἐν τῇ ἐρμηνείᾳ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου

Par ailleurs, les principaux manuscrits du *Commentaire* juxtaposent ἐρμηνεία et ὑπόμνημα dans le titre : ἐρμηνεία ἤτοι ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγέλιον²³. Cette juxtaposition nous amène à formuler deux hypothèses : soit un sens spécifique lié au terme ὑπόμνημα n'était pas connu à l'époque de la rédaction de la *Bibliothèque*, soit des termes synonymes étaient couramment utilisés pour désigner un même titre, ce qui pose la question suivante : le chercheur peut-il s'attacher à des titulatures courantes, comme ἐρμηνεία ou ὑπόμνημα, pour définir le genre d'un texte ? Ce sont ces deux hypothèses que nous allons explorer maintenant.

3. L'UTILISATION DE TERMES GÉNÉRIQUES : LE CAS D'ὑπόμνημα

Le terme ὑπόμνημα connaît une évolution sémantique tout au long de son histoire²⁴, chacune des significations s'ajoutant à l'autre. Cette multiplication sémantique rend difficile l'appréhension de la réalité exacte qui se cache derrière ce mot et fera d'ὑπόμνημα un terme aux multiples facettes et usages.

3.1. Ὑπόμνημα comme « souvenir »

Le sens premier de ὑπόμνημα dérive de son étymologie, de la racine présente dans le verbe μιμνήσκομαι, « se rappeler ». Il désigne dès lors toute réalité servant de support à la mémoire. Son premier sens renvoie aux inscriptions sur les monuments funéraires, aux monuments eux-mêmes, aux éléments du souvenir. Ainsi, chez plusieurs auteurs :

- Thucydide, II, 44, 2 : ὧν καὶ πολλακίς ἔξετε ὑπομνήματα ἐν ἄλλων εὐτυχίαις – « Il vous arrivera souvent de vous souvenir de vos disparus dans les bonheurs des autres²⁵ ».
- Aristote, *Rhetorica* III, 1411b10 : ὑπόμνημα τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἔργων – « comme un témoin des actes de la cité ».

²³ Cf. P. E. PUSEY, *Sancti Patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium*, I, Oxford, 1872 (= Bruxelles, 1965), p. 1. Les manuscrits sur lesquels se base l'édition, sont les suivants : *Vaticanus*, *Barberinianus gr.* 495 (XII^e siècle) ; *Vaticanus gr.* 592 (XV^e siècle) ; *Vaticanus gr.* 593 (XV^e siècle) ; *Venetus*, *Marcianus gr.* 121 (XIV^e siècle).

²⁴ Voir à ce propos F. BÖMER, *Der Commentarius : Zur Vorgeschichte und literarischen Form der Schriften Caesars*, dans *Hermes*, 81 (1953), pp. 210-250.

²⁵ Texte et traduction : J. DE ROMILLY, *Thucydide. La guerre du Péloponnèse, Livre II (Collection des Universités de France)*, Paris, 1962 (= 2009).

- Athanase d’Alexandrie, *De decretis Nicaenae synodi* 39, 2 (CPG 2120) : Πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ εἶ τι σύγγραμμα ὑπὸ Ἀρείου συντεταγμένον εὕρισκοιτο, τοῦτο πυρὶ παραδίδοσθαι, ἵνα μὴ μόνον τὰ φαῦλα αὐτοῦ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀφανισθῆι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ὑπόμνημα αὐτοῦ ὄλως ὑπολείποιτο – « En plus de ceci, si on trouvait un traité rédigé par Arien, il devait être immolé par le feu, afin que non seulement la malveillance de son enseignement soit anéantie mais aussi qu’absolument aucune trace de lui ne demeure²⁶ ».

3.2. Ὑπόμνημα comme « archives, minutes, actes »

Du sens de mémoire vient aussi l’utilisation d’ὑπόμνημα pour la désignation des minutes officielles, des archives et publications des cours de justice et des autorités publiques²⁷. Par exemple, on lit chez Eusèbe de Césarée, *Praeparatio evangelica* I, 9, 21, ll. 9-12 (CPG 3486) : Σαρχουνιάθων δὲ ὁ κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκων διάλεκτον φιλαλήθως πᾶσαν τὴν παλαιὰν ἱστορίαν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ὑπομνημάτων ... συναγαγὼν – « Sanchuniaton qui a rassemblé et rédigé en dialecte Phénicien et avec fidélité toute l’histoire ancienne, d’après les livres publics²⁸ ».

3.3. Ὑπόμνημα comme « notes personnelles, mémoire »

Du sens étymologique de « trace, souvenir » procède aussi celui de « notes personnelles, aide-mémoire », comme l’illustre Platon dans le *Théétète* 143a : Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία, οὐκουν οὕτω γε ἀπὸ στόματος ἀλλ’ ἐγραψάμην μὲν τότε εὐθύς οἴκαδ’ ἐλθὼν ὑπομνήματα, ὕστερον δὲ κατὰ σχολὴν ἀναμνησκόμενος ἔγραφον, καὶ ὁσάκις Ἀθηναῖζε ἀφικοίμην, ἐπανηρώτων τὸν Σωκράτη ὃ μὴ ἐμεμνήμην, καὶ δεῦρο ἐλθὼν ἐπνηροθύμην· ὥστε μοι σχεδὸν τι πᾶς ὁ λόγος γέγραπται – « Non par Zeus, pas ainsi, de mémoire. Mais aussitôt rentré chez moi, je mis par écrit mes souvenirs et je rédigeai ensuite à loisir ce qui me revenait en mémoire et, toutes les fois que j’allais à Athènes, j’interrogeais à nouveau Socrate sur ce que je ne me rappelais pas, et, de retour ici, je rectifiais mes notes, en sorte que j’ai cette conversation écrite à peu près en entier²⁹ ».

²⁶ Texte : H.-G. OPITZ, *Athanasius Werke*, II, 1, Berlin-Leipzig, 1935. Traduction personnelle.

²⁷ Voir aussi W. PEREMANS, *Diodore de Sicile et Agatharchide de Cnide*, dans *Historia*, 16 (1967), pp. 439-444.

²⁸ Texte et traduction : J. SIRINELLI et É. DES PLACES, *Eusèbe de Césarée, La préparation évangélique. Introduction générale – Livre I (SC, 206)*, Paris, 1974.

²⁹ Texte et traduction : A. DIÈS, *Platon. Œuvres complètes*, VIII, 2, *Théétète (Collection des Universités de France)*, Paris, 1923.

Le passage qui suit, tiré de la préface de Clément d'Alexandrie à ses *Stromates* (I, I, 11, 1), en est un autre exemple³⁰ : Ἦδη δὲ οὐ γραφή εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τετεχνασμένη ἦδε ἡ πραγματεία, ἀλλὰ μοι ὑπομνήματα εἰς γῆρας θησαυρίζεται, λήθης φάρμακον – « Cet ouvrage n'est pas un écrit composé dans les règles de l'art, pour l'ostentation. Ce sont des aide-mémoires, un trésor pour ma vieillesse, un remède contre l'oubli ».

Ces notes étaient vraisemblablement destinées à un usage privé mais pouvaient servir de base à un traité plus travaillé, plus élaboré, comme le laisse entendre le texte de Lucien, *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit* 48 : καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἀθροίση ἅπαντα ἢ τὰ πλεῖστα, πρῶτα μὲν ὑπόμνημά τι συνυφαινέτω αὐτῶν καὶ σῶμα ποιείτω ἀκαλλῆς ἔτι καὶ ἀδιάρθρωτον· εἶτα ἐπιθείς τὴν τάξιν ἐπαγέτω τὸ κάλλος καὶ χρωρνύτω τῇ λέξει καὶ σχηματιζέτω καὶ ῥυθμιζέτω – « Quand il les aura tous rassemblés, ou du moins en grande partie, qu'il en fasse premièrement un mémoire, qu'il en compose un corps d'abord informe et sans proportions, puis qu'il y mette de l'ordre, de la beauté, avec le coloris du style, l'éclat des figures, l'harmonie du langage ³¹ ».

3.4. *Évolution sémantique : ὑπόμνημα dans le sens de « traité »*

Par la suite, le terme ὑπόμνημα sera aussi utilisé pour désigner toutes sortes de traités édités cette fois, dont la forme n'est pas réellement assujettie aux règles habituelles de la rhétorique. Ceux-ci touchent des domaines divers : historiographie, hagiographie, géographie, biographie, etc.³² La notice de Photios sur l'œuvre de Pamphila³³ en est une bonne illustration³⁴ :

Ἀνεγνώσθη Παμφίλης συμμίκτων ἱστορικῶν ὑπομνημάτων λόγοι ἡ'. Αὕτη ἀνδρὶ μὲν συνώκει, ὡς καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων προοιμαζομένη ἐπισημαίνεται· ᾧ καὶ ἰγ' ἔτη ἐκ παιδὸς συμβιοῦσα ἦδη τῆς

³⁰ Consulté dans l'édition de C. MONDÉSERT, *Clément d'Alexandrie, Les Stromates. Stromate I*, avec une traduction de M. CASTER (SC, 30), Paris, 1951.

³¹ Texte : K. KILBURN, *Lucian*, VI (*The Loeb Classical Library*), Cambridge, 1959. Traduction personnelle.

³² Voir à ce propos les articles de D. AMBAGLIO, *Fra hypomnata e storiografia*, dans *Athenaeum*, 78 (1990), pp. 503-508 ; J. ENGELS, *Die ὑπομνήματα-Schriften und die Anfänge der politischen Biographie und Autobiographie in der griechischen Literatur*, dans *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 96 (1993), pp. 19-36 ; E. SCHIFFER, *Hypomnema als Bezeichnung hagiographischer Texte*, dans W. HÖRANDNER, J. KODER, M. A. STASSINOPOULOU (éd.), *Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik. Beiträge zum Symposium Vierzig Jahre Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien in Gedenken an Herbert Hunger. Wien, 4-7 December 2002 (Byzantina et Neograeca Vindobonensia, 24)*, Wien, 2004, pp. 397-407. Voir aussi A. SCHUMRICK, *Observationes ad rem librariam pertinentes, de syntaxis, syntagma, pragmateia, hypomnema vocabulis*, Marburg, 1909 ; F. MONTANARI, art. *Hypomnema*, dans *Brill's New Pauly*, Brill Online, 2011.

³³ Pour plus d'informations sur cet auteur, voir SCHAMP, *Photios historien*, pp. 225-228.

³⁴ Photios, *Bibliothèque*, cod. 175, 119a, l. 17 – 120a, l. 4.

υπομνηματικῆς ταύτης συγγραφῆς λέγει ἀπάρξασθαι, συγγράψαι δὲ ἅ τε παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μάθοι, τὰ ἰγ' ἔτη συνεχῶς αὐτῷ συνοῦσα καὶ μηδ' ἡμέραν μηδ' ὥραν ἀπολειπομένη, καὶ ἅ παρ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἀκούσαι συνέβη τῶν παρ' αὐτὸν ἀφικνουμένων (πολλοὺς δὲ φοιτῶν ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντας ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ) καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅσα βιβλίων αὐτῇ ἀνελέξατο. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα, ὅσα λόγου καὶ μνήμης αὐτῇ ἄξια ἐδόκει, εἰς ὑπομνήματα συμμιγῆ καὶ οὐ πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ὑποθέσεις διακεκριμένον ἕκαστον διελεῖν, ἀλλ' οὕτως εἰκῆ καὶ ὡς ἕκαστον ἐπῆλθεν ἀναγράψαι, ὡς οὐχὶ χαλεπὸν ἔχουσα, φησί, τὸ κατ' εἶδος αὐτὰ διελεῖν, ἐπιτερέστερον δὲ καὶ χαριέστερον τὸ ἀναμειγμένον καὶ τὴν ποικιλίαν τοῦ μονοειδοῦς νομίζουσα. Χρήσιμον δὲ τὸ βιβλίον εἰς πολυμαθίαν· εὐροὶ γὰρ ἂν τις καὶ τῶν ἱστορικῶν οὐκ ὀλίγα ἀναγκαῖα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀποφθεγμάτων καὶ ῥητορικῆς διατριβῆς ἔνια καὶ φιλοσόφου θεωρίας καὶ ποιητικῆς ἰδέας, καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἐμπέσοι. (...) Ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων ἀπομνημονεύουσα λέγει, ποικιλώτερον αὐτῇ καὶ οὐ καθ' ἓν εἶδος σύγκειται ὁ λόγος.

« J'ai lu les huit livres des *Notes historiques diverses* de Pamphila. C'était une femme mariée, comme elle nous le fait savoir au début de ces commentaires ; elle avait vécu trente ans avec son mari depuis sa jeunesse, quand elle comença l'écriture de ces souvenirs ; elle dit qu'elle rapporte ce qu'elle apprit de son mari en partageant sa vie durant trente ans, ne passant sous silence ni un jour ni une heure, et ce qu'elle a entendu de tous ceux qui venaient chez son mari (beaucoup de gens le fréquentaient illustres par leur nom et pour leur culture), et enfin ce qu'elle observa dans ses lectures. Elle rapporte dans ses *Notes* tout ce qui lui semblait digne d'être rapporté, pêle-mêle, sans placer chaque chose en un endroit précis, mais en les entassant selon son bon vouloir et dans l'ordre où il venait. Il ne serait pas difficile, dit-elle, de les classer selon un plan, mais elle pense que le mélange et la diversité sont plus agréables et plus gracieux qu'un plan unitaire. Ce livre est utile pour s'instruire. On y trouvera beaucoup de faits historiques importants, des maximes, des travaux sur la rhétorique et la théorie philosophique, sur la forme poétique et d'autres choses encore au hasard (...). Chaque fois qu'elle cite des choses remarquables des écrivains anciens, son style est varié et n'est pas composé selon un canevas unique ».

3.4.1. Ὑπόμνημα ἐστὶν σύνταγμα

Il est difficile de définir le type de contenu et la structure exacte des traités qualifiés d'ὑπόμνημα. Ce sont les néo-platoniciens qui nous donnent le plus de précisions à ce sujet. Des premiers éléments de définition nous sont apportés par le *Commentaire aux Catégories d'Aristote* de Simplicius³⁵ :

Τῶν δὲ Ἀριστοτελικῶν συγγραμμάτων (...) τῶν δὲ καθόλου τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν ὑπομνηματικά, ὅσα πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν οἰκείαν καὶ πλείονα βάσανον συνέταξεν ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὧν τὰ μὲν μονοειδῆ ἐστὶν, ὡς περὶ ἑνὸς τινος

³⁵ K. KALBFLEISCH, *Simplicii in Aristotelis Categorias commentarium (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, 8)*, Berlin, 1907, p. 4, l. 14. Traduction personnelle.

ὑπομνησκοντα, τὰ δὲ ποικίλα, ὡς περὶ πλειόνων. Δοκεῖ δὲ τὰ ὑπομνηματικά μὴ πάντη σπουδῆς ἄξια εἶναι· διὸ οὐδὲ πιστοῦται ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὰ τοῦ φιλοσόφου δόγματα. Ὁ μὲντοι Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ ὑπομνηματικά καὶ συμπεφορημένα φησὶν εἶναι καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἓνα σκοπὸν ἀναφέρεσθαι. Διὸ καὶ πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τούτων συνταγματικά τὰ ἕτερα λέγεσθαι.

« Parmi les écrits d'Aristote, parmi les œuvres générales, celles que le philosophe a composées à titre d'aide-mémoire, et pour les étudier plus avant sont hypomnématiques. Certaines de celles-ci sont uniformes, comme pour servir de mémoire pour une seule chose et d'autres sont variées, concernant plusieurs choses. Les écrits hypomnématiques ne semblent pas dignes de beaucoup d'attention. C'est pourquoi les doctrines du Philosophe ne reçoivent pas de confirmation à travers eux. Alexandre (d'Aphrodise) dit que les écrits hypomnématiques ont été assemblés au hasard et ne se rapportent pas à un seul but. C'est pourquoi, par contradiction avec ceux-ci, les autres sont appelées syntagmatiques ».

Cet extrait nous donne les informations suivantes : les traités de type « hypomnématique » (ὑπομνηματικά) sont des ébauches qui devaient être retravaillées (ὄσα πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν οἰκείαν καὶ πλείονα βάσανον συνέταξεν ὁ φιλόσοφος), comme le laissait déjà entendre l'extrait tiré de Lucien cité ci-dessus. Il en existe deux types : ceux qui traitent d'un seul sujet et ceux qui traitent de sujets différents (τὰ μὲν μονοειδῆ ἔστιν, ὡς περὶ ἑνός τινος ὑπομνησκοντα, τὰ δὲ ποικίλα, ὡς περὶ πλειόνων). Ils s'opposent aux traités « syntagmatiques » (συνταγματικά) qui sont des traités continus, obéissant aux règles de l'εἷς σκοπός (but unique).

Un passage d'Élias, toujours à propos des *Catégories* d'Aristote, nous permet de préciser encore notre image de l'ὑπόμνημα³⁶ :

Τῶν δὲ καθόλου τὰ μὲν εἰσιν ὑπομνηματικά, τὰ δὲ συνταγματικά. Καὶ ὑπομνηματικά μὲν λέγονται ἐν οἷς μόνον τὰ κεφάλαια ἀπεγράφησαν δίχα προοιμίων καὶ ἐπιλόγων καὶ τῆς πρεπούσης ἐκδόσεσιν ἀπαγγελίας (...). Τῶν δὲ ὑπομνηματικῶν τὰ μὲν μονοειδῆ, τὰ δὲ ποικίλα, μονοειδῆ μὲν ὡς ἐνομίσθη τὸ Περὶ ἐρμηνείας ὑπομνηματικῶν διὰ τὴν ἀσάφειαν, πρὶν γράψαι τὸν φιλόσοφον Ἀμμώνιον εἰς αὐτὸ ὑπόμνημα καὶ δεῖξαι ὅτι καὶ προοίμιον ἔχει καὶ ἐπιλόγους καὶ τὴν πρέπουσαν τῇ ἐκδόσει ἀπαγγελίαν, τὰ δὲ ποικίλα ὡς τὰ πρὸς Εὐκαίριον αὐτῷ γεγραμμένα ἑβδομήκοντα βιβλία Περὶ συμμίκτων ζητημάτων χωρὶς προοιμίων καὶ ἐπιλόγου καὶ τῆς διαίρεσεως.

« Parmi tous ces écrits, les uns sont « hypomnématiques », les autres « syntagmatiques ». On appelle « hypomnématiques » ceux dans lesquels seuls les points principaux sont inscrits, sans prologues, épilogues, sans le style qui convient à l'édition. (...) Parmi les hypomnématiques, il y a les écrits « uniformes », d'une part, et les écrits variés d'autre part, si bien qu'on considérait

³⁶ A. BUSSE, *Eliae in Porphyrii Isagogen et Aristotelis Categorias commentaria (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 18.1), Berlin, 1900, p. 114, ll. 8-14. Traduction personnelle.

le *De Interpretatione* comme un écrit hypomnématique uniforme à cause de son obscurité, avant que le philosophe Ammonius écrive à propos de ce traité et montre qu'il possédait un prologue, des épilogues et un style approprié à la publication ; parmi les « variés » on compte les septante livres qu'il a écrits pour Eukairios à *Propos de recherches variées*, sans prologue et épilogue et division ».

Il ressort clairement de ce passage qu'une des caractéristiques principales du traité hypomnématique est l'absence de prologue et épilogue et un éloignement des règles de la rhétorique en général (δίχα προοιμίων καὶ ἐπιλόγων καὶ τῆς πρεπούσης ἐκδόσεσιν ἀπαγγελίας). Élias nous rapporte en effet que le *De Interpretatione*, qui était considéré comme d'hypomnématique, a été reclassé comme syntagmatique à partir du moment où Ammonius a démontré l'existence de ces éléments dans cette œuvre. L'éloignement des règles de la rhétorique et l'absence de style sont confirmés dans ce passage des *Prolégomènes*³⁷ du philosophe Olympiodore :

Τούτων τοίνυν τῶν καθόλου τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ ὑπομνηματικά, τὰ δὲ συνταγματικά. Ὑπομνηματικά μὲν ἐστὶ ὅσα κεφαλαιωδῶς καὶ μόνα εἰσὶν ἀπογεγραμμένα, ἀκαλλώπιστον δὲ τὴν φράσιν ἐκτήσαντο· ἰστέον γὰρ ὅτι οἱ παλαιοὶ συγγράψασθαί τι βουλόμενοι, ὅσα πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν ἠῦρισκον τοῦ προκειμένου συγγράμματος συμβαλλόμενα, κεφαλαιωδῶς ἀπεγράφοντο (...). Συνταγματικά δὲ καλοῦμεν ὅσα μετὰ τῶν νοημάτων καὶ λέξιν ἔχει κεκοσμημένην καὶ φράσιν κεκαλλωπισμένην πρέπουσαν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν, ὥστε τούτῳ διαφέρει τὰ ὑπομνηματικά τῶν συνταγματικῶν τῶ τὰ μὲν ἀκαλλώπιστον τὴν φράσιν ἔχειν τὰ δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων τῶν δεόντων κεκαλλωπισμένην τὴν φράσιν ἔχειν.

« Parmi tous ces écrits, certains sont hypomnématiques, d'autres syntagmatiques. Les écrits hypomnématiques sont ceux qui sont écrits sommairement, et qui n'ont qu'un seul sujet, ils possèdent un discours sans fioriture. D'autre part, on appelle syntagmatiques ceux qui possèdent une réflexion et une expression ornée et un discours travaillé qui convient à la publication, si bien que les œuvres hypomnématiques se distinguent des syntagmatiques en ce que les unes ont un langage non travaillé et les autres présentent des réflexions qui ont besoin d'un langage travaillé ».

L'absence de style ne va cependant pas de pair avec l'absence de structure, le traité hypomnématique pouvant aborder plusieurs sujets autour d'un même thème et s'articuler autour de points principaux³⁸. Ce dernier point est attesté par un passage de Clément d'Alexandrie dans sa préface aux *Stromates* (I, I, 14, 2) : Ὅθεν τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῆς μνήμης τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπικουφίζων,

³⁷ A. BUSSE, *Olympiodori prolegomena et in Categorias commentarium (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 12.1), Berlin, 1902, p. 6, ll. 23-33. Traduction personnelle.

³⁸ Cf. le passage d'Élias ci-dessus : ἐν οἷς μόνα τὰ κεφάλαια. Pour une discussion sur la signification de κεφάλαια, nous renvoyons à ΜΕΗΑΤ, *Études sur les Stromates*, pp. 119-124.

κεφαλαίων συστηματικὴν ἔκθεσιν μνήμης ὑπόμνημα σωτήριον πορίζων ἑμαυτῷ, ἀναγκαίως κέχρημαι τῆδε τῆ ὑποτυπώσει – « Aussi pour soulager la faiblesse de ma mémoire, je me suis fait un aide-mémoire salutaire, c'est une exposition classée par chapitres, qui donne forcément à ces esquisses la forme qu'on leur doit ».

Les trois extraits cités précédemment mettaient en avant l'opposition entre traités « hypomnématiques » et traités « syntagmatiques », nous permettant, comme nous l'avons vu, de dégager les caractéristiques suivantes : il existe deux types d'ὑπόμνημα, l'un s'attachant à un seul sujet, l'autre à des sujets variés. Ces traités ne possèdent ni prologue, ni conclusion et ne sont pas tributaires de la règle de l'ἕξ σκοπός. Leur style est simple et sans fioriture, ce qui n'interdit pas l'existence d'une certaine structure, s'articulant autour de point principaux.

3.4.2. Ὑπόμνημα et σύγγραμμα

On trouve, toujours chez les néo-platoniciens, une autre opposition. En effet, par son caractère flou et non tributaire des règles de style, l'ὑπόμνημα semble aussi s'opposer à un autre type de texte, qualifié de σύγγραμμα, apparemment plus systématique dans son traitement du sujet, comme le montrent ces deux exemples :

- Simplicius, *In Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria*, p. 530, l. 16 : Δείκνυσι μὲν καὶ δι' ἀφορισμένου συγγράμματος, δείκνυσι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι διὰ πλειόνων ἐπιχειρημάτων ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος – « Alexandre l'a montré par des traités d'aphorismes, il l'a montré aussi dans des mémoires par de nombreux syllogismes »³⁹.
- Syrianus, *Commentarium in Hermogenis librum περὶ στάσεων*, p. 2, l. 3 : γέγραφεν ὑπομνήματα καὶ τεχνικὰ πολλὰ τε καὶ καλὰ συγγράμματα πάνυ τοῦς ἀκροωμένους ὠφελεῖν ἱκανά – « Il a écrit des mémoires et des traités techniques nombreux et qui conviennent parfaitement pour l'usage qu'en ont les étudiants »⁴⁰.

C'est chez Galien que l'on retrouve le plus grand nombre d'exemples de cette opposition⁴¹. Pour n'en citer qu'un : τὸ δ' οἶον καὶ Θρασύωντι

³⁹ Traduction personnelle. Toutes les citations de Simplicius sont tirées de H. DIELS, *Simplicii in Aristotelis Physicorum libros octo commentaria (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, 9)*, Berlin, 1882.

⁴⁰ Texte : H. RABE, *Syriani in Hermogenem commentaria*, I, Leipzig, 1893. Traduction personnelle.

⁴¹ Voir, entre autres, Galien, KÜHN, I, p. 411, l. 17 ; II, p. 281, l. 17 ; X, p. 421, l. 2 ; X, p. 458, l. 3 ; XV, p. 9, l. 5. Pour Galien, on a utilisé l'édition monumentale de Carl Gottlob KÜHN, *Claudii Galeni Opera omnia*, 20 vol., Leipzig, 1821-1833.

μᾶλλον ὑπομνήματι πρέπον ἐστὶν ἢ συγγράμματι – « *Le Pour Thrasunos* convient mieux à un mémoire qu'à un traité systématique »⁴².

3.4.3. Ὑπόμνημα en signe de modestie

Il faut aussi noter que certains auteurs utiliseront ὑπόμνημα pour désigner, par « modestie », des ouvrages élaborés, divisés en chapitres, à la structure claire, en opposition donc avec la définition donnée par les néoplatoniciens. Galien, par exemple, caractérisera de la sorte un grand nombre de ses commentaires, ceux-ci étant cependant pourvus d'une introduction donnant les grandes lignes et le but poursuivi par le traité⁴³. Ainsi, Galien s'excuse-t-il dans la préface de son commentaire *De la nature de l'homme* d'Hippocrate du caractère incomplet et « brouillon » d'un autre de ses ouvrages, le traité *Sur les éléments d'Hippocrate* et promet d'avancer dans son nouveau traité de manière à ne rien omettre, nouveau traité qui lui aussi porte le titre d'ὑπόμνημα⁴⁴. Galien fait donc la distinction entre les traités d'Hippocrate, traités publiés dignes d'un commentaire (σύγγραμμα) et ses propres œuvres, identifiées par le terme ὑπόμνημα. Parmi celles-ci,

⁴² Texte : Galien, éd. KÜHN, XVI, p. 532, l. 8. Traduction personnelle.

⁴³ Galien, éd. KÜHN, IV, p. 732 ; V, p. 136 ; VI, p. 349.

⁴⁴ Galien, éd. KÜHN, XV, p. 1, ll. 1-3 : Περὶ τῶν καθ' Ἱπποκράτην στοιχείων πάλαι ποθ' ὑπόμνημα τῶν ἐταίρων τινὶ πρὸς ἀποδημίαν στελλομένῳ γράψας ἐπιδέδωκα τῆς ἐκείνου στοχαζόμενος ἕξως ἄπερ οὖν ἦδειν αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενον, οὐτ' ἀπέδειξα κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ συγγράμματος οὐτ' ἀνέμνησα, καίπερ εἰωθῶς οὕτω πράττειν, ὅταν κοινὸς ὁ λόγος ἅπασιν τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις αὐτὸν ἔσσεσθαι μέλλῃ φθάσαντος δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εἰς πολλοὺς ἐκπεσεῖν τοῦ συγγράμματος οὐκέθ' ἕτερον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν ἐξήγησιν τοῦ Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου βιβλίου διὰ τοῦτο ἀνεβαλλόμεν, ὅτι τὰ συνέχοντα πάντα διὰ τοῦ προεκδοθέντος ὑπομνήματος, ὃ Περὶ τῶν καθ' Ἱπποκράτην στοιχείων ἐπιγέγραπται, σαφῶς ἐδέδεικτο. Νῦν οὖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἱπποκρατείου συγγράμματος ἐξήγησιν οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων εἰς τὸ δόγμα λέξεων, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνῳ πρότερον ἐπεποιήμην, ἀλλὰ πασῶν ἐφεξῆς ἐδεήθησαν οἱ ἐταῖροι παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν, ἀρχόμενος τῆς ἐξηγήσεως ἐκεῖνα λέξω πρότερον, ὅσα παρέλιπον εἰπεῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ Περὶ τῶν καθ' Ἱπποκράτην στοιχείων, ἐπειδὴ γινώσκω αὐτὰ τὸν ἐταῖρον ἠπιστάμην – « Il y a quelque temps, lorsque j'ai écrit un traité *Sur les Éléments selon Hippocrate* et que je l'ai donné à un ami envoyé au loin, je l'ai orienté selon son expérience. Comme je le savais déjà versé dans ce domaine, je n'ai présenté aucune preuve au début du traité et je n'ai pas fait de rappel, comme c'est habituel de le faire lorsqu'un argument général va être présenté à ceux qui ne sont pas familiers avec celui-ci. Comme ce traité avait déjà été écrit auparavant, je ne savais pas comment l'adapter pour une audience générale, et il ne me semblait pas bon d'en faire un autre. De plus, à cause de cela, j'étais hésitant à écrire un commentaire sur le livre *Sur la nature de l'homme*, car il traitait clairement de tout ce qui avait déjà été traité dans le traité *Sur les Éléments selon Hippocrate*, qui a déjà été édité. Maintenant, puisque des amis m'ont demandé un commentaire sur le traité d'Hippocrate, non seulement sur ce qui est indispensable pour l'enseignement de la doctrine, comme je l'avais fait auparavant dans le traité mentionné ci-dessus, mais sur tous les passages l'un après l'autre, je commencerai le commentaire en parlant d'abord des choses que j'ai omises de dire au commencement du commentaire *Sur les Éléments selon Hippocrate*, puisque je les savais connues de mon ami » (traduction personnelle).

certaines n'étaient pas destinées à un grand public, mais à des amis et donc écrites comme telles, omettant introduction, une partie des explications, ce qui peut correspondre à ce qu'on attend de l'ὑπόμνημα tel que défini ci-dessus. Cependant, d'autres, comme le traité présenté, traitent d'un texte dans son entièreté, avec vraisemblablement une introduction donnant le but poursuivi (οὐτ' ἀπέδειξα κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ συγγράμματος οὐτ' ἀνέμνησα, καίπερ εἰωθὼς οὕτω πράττειν), un traitement systématique des lemmes (ἀλλὰ πασῶν ἐφεξῆς), dans le but d'une publication destinée à tous.

3.4.4. Le terme utilisé indifféremment

Par la suite, les caractéristiques définies par les textes néo-platoniciens semblent s'étioler. Cette tendance apparaît déjà chez Eusèbe de Césarée. Ce dernier ne semble pas différencier les types de traités lorsqu'il utilise le terme ὑπόμνημα, comme on peut le constater à partir de l'extrait suivant tiré de son *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV, XVIII, 1 (CPG 3495)⁴⁵ :

Πλεῖστα δὲ οὗτος καταλέλοιπεν ἡμῖν πεπαιδευμένης διανοίας καὶ περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἐσπουδακίας ὑπομνήματα, πάσης ὠφελείας ἔμπλεα·

« Justin nous a laissé un très grand nombre d'ouvrages qui témoignent d'un esprit cultivé et zélé pour les choses divines et qui sont remplis de toute utilité ».

Parmi les ouvrages qualifiés d'ὑπομνήματα par Eusèbe, on trouve aussi bien des discours (λόγος), des traités sous forme de scholies (σχολικόν), un dialogue (διάλογος), etc.

De même, un peu plus loin dans le même texte, on rencontre l'exemple suivant (*Historia Ecclesiastica* VI, XII, 1)⁴⁶ :

Τοῦ μὲν οὖν Σεραπίωνος τῆς περὶ λόγους ἀσκήσεως καὶ ἄλλα μὲν εἰκὸς σφύζεσθαι παρ' ἑτέροις ὑπομνήματα, εἰς ἡμᾶς δὲ μόνᾳ κατῆλθεν τὰ Πρὸς Δόμνον, ἐκπεπτωκότα τινὰ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ διωγμοῦ καιρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν ἐθελοθρησκείαν, καὶ τὰ Πρὸς Πόντιον καὶ Καρικόν, ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἄνδρας, καὶ ἄλλαι πρὸς ἑτέρους ἐπιστολαί, ἕτερός τε συντεταγμένος αὐτῷ λόγος Περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου κατὰ Πέτρον εὐαγγελίου (...).

« De l'activité littéraire de Sérapion, il est vraisemblable que d'autres traités sont conservés par d'autres, mais seuls sont arrivés jusqu'à nous les écrits À *Domnus*, un homme qui, au temps de la persécution, avait faibli et était

⁴⁵ Texte et traduction : G. BARDY, *Eusèbe de Césarée, Histoire Ecclésiastique, Livres I-IV* (SC, 30), Paris, 1952 (=2001).

⁴⁶ Texte et traduction : G. BARDY, *Eusèbe de Césarée, Histoire Ecclésiastique, Livres V-VII* (SC, 41), Paris, 1955 (= 2001).

passé de la foi au Christ à la superstition juive ; *À Pontius* et *À Caricus*, hommes ecclésiastiques, et d'autres lettres adressées à d'autres ; plus un autre ouvrage composé par lui *Sur l'Évangile dit selon Pierre* ».

À nouveau, le terme *ὑπομνήματα* désigne des traités de tous types, dont des lettres (*ἐπιστολαί*) mais aussi un discours syntagmatique (*συντεταγμένος ἀπὸ λόγος*), preuve s'il en est de la perte de distinction entre les deux types de traités telle qu'elle avait été formulée par les néo-platoniciens.

Néanmoins, la distinction entre *ὑπόμνημα* et *σύγγραμμα* semble demeurer, comme le laisse à penser ce passage tardif du XIV^e-XV^e siècle, tiré de la *Comparatio veterum imperatorum et nunc imperatoris Manuelis Palaeologi* de Démétrios Chrysolaras : *Εἴ τις οὖν ἄρχων οὐκ ἄλλοις ὑπομνήμασιν ἢ συγγράμμασιν, ἀλλ' οἷς αὐτὸς ἔγραψεν ἐντυγχάνει (...)* – « Si quelqu'un commence non par d'autres traités et ouvrages mais par ceux que lui-même a écrit (...) »⁴⁷.

3.5. *Ὑπόμνημα* comme titre de commentaire

Concentrons-nous maintenant sur un usage particulier du terme *ὑπόμνημα* dans sa signification « traité » : son utilisation comme titre de commentaire, passant naturellement du sens de « notes, traité, mémoire » à celui de « discussion, éclaircissement d'un autre écrit ».

3.5.1. Dans les papyrus

Les premiers témoins de l'utilisation du terme *ὑπόμνημα* comme titre de commentaire sont les papyrus qui nous gardent les traces de nombreux commentaires de textes littéraires intitulés *ὑπόμνημα*, si bien que ce terme est devenu en papyrologie un genre littéraire à part entière, dont Marina del Fabbro donne les principales caractéristiques dans son article *Il commentario nella tradizione papiroacea*⁴⁸ : « si intenderano per commentari⁴⁹ tutti quei testi su papiro che, materialmente separati dall'edizione critica del testo commentato, sono stati scritti al fine di fornire un chiarimento al testo dell'autore, e che si presentato con una successione di lemmi e relative spiegazioni ». L'*ὑπόμνημα* désigne donc, en papyrologie, un commentaire séparé du texte et formé d'une succession de lemmes et d'explications de ceux-ci. Del Fabbro envisage par ailleurs une évolution chronologique en

⁴⁷ Texte : S. P. LAMPROS, *Παλαιολόγια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, III, Athènes, 1926, p. 234, ll. 2-4. Traduction personnelle.

⁴⁸ Dans *Studia Papyrologica*, 18 (1979), pp. 69-132.

⁴⁹ C'est-à-dire les *ὑπομνήματα*.

quatre phases de ce genre littéraire, selon le traitement donné aux lemmes, que Tiziano Dorandi, dans son article *Le commentaire dans la tradition papyrologique : quelques cas controversés*, résume de la manière suivante⁵⁰ :

- 1) Commentaire sous forme d'édition commentée (avec le texte commenté reproduit en entier)
- 2) Commentaire séparé de l'édition. Le commentateur discutait seulement des passages qui présentaient des problèmes : il ne recopiait pas les lemmes mais les rappelait en inscrivant le signe critique qui se trouvait à côté d'eux dans l'« édition » ou encore par le moyen d'un ὄτι (« parce que »), formule abrégée et stéréotypée de : τὸ σημειῶν ὄτι ([on a mis] ce signe parce que)
- 3) Commentaire avec des lemmes cités in extenso
- 4) Retour au premier point : à l'époque byzantine et sur un support matériel qui est désormais un codex, le texte est à nouveau copié près du commentaire, dorénavant réduit à des notes marginales.

Les commentaires présentant des lemmes continus sont la forme la plus courante pour la période du III^e siècle ACN au I^e siècle PCN, tandis que les commentaires présentant des lemmes choisis sont la plupart représentés durant la période du II^e au III^e siècle PCN. Il ne reste, la plupart du temps, que des fragments de ces commentaires. Ceux-ci nous donnent cependant une image du contenu de ceux-ci : explications philologiques, mythologiques, doxographiques, commentaire de style, rhétorique.

3.5.2. Ὑπόμνημα, σχόλιον et σύγγραμμα

Au-delà du tableau dressé par les papyrologues, il est une fois encore difficile de définir précisément le type de commentaire désigné par le terme ὑπόμνημα. Les néo-platoniciens nous apportent à nouveau quelques pistes de réflexion. En effet, ils ont souvent utilisé le terme ὑπόμνημα pour désigner leurs œuvres :

- Proclus fait ainsi référence à son *Commentaire au Parménides* de la façon suivante : τὴν τῶν λέξεων ἔφοδον ἐν τοῖς (sc. εἰς τὸν Παρμενίδην) ὑπομνήμασιν ποιησαμένου⁵¹.

⁵⁰ Dans M.-O. GOULET-CASÉ (éd.), *Le commentaire entre tradition et innovation. Actes du colloque international de l'Institut des traditions textuelles (Paris-Villejuif, 22-25 septembre 1999)*, Paris, 2000, p. 16.

⁵¹ H. D. SAFFREY, L. G. WESTERINK, *Proclus. Théologie platonicienne, III (Collection des Universités de France)*, Paris, 1978, p. 83, l. 8.

- Marinus, dans la *Vie de Proclus* (l. 914), mentionne les œuvres de ce dernier de la même façon : προετίθει τὰ εἰς Τίμαιον ὑπομνήματα, ἡρέσκετο δὲ πάνυ καὶ τοῖς εἰς Θεαίτητον⁵².
- De même, Simplicius, à propos du commentaire de Proclus *Sur les lois de Platon* : ὃς ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὸ δέκατον τῶν Πλάτωνος Νόμων ὑπομνήμασι τοιαῦτα περὶ τοῦ τόπου γέγραφε⁵³. On trouve, toujours chez Simplicius, une référence au commentaire *Sur les Catégories d'Aristote* d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise : ἄκουσον τῶν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου γεγραμμένων ἐν τῷ τῶν Κατηγοριῶν ὑπομνήματι⁵⁴.
- Chez Damascius, à propos du *Commentaire au Phédon* de Porphyre : οὕτω δὲ καὶ Πορφύριος προῦπενόησεν ἐν τῷ ὑπομνήματι⁵⁵.

On pourrait multiplier les exemples. L'étude du vocabulaire des néo-platoniciens à propos des commentaires est un domaine trop vaste pour être abordé ici, nous renvoyons donc à l'article de Erich Lamberz où il analyse plus particulièrement la question du lemme dans les commentaires⁵⁶. Il est possible cependant de mettre en lumière une des caractéristiques d'ὑπόμνημα, en nous attachant à l'opposition entre le commentaire désigné par le terme σχόλιον et le commentaire hypomnématique, comme on peut le voir dans l'exemple suivant, tiré de Marinus, *Vie de Proclus*, ll. 296-300⁵⁷ :

Ἀναγινώσκει οὖν παρὰ τοῦτω Ἀριστοτέλους μὲν τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς, Πλάτωνος δὲ τὸν Φαίδωνα. Προὔτρεπε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ μέγας καὶ ἀπογράφεσθαι τὰ λεγόμενα, τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ τοῦ νέου ὀργάνῳ χρώμενος καὶ φάσκων ὅτι, συμπληρωθέντων αὐτῷ τῶν σχολίων, ἔσται καὶ Πρόκλου ὑπομνήματα φερόμενα εἰς τὸν Φαίδωνα.

« Il lut donc avec lui, d'Aristote, le *traité de l'Âme*, de Platon le *Phédon*. Le grand maître lui conseilla de mettre par écrit le texte de leurs entretiens, et pour mettre en branle son zèle, chercha à exciter l'ambition du jeune homme, en lui disant, que s'il terminait et complétait ces scholies, on dirait un jour : « C'est Proclus qui est l'auteur de ces commentaires sur le *Phédon* ».

Σχόλιον semble désigner ici des notes plus courtes, prises sur le vif, que le jeune Proclus doit compléter pour produire un commentaire, ὑπόμνημα

⁵² Ce texte est toujours cité d'après R. MASULLO, *Marino di Neapoli. Vita di Proclo*, Naples, 1985.

⁵³ Simplicius, *In Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria*, 9, p. 618, l. 28.

⁵⁴ J. L. HEIBERG, *Simplicii in Aristotelis de caelo commentaria (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 7), Berlin, 1894, p. 168, l. 18.

⁵⁵ Consulté dans L. G. WESTERINK, *The Greek commentaries on Plato's Phaedo*, II, Amsterdam, 1977.

⁵⁶ E. LAMBERZ, *Proklos und die Form des Philosophischen Kommentars*, dans J. PÉPIN, H. D. SAFFREY (éd.), *Proclus, lecteur et interprète des anciens. Actes du colloque international du C.N.R.S., Paris (2-4 octobre 1985)*, Paris, 1987, pp. 1-20.

⁵⁷ Traduction : cf. <http://remacle.org/bloodwolf/philosophes/marinus/proclus.htm>.

désignant par opposition un commentaire plus complet, plus long. S'il était vraisemblablement plus construit que les scholies, le commentaire ne portait pas toujours sur l'entièreté du texte, comme l'exemple suivant semble le dire (Marinus, *Vita Procli*, ll. 665-670)⁵⁸ :

Πεισθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀγαθοειδεστάτου καὶ παραγράψαντος τοῖς μετόποις τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, ἔσχομεν συναγωγὴν εἰς ταῦτὸν ἀπάντων καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς Ὀρφέα αὐτοῦ σχόλια καὶ ὑπομνήματα στίχων οὐκ ὀλίγων, εἰ καὶ μὴ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν θεομουθίαν ἢ πάσας τὰς ῥαψωδίας ἐξεγένετο αὐτῷ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.

« Par bonté, il se laissa persuader, et écrivit en tête de ces commentaires un certain nombre de notes. C'est ainsi que nous possédons un recueil de tous les écrits qui ont rapport à ce même auteur, des scholies et des commentaires fort étendus sur Orphée, bien qu'il n'ait pas consenti à faire ce travail sur toute la *Théomythie* et sur toutes les *Rhapsodies* ».

À côté de l'opposition entre σχόλιον et ὑπόμνημα⁵⁹, on note aussi la permanence de celle entre ὑπόμνημα et σύγγραμμα évoquée ci-dessus, le terme σύγγραμμα s'enrichissant d'un nouvel usage afin de qualifier le texte servant de base au commentaire, donc le texte commenté, comme le montrent les deux exemples suivants :

- Galien, *In Hippocratis librum VI epidemiorum commentarii VI*, Kühn 17a, p. 864, l. 12 : Μεμάθηκας ἔν τε τῷ Περὶ ἄρθρων αὐτοῦ συγγράμματι καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὑπομνήμασιν εἰς αὐτό – « Tu l'as appris dans son traité *Sur les articulations* et dans nos commentaires sur celui-ci »⁶⁰.
- Lettre de Sergius Stissus⁶¹ à Jean Lascaris, p. 365, l. 28 : Χρῆζομεν πάνυ πολλὰ τῶν τοῦ Εὐσταθίου ὑπομνημάτων εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ὁμήρου

⁵⁸ Traduction : cf. <http://remacle.org/bloodwolf/philosophes/marinus/proclus.htm>.

⁵⁹ Cette distinction semble disparaître à l'époque byzantine, comme le montre la définition tirée de la Suda, 1806, 1 = Photios, *Lexicon*, Σ, 563, 12 : Σχόλια· σεμνολογήματα ἢ ὑπομνήματα καὶ ἔρμηνεῖαι. Pour des exemples complémentaires, nous renvoyons à C. MARKSCHIES, *Scholien bei Origenes und in der zeitgenössischen wissenschaftlichen Kommentierung*, dans S. KACZMAREK, H. PIETRAS (éd.), *Origeniana decima : Origen as Writer. Papers of the 10th International Origen Congress, University School of Philosophy and Education « Ignatianum »*, Kraków, Poland, 31 August - 4 September 2009 (*Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium*, 244), Leuven, 2011, p. 155 ; J. W. R. LUNDON, Σχόλια : una questione non marginale, dans G. MAZZOLI (éd.), *Discentibus obvius. Omaggio degli allievi a Domenico Magnino*, Como, 1997, pp. 73-86.

⁶⁰ Traduction personnelle.

⁶¹ Humaniste grec (XIV^e-XV^e siècle) de l'entourage de Jean Lascaris. La lettre citée fait partie d'un recueil de 101 lettres écrites et rassemblées par François Philelpe (1398-1481), savant à la cour de Jean VIII Paléologue, puis professeur dans différentes villes italiennes. Pour plus de détails, nous renvoyons à Th. GANCHOU, *Les ultimae voluntates de Manuel et Iōannēs Chrysolōras et le séjour de Francesco Filelfo à Constantinople*, dans *Bizantinistica*, 7 (2005), pp. 195-285.

συγγράμματα – « Nous utilisons surtout un grand nombre de commentaires d'Eustathe aux œuvres d'Homère »⁶².

3.5.3. Chez les Pères de l'Église

Les Pères de l'Église, à leur tour, utiliseront *ὑπόμνημα* pour désigner aussi bien leurs propres travaux d'interprétation des Saintes Écritures que ceux d'autres auteurs, ainsi, comme nous le montrent ces passages :

- Origène, *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis* (CPG 1453), VI, 15, 92, l. 7, en parlant des œuvres d'Héracléon⁶³ : ἐν οἷς καταλέλοιπεν ὑπομνήμασιν ἀνεξετάστως παρελήλυθεν τὰ τηλικαῦτα – « Dans les commentaires qu'il a laissés, il n'a pas pris garde au contexte »⁶⁴.
- Théodoret de Cyr, *Interpretatio in XII prophetas minores* (CPG 6208), PG 81, col. 1876, en parlant de son propre traité : Καὶ ἵνα μὴ σφόδρα τὴν ὑπόθεσιν μηκύνῃς, ἀποκναίσω τινὰς τῶν ἐντευξομένων τοῖσδε τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν – « Afin de ne pas trop prolonger le raisonnement, je vais gratter quelques-uns des arguments de ces commentaires »⁶⁵.
- Didyme l'Aveugle, *Commentarii in Zachariam* (CPG 2549), 3, 73, 2, en parlant d'une autre de ses œuvres : Σαφήνεια δὲ ἀναντίρρητος περὶ τούτων γέγονεν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους Παύλου ἐπιστολῆς – « Mais nous avons donné une interprétation sûre de ces nombres dans nos commentaires sur l'Apocalypse de Jean et sur l'épître de Paul aux Romains »⁶⁶.

3.5.4. Usage dans les titres mêmes

Il semble qu'on ne retrouve pas aussi fréquemment cet usage dans les titres des commentaires eux-mêmes. Sur l'ensemble des textes inventoriés par le *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, seule une centaine de commentaires portent le titre d'*ὑπόμνημα*, principalement des textes de Galien. Il est cependant difficile de vérifier précisément la réalité qui se cache derrière cet inventaire, pour les raisons expliquées plus haut : difficulté de rassembler un matériel fiable, choix différent de l'éditeur, du copiste. Certains textes manquent donc certainement à l'appel, tandis que d'autres sont ajoutés sans vérification : il arrive, en effet dans certains cas, que l'éditeur aie

⁶² Texte : É. LEGRAND, *Cent-dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe*, Paris, 1892. Traduction personnelle.

⁶³ Auteur gnostique du II^e siècle.

⁶⁴ Texte et traduction : C. BLANC, *Origène, Commentaire sur Saint Jean*, II (SC, 157), Paris, 1970.

⁶⁵ Traduction personnelle.

⁶⁶ Texte et traduction : L. DOUTRELEAU, *Didyme l'Aveugle, Sur Zacharie*, III (SC, 85), Paris, 1962.

préféré la leçon ὑπόμνημα pour le titre d'une œuvre, alors que la majorité des manuscrits possédait une leçon différente, nous incitant à mettre au compte des commentaires portant le titre d'ὑπόμνημα un texte qui ne devait pas y figurer. C'est le cas, par exemple, des trois œuvres suivantes⁶⁷ :

- le commentaire de Chrysostome à l'épître aux Éphésiens (CPG 4431) : ἔρμηνεία εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιστολήν⁶⁸ = ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιστολήν (PG 62, col. 9).
- le commentaire de Théodoret de Cyr sur le prophète Daniel (CPG 6207) : τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔρμηνεία εἰς τὸν προφήτην Δανιήλ⁶⁹ = ἐπισκόπου Κύρου ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὰς δράσεις τοῦ προφήτου Δανιήλ (PG 81, col. 1256).
- le commentaire de ce même Théodoret sur les douze petits prophètes (CPG 6208) : ἔρμηνεία τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοδωρήτου, ἐπισκόπου Κύρου εἰς τοὺς ἰβ' προφήτας⁷⁰ = ἐπισκόπου Κύρου ὑπόμνημα εἰς τοὺς δώδεκα προφήτας (PG 81, col. 1545).

Cette constatation nous pousse à revenir sur la tendance à utiliser le terme ἔρμηνεία à la place d'ὑπόμνημα, que nous avons déjà rencontrée dans les exemples tirés de la *Bibliothèque* de Photios. Cette tendance pourrait nous amener à faire l'hypothèse de la perte, à l'époque byzantine, de la connaissance du caractère spécifique du terme ὑπόμνημα. Cependant, cette hypothèse n'est plus valable si l'on considère que la signification « commentaire » n'est qu'une des facettes de la signification principale de « traité ». En effet, en tant que traité « hypomnématique », le commentaire qualifié d'ὑπόμνημα possède les caractéristiques que nous avons identifiées lorsque nous avons analysé ὑπόμνημα dans le sens de « traité » : forme floue, sans fioriture stylistique, s'attachant uniquement aux points principaux (représentés dans ce cas-ci par les lemmes). Ces différentes caractéristiques sont partagées par l'ἔρμηνεία. Il nous semble donc que l'utilisation des deux synonymes ne se fait pas au détriment l'un de l'autre et n'entraîne pas une perte de signification de l'un en faveur de l'autre, chacun d'eux pouvant servir pour qualifier le même type de traité. L'ambivalence entre ὑπόμνημα et ἔρμηνεία ne peut donc plus servir comme argument en faveur de l'appauvrissement sémantique d'ὑπόμνημα à l'époque byzantine.

⁶⁷ Une étude plus poussée révélerait sans doute d'autres occurrences. Les données dont nous disposons via les catalogues de manuscrits n'ont pas permis de faire une réelle comparaison des titres de l'œuvre dans les manuscrits. Il s'agit donc plutôt d'une tendance générale basée sur les indications disponibles. Ces restrictions valent pour les trois exemples.

⁶⁸ *Vindobonensis, theologicus gr.* 25, XI^e siècle, f. 1.

⁶⁹ *Florentinus, Mediceus-Laurentianus, Plut.* XI,3, XV^e siècle, f. 143.

⁷⁰ *Oxonienis, Bodleianus, Auctarium T.202*, XI^e siècle, f. 1.

4. CONCLUSION

Les différentes facettes du terme *ὑπόμνημα* que nous avons explorées ici, nous mettent face au problème plus général de la titulature des commentaires, comme le résume bien Tiziano Dorandi : « Si je me suis arrêté un instant sur cette œuvre (...), c'était surtout pour mettre en évidence, encore une fois, le large spectre de significations qu'on peut donner, dans l'antiquité, au terme *ὑπόμνημα*, et en même temps la pluralité de modèles et de types de texte qu'on peut faire entrer dans la catégories des *hypomnematata* »⁷¹.

Les titres de commentaires font en effet souvent appel à des termes généraux pour l'identification d'une œuvre, loin des classes et des genres définis par les modernes. À côté des termes *ὑπόμνημα* et *ἐρμηνεία* on trouve, comme nous l'avons vu, le terme *σχόλιον*, difficile aussi à définir, et, en ce qui concerne peut-être de préférence le commentaire des textes sacrés, le terme *ἐξήγησις*. Si l'on prend le cas du genre littéraire appelé « chaîne » par les modernes, on remarque que ce dernier n'utilise pas de nomenclature particulière lorsqu'il s'agit d'être identifié par un titre mais reprend des termes courants comme *ἐρμηνεία*, *ἐκλογαί*, *ἐξηγητικά*, *συλλογή*, *συναγωγή τῶν ἐξηγητικῶν ἐκλογῶν*, ou, plus rarement, *σύνοψις σχολικῆ*, *ὑπόμνημα*, c'est-à-dire une titulature propre aux commentaires en général mais ne tenant pas compte de la forme particulière de la chaîne telle que déterminée par ailleurs⁷².

Cela signifie-t-il que ces textes n'étaient pas considérés comme spécifiques ? Il est utopique de penser pouvoir répondre à cette question sans une étude plus approfondie, comme le rappelle Éric Junod⁷³ :

« Limitée aux *σημειώσεις* d'Origène, cette étude attire l'attention sur la variété et l'évolution des genres littéraires utilisés par les auteurs païens et chrétiens de l'antiquité tardive pour commenter des textes. Il reste assurément beaucoup de travail pour déterminer avec davantage de précision, au sein de la littérature exégétique chrétienne de cette époque, les traits spécifiques des *ὑπομνήματα*, des *τόμοι ἐξηγητικῶν*, des *ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις*, des *σημειώσεις*, des *σχόλια* et des *ὀμιλῖαι*, pour ne mentionner que les termes rencontrés au long de ce parcours ».

⁷¹ DORANDI, *Le commentaire dans la tradition papyrologique*, pp. 27-28.

⁷² R. DEVREESE, art. *Chaînes exégétiques grecques*, dans *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Suppl.* 1, Paris, 1928, coll. 1087-1090.

⁷³ É. JUNOD, *Que savons-nous des scholies (σχόλια - σημειώσεις) d'Origène ?*, dans G. DORIVAL, A. LE BOULLUEC, M. ALEXANDRE, M. FÉDOU, A. POURKIER, J. WOLINSKI (éd.), *Origeniana Sexta. Origène et la Bible / Origen and the Bible. Actes du Colloquium Origenianum Sextum Chantilly, 30 août - 3 septembre 1993 (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, 118)*, Louvain, 1995, p. 149.

Comme nous le disions au début de cet article, la question des titres dans la littérature byzantine est complexe. Nous en avons abordé ici quelques facettes : la problématique de l'autorité du titre, la valeur du titre comme identifiant d'une œuvre, l'utilisation de termes généraux comme titre d'une œuvre et notre capacité à en dégager les caractéristiques.

Ces exemples nous ont montré les limites mais aussi les perspectives prometteuses de l'étude des titres pour notre connaissance de la littérature byzantine. Il nous faut maintenant mettre au point des moyens, des protocoles qui nous permettent de récolter les données nécessaires à de telles recherches afin d'étayer nos hypothèses par un corpus autrement plus important que celui que nous avons étudié ici.

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SUMMARY

This article explores several issues pertaining to the role of titles in Byzantine literature. Firstly, some methodological questions are raised regarding their authority and authorship as well as the delineation of the research subject. Secondly, a specific case is discussed of how a 9th/10th-century anthology uses titles (or not) to identify the writings it quotes from. In a more extensive third and final section, the semantic evolution is retraced of the term ὑπόμνημα, which has been used with quite diverging meanings throughout Greek literature.

THE CREATION OF THE LATE ANTIQUE CITY

CONSTANTINOPLE AND ASIA MINOR DURING THE 'THEODOSIAN RENAISSANCE'

INTRODUCTION

By the beginning of Late Antiquity, the age of lavish spending on the city had already come and gone. With the exception of imperial projects, Late Antique and Early Byzantine undertakings were of a much more modest nature. Buildings were increasingly abandoned, after which they either stood deserted or were dismantled to supply new building projects, of which the quality is, with a few exceptions, considered worse than that of previous centuries. Moreover, as many changes in Late Antique times were brought about by a lack of resources, the entire period can be seen as a decline in comparison with previous centuries of the Roman Empire. However, instead of focusing on what was lost and abandoned, the period can be valued on its own terms.¹ In particular, it should be stressed that, despite political, social and religious changes, the ideological adherence to urban living did not falter before the late 6th or early 7th century. Until that time, urban populations maintained their physical surroundings to the best of their ability.² Moreover, the level of activity between the late 3rd and early 7th century was not constant: periods of greater activity – ‘renaissances’ – alternated with decades characterised by stagnation or decline. Due to the size of the Roman Empire and the different histories of its separate dioceses and provinces, this timeline is not necessarily the same everywhere.³

This article will focus on Asia Minor in the Theodosian period (AD 379-450, Fig. 1). Its aim is twofold. Firstly, it will present the major urbanistic activities within Asia Minor during this particular timespan, mainly based on material evidence. It will be demonstrated that urban centres here were

¹ The distinctiveness of Late Antiquity is, for instance, stressed in the contributions to the volume *Die antike Stadt in Umbruch*, see esp. BURKHARDT and STICHEL 2010, pp. 10-15.

² JACOBS 2012.

³ In the last decades, general overviews have given way for a more detailed and more regionalised view, based both on a re-examination of older information and the increased amount of attention for Late Antique and Early Byzantine remains in ongoing excavations. See for example WALMSLEY 1996; BRANDES 1999; BRANDES and HALDON 2000; BANAJI 2001; POULTER 2004; WAELKENS *et al.* 2006; POULTER (ed) 2007. E.g., in North Africa, the well-known Severan boom was followed by a slump (LEONE 2007, p. 36).



Fig. 1 Map of Asia Minor showing locations of sites mentioned in the article

not only very much alive, undertaking construction and renovation works on a large scale, but also that most features that we nowadays consider typical of the Late Antique city came into being in these decades. Secondly, it is aimed at placing these urbanistic interventions against contemporaneous historical events as well as against wider political, social and religious changes in order to explain their appearance in this particular period in time.

INTERPRETING THE EVIDENCE

Asia Minor was, in contrast to regions such as the Balkans, largely spared from raids and warfare. Placing this region in the centre of this research is thus a thought-through choice, as its cities could largely develop without external obligations or strains. But even within Asia Minor, cities had very different histories. Not only were they sensible to empire-wide or region-wide changes, local particularities and events as well as their status and importance within the Empire also influenced their development. Especially Constantinople, as the new imperial capital, was unique. First of all, the city was largely laid out on virgin soil and could be expanded by taking only

geographical considerations into account. Moreover, Constantinople as imperial capital had an exceptional status, could count on much larger financial resources and had to consider an international resonance, which was obvious in the extent, nature and decoration of its urban framework. Although the continuous occupation of the city since Antiquity hampers archaeological research, its buildings were enumerated in city catalogues (*regionaria*),⁴ and it was the source of many *encomia* and features in most secular and ecclesiastical histories, as it was the stage of key-events in the Empire's political and religious history. Moreover, quite a few edicts assembled in the Theodosian Code were intended to regulate daily life in Constantinople, although they were probably applicable to other cities as well.⁵ Conversely, Asia Minor was a region where urban culture was long-lived, and where changes in Late Antiquity came about in an existing urban landscape. The Empire's provincial capitals and 'ordinary' cities had to get by with more modest provincial and especially municipal funds, which, as will be discussed further on, sometimes put a strain on construction activities. On the whole they also did not attract attention from writers, except when the writers had a special connection to a city, for instance it was their hometown.⁶ On the bright side, since cities in Asia Minor were often partially or largely abandoned after Antiquity, their state of preservation is generally high and much research has been done.

Also within Asia Minor, cities were diverse in size and history. For instance, Ephesus, the cosmopolitan capital of the Asian diocese, was an important Christian centre at least from the late 2nd or the early 3rd century AD onwards.⁷ In contrast, the provincial capital of Caria, Aphrodisias, had a strong pagan presence until the late 5th or early 6th century AD.⁸ Sardis, capital of Lydia, was extra important because of the presence of an imperial arms factory.⁹ Other cities mentioned in this article comprise further provincial capitals, such as Perge, as well as medium-sized towns, such as Hierapolis and Sagalassos. Ideally, these are compared to the development of small towns, for instance Blaundos, but information on such towns remains scanty.

⁴ For this period, most relevant is the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae*, composed in the second quarter of the 5th century under Theodosius II.

⁵ BALDINI LIPOLLIS 2007, pp. 197-198.

⁶ For instance, the writings of Eunapius (frag. 45 [FHG, IV.33] and *Vitae Sophistarum* 503) contain information on his hometown Sardis.

⁷ HARREITHER 2002, pp. 78-80, LADSTÄTTER and PÜLZ 2007, pp. 408-416.

⁸ SMITH 1991, pp. 157-158; TROMBLEY 1993-1994, pp. 52-73.

⁹ FOSS 1976, pp. 14-15.

Finally, the study of infrastructure and architecture in Late Antiquity in general is faced with specific difficulties. Some of these are due to the nature of the evidence, others to research interests and strategies.¹⁰ Until recently, later architectural phases received little attention and Late Antique structures were considered inferior to those built during the Early and High Empire. This disinterest has in more than a few cases caused the partial or total removal of later additions and alterations of older elements. Moreover, even though during the last three decades, our data collection and knowledge of the 4th to 7th centuries AD have expanded enormously, dating of Late Antique archaeological traces remains problematic.¹¹

CHANGING THE CITYSCAPE

This section presents the three main physical changes within cities of Asia Minor in the Theodosian period. Together they determined the appearance and ensured that the city functioned well for centuries to come. Firstly, from the later 4th century onwards, urban fortifications again became a prominent addition to the urban fabric. Secondly, by the later 4th century, temples were deserted en masse, a phenomenon that has already drawn much attention.¹² Although they were not all immediately replaced by Christian centres of worship, churches were already introduced into the cityscape in the Theodosian period, an innovation that was to be of the highest importance within the history of urbanism. Finally, many cities renovated their streets and squares, thereby creating eclectic ensembles that are nowadays considered to be typical for Late Antiquity.

¹⁰ Ideally, cities are also researched in combination with their countryside, certainly when wanting to answer questions of prosperity. However, this research has in many areas not yet been done and where the countryside has been the subject of research, precise dates are even more problematic than in the cities due to the nature of the material, which was generated largely through survey collection. Recent examples include NIEWÖHNER 2007, pp. 71-82 for Aizanoi and VANHAVERBEKE, MARTENS and WAEKENS 2007 for Sagalassos. A recent overview of literature on the countryside is provided in CHAVARRIA and LEWIT 2004.

¹¹ Construction dates are often derived from a stylistic classification of building elements and decoration. When such architectural ornamentation is not present, structures are roughly categorised as being 'Late Antique', 'Byzantine' or 'Early Christian'. Moreover, most components of the urban landscape in Late Antiquity consisted of older monuments and infrastructure, most of which underwent decorative, structural and technical alterations of variable importance during their lifespan. Consequently, such changes can seldom be connected to stratigraphic deposition of sediments and remain undated.

¹² HAHN, EMMEL and GOTTER 2008 provide a recent state of the art.

A fortified city

After the establishment of Roman rule and the resultant peace and stability, fortifications were no longer built and pre-existing Hellenistic walls lost their relevance.¹³ Only from the 3rd century onwards was the Empire again confronted with enemy threats. In the past, the construction or repair of a fortification has often been interpreted as a response to specific historic events such as foreign raids or invasions. For the eastern Mediterranean, the assumption until recently was that there were two main periods of fortification: the first starting under the reign of Valerian in the mid-3rd century – in response to recurrent raids of the Goths and the Heruloi in Asia Minor¹⁴ and the Persians in the East¹⁵ – and ending around AD 330, the second starting during the reign of Anastasius and Justinian, culminating in the period of Heraclius and Constans II.¹⁶ For what concerns the first phase, it is true that in Asia Minor, as well as in neighbouring regions, a few fortifications were erected in the aftermath of the 3rd century Gothic upheaval.¹⁷ In addition, Constantine also saw it wise to strengthen his new capital with walls, no doubt following the examples of Rome and the Tetrarchic cities.¹⁸ However, archaeological research of the past decades has now re-assigned the majority of city fortifications in Asia Minor to the second half of the 4th century, with a peak around AD 400 (Table 1). Strangely enough, in these decades, Asia Minor itself was fairly peaceful and the archaeological remains of the period even suggest that the cities of the region did not really fear hostile attacks. In contrast, even though genuine threats were again appearing by the end of the 6th and in the 7th century, it could be estab-

¹³ JONES 1966, p. 256; FOSS and WINFIELD 1986, p. 125 for the redundancy of walls in the Eastern Roman Empire. Military architecture was primarily concentrated on the borders of the Empire (GROS 1996, p. 52).

¹⁴ By the 3rd century AD, the Goths had migrated as far south as the Lower Danube, around the Black Sea. During the third part of the century, Gothic armies and fleets ravaged Thrace, Dacia, and cities in Asia Minor and along the Aegean coast. They plundered the large sanctuaries of Ephesos and Didyma in the early 260's, besieged Side and, together with the Heruloi, captured and plundered Athens in 267 (MITCHELL 1993, pp. 235-238; SARTRE 1995, pp. 183-186; WILKES 1989 for Greece).

¹⁵ SARTRE 1995, pp. 183-184.

¹⁶ LIEBESCHUETZ 2001, p. 51.

¹⁷ E.g., the walls of Pergamon (KLINKOTT 2001, pp. 8-12) and Athens (FRANTZ 1988, pp. 125-141) are thought to postdate the events.

¹⁸ LAMPADA 2008 with further references for the Walls of Constantine in Constantinople. For the Aurelian Walls of Rome, see DEY 2011, pp. 17-32 with further references. All Tetrarchic capitals – Nicomedia and Sirmium in the East, Milan and Trier in the West, as well as other imperial sites of the early 4th century such as the Palace of Diocletian at Split and the re-founded settlement of Tropaenum Traiani – were fortified.

Table 1. Examples of urban fortifications in Asia Minor between AD 350-450.

Site	Late antique intervention	Date	Selected bibliography
Aphrodisias	Constructed	Between 350 and 370	De Staebler 2008
Blaundos	Constructed	Around 400	Giese 2000a-b
Hierapolis	Constructed	Around 400	D'Andria 2003, pp. 38, 106-107, 115-117; Arthur 2006, pp. 42-43, 129-130
Perge	Renovation Hellenistic wall	4th c./around 400	Özgür 1990, pp. 26-33; Foss 1996 article no. 4, pp. 14-16
Sagalassos	Renovation Hellenistic wall	Around 400	Poblome 1995, pp. 189-190; Poblome 1999, pp. 280, 317; Loots, Waelkens and Depuydt 2000, pp. 598-631
Sardis	Constructed	Second half 4th c.	Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975: figures; Van Zanten, Thomas and Hanfmann 1975, pp. esp. 35-45; 45-49; Foss 1976, p. 114, source 18; Hanfmann 1983, p. 143
Selge	Renovation Hellenistic wall	Around 400	Machatschek and Schwarz 1981, pp. 36-46
Side, Outer Fortification	Renovation Hellenistic wall	Around or after the 360's	Mansel 1968, pp. 239-241; Foss 1977b; Foss 1996, pp. 31-33

lished that these decades saw relatively little new wall construction, at least not of enceintes intended to protect sizeable urban populations.¹⁹

Provincial capitals, such as Aphrodisias, Sardis or Perge, seemingly preceded smaller towns in obtaining a defensive perimeter. Already in the 360's, they either had a completely new circuit constructed, or had the remnants of

¹⁹ Walls surrounding only a part of the city, often not the former centre, can be found in, for instance, Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Sagalassos and Sardis. Their creation has often been connected to the invasions of the Persians, who from AD 602, at the start of the reign of Phokas, until 623, following their defeat under Herakleios, waged war on Byzantium. They invaded large parts of Asia Minor in 616 and reached the walls of Constantinople. Coin evidence implies that both Ephesos and Sardis were destroyed by fire around this time, after which the cities were never again rebuilt. At Ephesos a smaller city wall was set up and a small fortified settlement or *kastron* was erected on the hill of Ayasoluk. At Sardis, the acropolis would become a military centre around the middle of the 7th century. Some archaeologists believe that destruction levels at Aphrodisias can be assigned to the battle with the Persians (RATTÉ 2001, p. 144). None of these previous fortifications have been dated securely and their date remains a point of discussion. Finally, excavations at the *kastron* of Sagalassos favour a date around the mid-7th century AD (JACOBS 2010b).

their Hellenistic walls repaired. In addition, Side may have strengthened its Hellenistic fortifications in the same period. However, in other provincial cities such as Hierapolis, Blaundos, Sagalassos or Selge, fortifications again became part of the urban amenities only around AD 400. Finally, Theodosius must have planned a new and more substantial fortification for his capital already in the 380's.²⁰ Nevertheless, the only element executed at this time was a triumphal arch, completed before 391, later to be known as the Golden Gate. The construction of the remainder of the 6.5 km long Land Walls was then started in AD 404 or early 405 and ended nine years later, in 413.²¹ The finishing of the Sea Walls would take another 25 years.²²

The defensive system of Constantinople did become by far the most monumental of the Late Antique world. It was already exceptional because of the area it enclosed, 650 ha, which apparently included as much open ground as actual urban development. The Land Walls comprised not one, but two curtain walls fronted by an artificial moat, which accounted for a total width of more than 60 m, its top rising some 25 m above the ground level on the exterior.²³ Furthermore, the walls were built in an incomparable technique: small, carefully cut blocks alternating with five brick courses. Towers – rectangular, round and polygonal in shape – were added at more or less regular intervals. Brick relieving arches in both curtain walls and towers were not only functional, but also visually appealing. The Golden Gate, the main access into the *intra muros* area, was a converted triumphal arch built with Proconnesian marble. It was further adorned with two bronze elephants, presumably belonging to a reused *biga* or *quadriga* composition placed above the central passageway, and a statue of Theodosius, accompanied by a Nike and the Tyche of Constantinople. In addition, flying eagles were carved on the corners of the tower cornices.²⁴

The walls of a provincial capital, such as Aphrodisias or Sardis, also distinguished themselves from those of the other cities of the provinces by the large surface they protected, surrounding virtually the entire city. They further possessed neat wall faces, which were made completely or partially from newly quarried stones, and which occasionally received additional finishing layers in plaster or stucco.²⁵ Conversely, the majority of walls

²⁰ BARDILL 1999, p. 692.

²¹ CROW 2001; BARDILL 1999, p. 676.

²² *Chronicon Paschale* 583.

²³ See ERSEN 1999, pp. 102-104 and CROW 2001, p. 92 for a short description.

²⁴ The presence of statues was confirmed by the elevated number of dowel holes found on the top face of its cornices (BASSETT 2004, pp. 95-96; JACOBS 2009a, p. 203).

²⁵ This could, for instance, be attested at Sardis (VAN ZANTEN, THOMAS and HANFMANN 1975, pp. 39-40, fig. 20). Though this decoration was only encountered on the inside face of one of the northern stretches, the general preservation of the wall is so bad that it is likely that

surrounding medium-sized and smaller towns in Asia Minor were typically characterized by the small size of their circuits, often leaving out part of the built-up area, the large-scale employment of reused blocks, sometimes assembled rather haphazardly, the presence of a limited number of simple, rectangular towers situated only at strategic points in the landscape, and also by clear differences between neighbouring wall sections. Only the wall sections near gates and the gates themselves were invariably constructed with more care than the rest of the circuit. Their high-visibility further induced the application of additional architectural and figurative decoration. For instance, the North Gate at Blaundos featured an architrave with two *fasciae* and, above this, a Doric frieze, whereas the towers in all likelihood were decorated with elements of a Doric architrave and triglyp-metope frieze (Fig. 2).²⁶ The North Gate of Hierapolis and the South Gate of Perge were adorned with columnar architecture framing the doors.²⁷ The subjects of figurative decoration varied greatly. Military reliefs depicting shields, weapons and cuirasses unsurprisingly were the most popular (Fig. 3),²⁸ followed by other apotropaic images such as lions and lion heads, panthers, gorgoneia, snakes and so on. Although mythological and occasionally blatantly pagan depictions were in this period still recuperated,²⁹ the cross and chrismons featured on the North Gate of Hierapolis and also on the Golden Gate of Constantinople heralded the new Christian age. Gates built from AD 400 onwards would follow their example more and more.³⁰

it was also present on outer wall stretches. The extra attempt to draw vertical and horizontal grooves in it makes this likely, since such an imitation of ashlar is more suitable for an outside rather than an inside face, where its visibility was low.

²⁶ GIESE 2006b, p. 81.

²⁷ D'ANDRIA 2003, pp. 112-114.

²⁸ They occurred in the area of the Magnesian Gate at Ephesus, the most recent rebuilding of which may be dated to the 4th century (SEITERLE 1982, pp. 147-148; SCHERRER 2006, p. 68; Sokolicek 2009, pp. 342-343), at the South-West Gate of Sardis, the gates of Selge, Side, Perge and Sagalassos. The apotropaic use of figural friezes with a military connotation originated in the Hellenistic period (MCNICOLL 1997, p. 129) and was intended to discourage the opponent before the actual fighting began (VON HESBERG 2005, p. 74). For a discussion and bibliography on weaponry reliefs in Late Antique gates, see JACOBS 2009a, pp. 203, 208; 2010a, p. 277; 2012, pp. 79-83.

²⁹ The reliefs reused near the West Gate of Aphrodisias included depictions of Nike and hunting cupids, while those of the South-East Gate incorporated depictions of sphinxes, a baby Herakles, a gorgoneion and a satyr head (DE STAEBLER 2008, pp. 298-301). The iconography displayed at the North Gate of Hierapolis was similar, with reliefs of heads of lions, a head of a panther and of a Gorgon (D'ANDRIA 2003, pp. 112-114). The North-West Gate of Sagalassos was unique in that it featured not only a keystone with a relief of an eagle holding a snake, but also busts of the warrior gods Ares and Athena. For a discussion, see JACOBS 2009a, pp. 203-204; 2010a, pp. 277-278.

³⁰ For a discussion on the meaning of reliefs and later crosses on city gates, see JACOBS 2009a, pp. 208-209.



Fig. 2 The North Gate at Blandos

It was, in fact, not entirely surprising that cities were refortified in the Theodosian age. Theodosius I only came to power after the former emperor Valens had been killed and the Roman army was decimated by the Goths in AD 378 at Adrianople, barely 160 km from Constantinople. Two years earlier, Gothic tribes, together with smaller numbers of other immigrants led by assorted kings, had crossed the Danube. This was the start of a considerable amount of conflict. Although Theodosius managed to suppress the immediate danger, he could not drive the Goths from the Balkans and eventually had to settle for a peace treaty that allowed the newcomers to settle within the borders of the Empire as *foederati*.³¹ Opposed to his predecessors, who had regarded Constantine's city as little more than a 'transit camp',³² Theodosius I took permanent residence at Constantinople. He must have been well aware of the potential dangers threatening the city and thus had very likely already conceived a plan to surround it with a second and larger defensive circuit.

³¹ LIEBESCHUETZ 1991, pp. 26-31, HEATHER 2007, pp. 167-168.

³² CROKE 2010, p. 241.



Fig. 3 The weaponry frieze that decorated the East Gate of Side, showing armour pieces, helmets, swords and cuirasses

In addition, widespread wall construction at the end of the 4th and in the early 5th century was probably also the result of directives from the central administration issued in response to a climate of increased insecurity and the shock of military malfunction.³³ Indeed, general discontent from the part of the Goths concerning the peace treaty eventually resulted in a full resumption of hostilities in AD 395. Under a new leader, Alaric, they first ravaged Macedonia and Thessaly and plundered and devastated farms in the immediate neighbourhood of Constantinople. Thereafter, the Goths moved into Greece, before retreating to Epirus in 397. Although Alaric was appeased by the eastern government by being granted the command of the empire's forces in Illyricum, Constantinople's hold on the region was only strengthened again after Alaric's army permanently moved west and out of the Eastern Empire in 407-408.³⁴ These happenings, whereby not only the borders, but also the heartlands of the Empire were threatened, must have raised further doubts about the safety of the Empire's cities, and rightly so. Alaric experienced little trouble capturing major centres such as Athens and Corinth, cities that were, at that time, largely undefended. In contrast, walled cities such as Adrianople had proved to be able to resist hostile attacks.

³³ *CTh* 15.1.34 (AD 396 = *CJ* 8.11.12). *CTh* 15.1.45 (AD 407-412) ordered the entire population of the praetorian prefecture of Illyricum to participate in wall construction. Significant in this context is that urban fortifications again appeared almost contemporaneously in all heartlands of the Empire. For Illyricum - the region that suffered the gravest damage under the Goths - especially the earlier years of the reign of Theodosius II, just after the Goths had finally left to the West, was a period of intensive fortification. The walls of Athens were refortified, probably between AD 408 and 412 (GREGORY 1982, p. 19; FOWDEN 1997, pp. 553-556). Also the Hexamilion with the Isthmian Fortress has been dated convincingly to the earlier part of the reign of Theodosius II (GREGORY 1993). The walls of Corinth, Sparta, Epidaurus, Aigina and Korone in Messenia are assumed to have been built in the late 4th and especially the early 5th century (GREGORY 1982). In the Near East, Skythopolis, which became the capital of Palaestina Secunda in the early 5th century AD, may at that time have been given walls (TSAFRIR and FOERSTER 1997, pp. 100-102). Also Antioch may already have been refortified. These walls have now almost completely disappeared, but 19th century depictions clearly show they strongly resembled the Land Walls of Constantinople (FOSS and WINFIELD 1986, p. 215, fig. 17). Other large cities such as Caesarea Maritima apparently followed somewhat later in the 5th century AD. In the West, cities in Italy, Spain and Southern Gaul were again surrounded by fortifications in the early 5th century AD. In Italy, the first half of the 5th century was a period of intense urban (re-) fortification, with rebuilding of the walls of Rome (under Honorius), Naples, Terracina, Albenga and Ravenna (CHRISTIE and RUSHWORTH 1988). This phase can maybe again be connected to a general climate of insecurity caused by the dealings of the Goths in this region. For restorations to the fortification of Rome under Honorius, see DEY 2011, 32-48. In Spain, two large groups of fortifications have been distinguished: the first dating to the Tetrarchic period, the second to the early 5th century AD (FERNÁNDEZ-OCHOA and MORILLO 2005, p. 327). CLEARY, JONES and WOOD (1998, p. 353) mention large-scale wall construction around AD 400 in the province of Novempopulana.

³⁴ LIEBESCHUETZ 1991, pp. 48-72; HEATHER 2007, pp. 168-169.

The region of Asia Minor may have been further harassed by raids of Hunnic tribes between AD 395 and 398,³⁵ who penetrated the Empire as far as Antioch.³⁶ The cities of Pamphylia and Pisidia may have found a direct reason for initiating urban defences as they were plagued by Isaurian raids from the third quarter of the 4th century until the early 5th century AD.³⁷ In particular the refortification of Side may have been a consequence of the city's partake in the *limes Isauriae*, the regional defence system against these repetitive attacks. The spread and impact of these Isaurian and Hunnic raids, however, remain largely unknown. In any case, the material record of the region's cities on the whole rather suggests that the urban populations did not fully share the government's concern for invasions. Both residential and artisanal quarters as well as major monuments were often left outside the new urban fortifications and apparently thrived (e.g., the urban mansion at Sagalassos). Furthermore, simultaneously with city walls, other new major monuments (e.g., the Martyrion at Hierapolis) as well as residential quarters *extra muros* (e.g., the Paktolos suburb at Sardis³⁸) were laid-out, whereas the columnar architecture preceding some city gates, majestic as it may have been, also harmed their defensive capability.³⁹

Although historical events thus in all likelihood caused the widespread reappearance of fortifications from the later 4th century onwards, as said above, a few city walls preceded Theodosian fortifications by a few decades. With the exception of Side, they all belonged to provincial capitals. These city walls were often highly impressive constructions that surrounded most, if not all, of the inhabited area, that were constructed with the utmost of care and that comprised decorative gates. Given the absence of peril around the middle of the 4th century, the evident conclusion is that these walls were conceived as status symbols,⁴⁰ distinguishing the nuclei of the

³⁵ This was at least suggested in Claudian, *In Eutropium* I.234-286; Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VI.1; Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VIII.1; Philostorgios XI.8; ps-Joshua Stylites, *Chronicle* §9; *Chronicon Edessenum* III. 4, 6.20-21; Claudian, *In Rufinum* II.33-5. DEMOUGEOT 1979, pp. 386-393 discusses the Hunnic raids in the later 4th and early 5th century.

³⁶ Jerome, *Epistulae* 60.16, 77.8.

³⁷ For Side, see FOSS 1996 article no. 4, p. 29. For the Isaurian tribes, see FOSS 1977, p. 174; LAWRENCE 1983, p. 176; NOLLÉ 1993, pp. 135-136.

³⁸ FOSS 1976, pp. 46-47; HANFMANN and BUCHWALD 1983, p. 194.

³⁹ JACOBS 2009a, p. 209.

⁴⁰ This was also suggested for Aphrodisias in DE STAEBLER 2008, p. 286. CLEARY, JONES and WOOD 1998, p. 353 interpreted Theodosian fortifications in Gaul as status symbols, as they remained virtually limited to administrative centres. The tradition of walls perceived as status symbols was centuries old by the 4th century. For instance, in the relatively peaceful era of Trajan, Dio Chrysostom (45.13) wanted Prusa to have city walls to improve its status as a city. For the concept of urban fortifications as status symbol and representation of urban space, see GROS 1996, p. 215.

provinces from the cities under their influence, just as Constantinople had been singled out from all other cities in Asia Minor by Constantine. The representational possibilities of walls were likewise exploited in the Theodosian enceintes, although mainly surrounding their gates. The municipal governments, instead of dully executing the imperial edict, indeed employed these monumental constructions as elements of self-representation in an ongoing inter-city competition. One of the consequences would be that urban enceintes, together with Christian churches, would come to define a city by the 6th century AD.⁴¹

Constructing a state religion

Theodosius I entered history first and foremost as the emperor that made the switch to Christianity definite.⁴² In doing so, he substantiated the second large physical change of the Late Antique city: the wholesale desertion of temples and the start of widespread church construction. Of course, the Christianization of the Empire was an evolution that had already been on its way for more than a century. The combination of diminished resources and opposition against pagan religion must have caused the slow but certain abandonment of many temples in the course of the 4th century.⁴³ I have argued elsewhere that temples in Asia Minor were seldom violently destroyed

⁴¹ See, amongst others, Prokopios, *De Aedificiis* 2.1.3-4, 2.9.20, 6.5.13; Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.18. For a discussion on the perception of the city in the 6th century, see SARADI-MENDELIVICI 1988, esp. pp. 397-401; ZANINI 2003, pp. 198-199; JACOBS 2012, p. 30. Prokopios, *De Aedificiis* 6.6.13-16 clarifies that cities without urban fortification became an abnormality.

⁴² The edict enforcing Nicene orthodoxy was issued in AD 380 (*CTh* 16.1.2).

⁴³ PRICE 1984, p. 59 and BEARD, NORTH and PRICE 1998, pp. 387 for the abolishment of traditional festivals due to reduced resources. SARADI-MENDELIVICI 1990, p. 50 for literary sources on abandonment and natural decay. For a while, cult activities may have continued on a more modest scale. For instance, after the Artemision at Ephesos had been plundered by the Goths in AD 262, the *cella* was restored and paved, probably during the reign of Diocletian, but the materials used were taken from other ruined parts of the complex (FOSS 1979, pp. 86-87; BAMMER and MUSS 1996, pp. 60-61). In the same period, the eastern *temenos* hall of the city's 'Serapeion' was devastated. The continuation of cult activities into the 4th century was here attested by a dedication, but the portico was never repaired (FOSS 1979, p. 64; HEBERDEY 1915, pp. 86-87). Likewise, at the extra-urban Letoon, the main sanctuary connected to the city of Xanthos, excavations have shown that in the latest phase, when the sanctuary was already in ruins, its weakened resources were directed towards defending the site against the increasing severity of seasonal flooding (HANSEN 1991, pp. 334-336; LE ROY 1991, p. 351; BAYLISS 2004, p. 16, note 95). Finally, parts of the Temple of Artemis at Sardis were already dilapidated and removed in the first half of the 4th century (FOSS 1976, pp. 48, 50; HANFMANN and BUCHWALD 1983, p. 193). It is hardly surprising that three out of the four examples mentioned belonged to the most extensive sanctuaries of the classical world, which were very likely the most vulnerable to a decline in resources.

and instead deconsecrated relatively peacefully, which comprised the dismantlement of the altar as well as the removal of their cult statues, interior furniture and decoration.⁴⁴ As such, outwardly, relatively little changed before the end of the 4th, the beginning of the 5th century. Only then, far-reaching and often long-lasting decisions on what to do with such remnants of the past were made. One was probably obliged to do so, since the abandoned temples were either already suffering from continued non-maintenance or were at least in danger of becoming ruins in the near future.⁴⁵

If a temple was already in decay, restoration was probably not an option given the changing religious climate and also the limited civic funds in this period.⁴⁶ The next best solution was to ensure that the building remains would disappear from view completely. For this reason damaged and crumbling temples were pragmatically used as stone-quarries for building projects at the same location or elsewhere in the city.⁴⁷ Especially at Ephesus, many temples were in the process of dismantlement by AD 400. Building elements from the famous Artemision were recycled for the renovation of the Harbour Baths in the second quarter of the 4th century, and blocks of its *temenos* wall were abundantly used in the construction of the Church of St. Mary and its associated 'bishop's palace' in the later 420's or early 430's. The altar of the Artemision and the surrounding *temenos* colonnade, together with its pediment, were further reused in the area of the Basilica of St. John.⁴⁸ Likewise, the dismantling of the large Temple of the Sebastoi began before the end of the 4th century at the latest,⁴⁹ as did that of the Olympieion.⁵⁰ The much smaller Temple for Divus Julius and Roma on the State Agora and the so-called 'Felsspaltempel' were also presumably taken apart in contemporaneous operations.⁵¹ Although some of these temples were located in the heart of Ephesus, their dismantlement often went by unnoticed, as it remained hidden behind the original *propylaea* and *temenos* walls.⁵²

⁴⁴ JACOBS *accepted*.

⁴⁵ In a law of 435 (*CTh* 16.10.25), Theodosius acknowledged that many temples probably no longer survived intact. When some 25 years later, in 458 (*Novella Maioriani* 4), temples and other public buildings gained more stringent protection with stricter penalties attached, this assuagingly pertained to functioning, or at least structurally sound, public monuments. For a discussion, see JACOBS *accepted*.

⁴⁶ Cf. *infra*.

⁴⁷ As ordered in *CTh* 15.1.36 (397). Only later, from AD 435 onwards, temples were ordered to be outright destroyed (*CTh* 16.10.25).

⁴⁸ For the redistribution of building elements of the Temple of Artemis, see FOSS 1979, pp. 86-87; BAMMER and MUSS 1996, p. 60.

⁴⁹ AUINGER and AURENHAMMER 2010, p. 690 with further references.

⁵⁰ SCHERRER 2000, p. 184.

⁵¹ THÜR 2003, p. 262.

⁵² For an overview of the evidence, see JACOBS 2012, pp. 475-476; *accepted*.

The widespread dismantling of pagan cult buildings at Ephesos had a very particular cause: it was very likely the result of their ruinous condition after the earthquakes of the second half of the 4th century (AD 358, 365, 368).⁵³ As these derelict monuments defiled the appearance of the city, and because there were many other buildings in need of repair or renovation, the reuse of building elements from temples would have killed two birds with one stone.⁵⁴ Although this phenomenon is the most widespread at Ephesos, it was also known elsewhere.⁵⁵

Conversely, temples that were still in good condition did not need to be taken down. What is more, they were even protected by the imperial authorities that, in the later 4th and early 5th century did not hide their concern for the urban landscape.⁵⁶ Intact cult buildings were sometimes given a new function as they were.⁵⁷ In the Theodosian period especially, temples were put to new municipal uses. Since reuse is only recognizable when it involved at least some small adjustments to the original structure,⁵⁸ few such examples have been attested archaeologically. According to plentiful literary sources though, temples were given a second life as administrative centres,

⁵³ LIMBERIS 1999.

⁵⁴ For practical reasons behind the reuse-phenomenon, see DEICHMANN 1975, pp. 91-99; COATES-STEPHENS 2001; LINDROS WOHL 2001, p. 99; LEGGIO 2003, ESCH 2005, p. 19.

⁵⁵ E.g., the Temple of Apollo at Hierapolis was probably damaged during an earthquake that struck the city around the middle of the 4th century AD. It served as a stone quarry from the 5th century AD onwards (D'ANDRIA 2007, pp. 14-25). For additional examples, see JACOBS 2012, pp. 304-305.

⁵⁶ Similar concerns are apparent in Italian and African inscriptions mentioning temple restorations in the 4th and early 5th century AD. An overview of laws related to pagan cult and cult buildings can be found in CANTINO WATAGHIN 1999, pp. 741-749, table 2. Similar preoccupations were apparently less pressing when the countryside was involved: in 399, Arcadius and Honorius did order the destruction of a rural temple (*CTh* 16.10.16). CASEAU 2004 for a detailed account on the fate of rural temples.

⁵⁷ In comparison to the West, where pagan sites in the 4th and 5th century were avoided (WARD-PERKINS 2003, p. 286), temple sites in the East came to house other activities relatively quickly. See BAYLISS 2004, pp. 45-46, 58-59 for the possible continuation of other functions in temple *temenè*.

⁵⁸ At Sagalassos, a small Doric *distylos in antis* temple dedicated to Zeus was converted into a watchtower and integrated in the town's enceinte. The temple's superstructure may have already collapsed by this time. In any case, the roof and pediments were removed for the conversion and the walls were raised with mortared brick. Inside the former *cella*, pilasters supporting a wooden platform or a gallery running along the inner walls were built and, finally, a new doorway was inserted in the south wall (LOOTS, WAELKENS and DEPUYDT 2000, pp. 619-620). Once transformed into a tower, the structure was most likely roofed again. In this form, it was possibly maintained until the beginning of the 6th century AD. Similarly, it is possible that the *cella* of the Temple of Artemis at Gerasa came to house the seat of a *curator*, who was responsible for the maintenance and functioning of all municipal buildings, and undoubtedly also for the dismantling and redistribution of their elements from this period onwards (PARAPETTI 2002, pp. 32-33. BRENK 2003, p. 12).

Table 2. Overview of Theodosian churches in Asia Minor

Church	Late antique intervention	Date	Selected bibliography
Aizanoi, Temple of Zeus	Converted	Late 4th, early 5th c.	Naumann 1979, pp. 76-77; Rheidt 2001, pp. 343; 2003, p. 244, 246; Niewöhner 2007, pp. 74-75, 153-155;
Ephesos, 'Serapeion'	Converted	Theodosian	Heberdey 1915, pp. 86-88; Alzinger 1970, pp. 1652-1654; Miltner 1958, pp. 69-72; Foss 1979, p. 64; Pillinger 1995, p. 44; Bayliss 2004, p. 25; Scherrer 2000, pp. 148-150; 2005
Ephesos, Artemision	Converted	5th c.	Foss 1979, pp. 86-87; Bammer 1993, p. 167; 1999, pp. 86-88; 2008; Scherrer 2001, pp. 54-55
Ephesos, church in East Gymnasium	Converted	Late 4th or 5th c.	Miltner 1958, pp. 74-78; Restle 1967, p. 166; Alzinger 1970, pp. 1613-1615; Scherrer 1995, p. 24; 2001, p. 70
Ephesos, Church of St. John	Newly constructed	390-420	Miltner 1958, p. 90; Krautheimer 1986, pp. 106-107
Ephesos, Church of St. Mary	Converted	426-431	Karwiese 1989, pp. 17-39; Foss 1979, pp. 52-54, note 12; C. Jones 1993; Karwiese <i>et al.</i> 1997, pp. 12-18; 1999; Volanakis 1999, pp. 351-352; Thür 2003, p. 265
Ephesos, stadium	Converted	5th c.	Karwiese 1994, p. 24; 1995a; Scherrer 2000, p. 166
Hierapolis, Bath Church	Converted	First half of 5th c.	Verzone 1972; Hierapolis di Frigia 1987, p. 130; M. L. De Bernardi 2002, pp. 270-276; D'Andria 2003, pp. 62-66; Arthur 2006, pp. 100-101
Hierapolis, Martyrion of St. Philip	Newly constructed	Late 4th to early 5th	<i>Hierapolis di Frigia</i> 1987, pp. 128-130; D'Andria 2001, pp. 112-113; A. De Bernardi 2002; D'Andria 2003, pp. 184-191; Arthur 2006, pp. 154-158
Sagalassos, Apollo Klarion Church	Converted	First half of 5th c.	Talloe and Waelkens 2004, pp. 175-177; Waelkens <i>et al.</i> 2006, p. 232; Jacobs, Demarsin and Waelkens <i>forthcoming</i>
Sagalassos, Bouleuterion Church	Converted	First half of 5th c.	Waelkens <i>et al.</i> 2006a, p. 220; Uytterhoeven <i>forthcoming</i>

Church	Late antique intervention	Date	Selected bibliography
Sardis, Church E	Newly constructed	Between 350-400	Hanfmann 1983, pp. 194, 196-201; Buchwald 1984, pp. 201-205
Sardis, Church M	Newly constructed	Before 400	Butler 1922, pp. 112-113; Buckler and Robinson 1932, pp. 145-146; Hanfmann and Frazer 1975, pp. 57-61; Foss 1976, pp. 48-50; Hanfmann 1983, pp. 49, 119-120, 193, 195.
Selge, Basilica B	Converted	Late 4th, early 5th c.	Machatschek and Schwarz 1981, pp. 49-53, 104, 107-108; Dally 2003, pp. 101-103
Xanthos, East basilica	Newly constructed	5th c.	des Courtils and Laroche 1998, pp. 469-471; des Courtils 2003, pp. 90-95; Cavalier 2005, pp. 106, 139, 140, 146, 155, 164-167; Brandt and Kolb 2005, p. 128; Raynaud 2009

as museums, as entertainment buildings and so on.⁵⁹ Whether or not these examples were all real, their mention in literary sources implies that conversions for secular purposes would not have been conceived as improbable by contemporaries. Even though the reuse of temple cellae was various and more frequent than is generally assumed, sources mentioning such reuse are limited to the second half of the 4th century AD and it seems very likely that a new secular function, though ensuring the immediate survival of the temple, could not guarantee a long-term preservation.

There appears to have been one exception to this rule, though. If we look at the temples that remained virtually intact throughout the centuries, they

⁵⁹ The Theodosian code (16.10.8, AD 382) suggests that temples as well as statues, provided that they no longer served cult functions, could be reintegrated in the Christianized society and be admired as secularized “art” in “museums”. Theodosius I supposedly gave one of the three temples on the acropolis of Constantinople to the Church, whereas the second was made into a ‘gaming room for dice players’ and the third was turned into a carriage house for the Praetorian Prefect (Malalas, *Chronographia* 345). Libanios further recommended Theodosius I to turn temples into tax collection offices and extra-urban temples (Libanios, *Oratio* 30.42 and 30.44). The Museion at the writer’s hometown Antioch became a school, the city’s temple of Dionysios was turned into a courtroom, the temple of Athena lived on as a lawyers’ meeting place and an unknown temple was converted into a private residence (respectively Libanios, *Oratio* 1.102, *Oratio*. 45.26, Libanios, *Epistulae* 847 and Libanios, *Epistulae* 1364.7). A further unlocated temple was said to have been used as a tavern (Palladas *Anthologia Graeca* 9.180). For similar conversions outside of Asia Minor, see EMMEL, GOTTER and HAHN 2008, p. 8.

were most often located at very prominent locations within the city, where they could receive new meaning as decorative and monumental landmarks. In Asia Minor, the most conspicuous example was the so-called Temple of Hadrian at Ephesos, a simple *prostylos in antis* temple that was facing the Embolos, the centre of the Late Antique city. It was extensively rebuilt, possibly around AD 300, and repaired at least once more between AD 383 and 393 by a Christian sponsor. The late restoration and permanent preservation of a temple so far into the 4th century may have been aided by a redefined role in the celebration of both Christian emperors and city founders.⁶⁰ This is suggested by the fact that the last restorations also entailed the application of the frieze displaying myths of the city's founding in the *pronaos*, or at least that of a relief said to feature Theodosius I in the company of not just his family, but also Olympian gods.⁶¹ Similar motives may justify the preservation of the Tychaion on the Upper Agora of Sagalassos (Fig. 4). This monument occupied an extremely visible position along the south side of the square. It was only a small building, so if one had wished to do so, dismantling would have been simple. Instead, the original statue that stood in the centre was removed; the statue base received a new dedication first to Constantia, wife of Gratian, and later to Flavia Eudoxia, wife of the emperor Arcadius, whereas the two northern pedestals carried inscriptions mentioning the emperors Gratian and Valentinian II.⁶² As such, the city expressed that it considered its well-being no longer tied to a local city goddess, but to the Christian – first Arian and later orthodox – imperial house.

Although Christianity had quickly gained pace since Constantine, the urban landscape was not yet dotted by churches by AD 400. The first churches at Constantinople were constructed during the reign of Constantine,

⁶⁰ BAYLISS 2004, p. 61.

⁶¹ MILTNER 1958, pp. 104-106; 1959, pp. 264-273; HUEBER 1997a, p. 53, 86-88; OUTSCHAR 1999, p. 447; THÜR 1999, pp. 116-117. The relief with the imperial family can probably be dated between AD 383 (when Arcadius became Augustus) and 393 (when Honorius, who is not depicted here, became Augustus). The date of the other reliefs is contested: initially, they had been dated stylistically to the first half of the 3rd century by SAPORITI (1964). BRENK (1968) and LAUBSCHER (1985) put them in the Tetrachic period, but recently BAUER (1996, pp. 284-285, note 86) and FEISSEL (1999, p. 28, note 12) redated all the reliefs to the Theodosian period. Similar examples of temples at highly visible locations which were also preserved include the façade of the temple with the round cella at Skythopolis, situated at the junction of Palladius and North-West Street and in the sightline of the last street. Two of its huge columns stood upright until the earthquake of 749, though the cella itself had been abandoned and dismantled presumably by the beginning of the 5th century (TSAFRIR 2003, pp. 279-281).

⁶² DEVIJVER and WAELKENS 1995, pp. 118-119 no. 5-6; TALLOEN and WAELKENS 2004, pp. 189-191; 2005, p. 246.

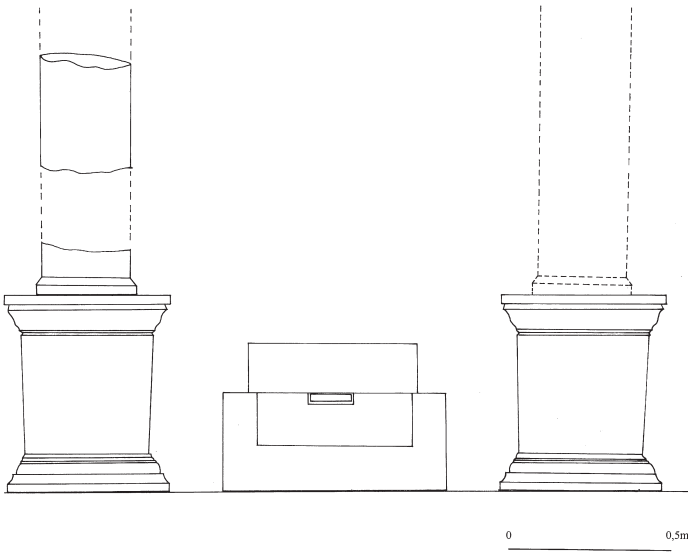
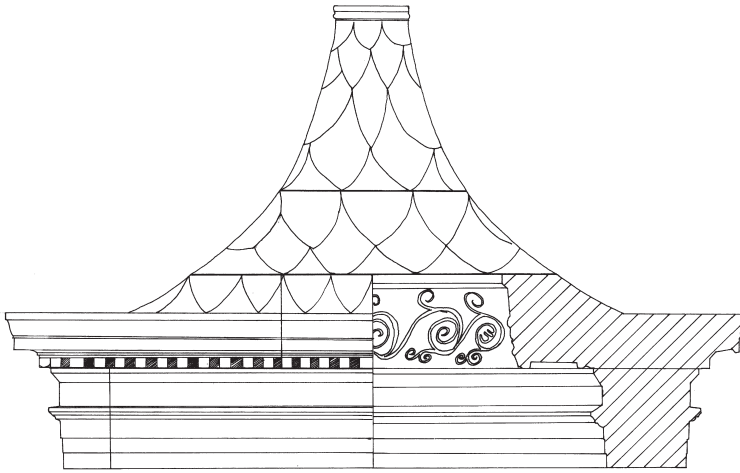


Fig. 4 Reconstruction drawing of the Tychaion at Sagalassos
(© Sagalassos Archaeological Project)

but they remained scanty.⁶³ When Theodosius I made up his residence in the city, there were many competing congregations, all of them centred on particular churches, of which quite a few belonged to private mansions.⁶⁴ The most important monumental buildings in this period were the church of the Holy Apostles and Saint Eirene, both initially held by Arians, but soon usurped by the orthodox community.⁶⁵ Theodosius himself added three new churches to the urban landscape and promoted the construction of monasteries and martyria.⁶⁶ His example was without a doubt followed by his son and grandson.

Christian gatherings and celebrations of mass in Asia Minor as well as in the other provinces of the Empire surely took place in *domus ecclesiae*,⁶⁷ even though their remains are impossible to identify without the help of non-archaeological sources. The first monumental churches in Asia Minor only appeared in the later decades of the 4th century AD.⁶⁸ Quite a few of them resulted from in situ conversions of older public buildings, temples as well as secular monuments.⁶⁹ In addition, some temple buildings were dismantled and immediately replaced by a church reusing the building materials on site.⁷⁰ Such substitutions of temples by churches have long been interpreted as Christian triumphalism.⁷¹ Nevertheless, other influencing

⁶³ Constantinian churches remain confined to St. Eirene, St. Mokios and St. Acace (MANGO 1985, pp. 34-35). On the whole, churches erected by Constantine himself were only located in larger key-sites of Christian history such as Rome and Jerusalem (KRAUTHEIMER 1986: chapter 2).

⁶⁴ Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* V.20.4; Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VII.17.1.

⁶⁵ *CTh* 16.5.12 (AD 383).

⁶⁶ CROKE 2010, pp. 260-261. Theodosius was responsible for the building of the Church of John the Baptist at the Hebdomon, the Church of the Holy Notaries and the Church of Saint Mark near the Forum of Theodosius. The Church of the Virgin is probably attributed to him incorrectly.

⁶⁷ WHITE 1990, pp. 23-24.

⁶⁸ At Sardis, Basilica E and Church M arose in the second half of the 4th century (HANFMANN and BUCHWALD 1983, pp. 194-195, 199), and also in Pisidian Antioch a first monumental basilica was constructed (MITCHELL and WÄELKENS 1998, pp. 210-217).

⁶⁹ Although it has long been assumed that temple conversions before the second half of the 5th century were scarce (SPIESER 1976; VAES 1984-1986, p. 325; 1989, p. 303; BAYLISS 2004, p. 57), examples are gradually increasing. The Zeus Temple at Aizanoi may have been converted as early as AD 400, the Serapeion at Ephesus became a small church in the Theodosianic period, and in the course of the 5th century AD, the cella of the Artemision was reused as a church building. Finally, by AD 431, the Church of St. Mary at Ephesus had been established in the southern portico of the Olympieion.

⁷⁰ At Sagalassos, a large basilica was built at the site of the Temple of Apollo Klarios in the first half of the 5th century (JACOBS, DEMARSIN and WÄELKENS *forthcoming*). Also the cathedral at Gerasa is very likely to have been constructed at the site of a dismantled temple as early as the first half of the 5th century (BRENK, JÄGGI and MEIER 2006).

⁷¹ CORMACK 1990, p. 33; TALLOEN 2003, pp. 164-167. Testimonies with a true triumphal undertone only date from later periods.

factors can also be pinpointed. Also other public buildings, entertainment buildings and even political structures were converted⁷² and, moreover, many temples had already gone out of use several years or decades before church construction was initiated. In contrast to Constantinople, where open space was still available, certainly in the city quarters in the west, the city centres in Asia Minor were already completely built-up by the 3rd century AD. When the need for monumental churches arose, they could either be established in the outskirts, or they could usurp then derelict monuments and deserted sites.⁷³ In the case of temples, the possible fear of demons apparently succumbed to the desire to occupy these favourable locations. In addition, the city government supposedly encouraged the re-development of temples into churches. As said, temples could remain standing after deconsecration. Even when in good condition, their continuous upkeep is hardly likely to have been a favourite post of expenditure. 'Losing' them to the church thus meant that, while pursuing a religious objective, they found an easy and cheap way to ensure the preservation of the urban landscape at the same time.⁷⁴ The local bishop probably eagerly purchased these properties, as they guaranteed both a relatively cheap way to install a monumental focus for celebrations, which, moreover, was located in the very centre of the city and by its position alone confirmed the supremacy of Christian religion. It indeed seems that the Church in this period was not yet the financial force it would become in later centuries⁷⁵ so that the reuse of complete buildings or at least the ready availability of all necessary building elements on site was decisive in the take-over of formerly public and even pagan sites.

In addition, a few church buildings were also being constructed on virgin plots in the Theodosian period. Most of them were either very small church buildings, such as Church E at Sardis, which was probably a neighbour-

⁷² At Ephesus, a church was installed in the East Gymnasium, already in the late 4th or early 5th century AD. The stadium of the city came to harbour a Christian cult centre in the course of the 5th century, though in this case it may have functioned as a martyrium. At Hierapolis, a hall of one of the city's baths was reused as a Christian assembly place. At Perge, an existing palaestra was turned into the forecourt of a Tetraconch church building, probably also in the late 4th to early 5th century AD. In addition, municipal assembly places were also reused as churches. Around AD 400, the Odeion at Selge became a church and around the same time, perhaps somewhat later, the site of the earlier Bouleuterion of Sagalassos was thoroughly rearranged.

⁷³ SPIESER 1976, p. 311 considered the lack of land the most important factor behind the construction of churches on temple ground.

⁷⁴ As ordered in *CTh* 15.10.25.

⁷⁵ Non-imperial bequests and donations apparently strongly increased only in the course of the 5th century (JONES 1964, pp. 894-896; 1993). SOTINEL (1998) argues that the economic dependence of the Church in the West continued until the mid-5th century.

hood church serving the new city quarter established just outside the city walls and which thus replaced the more traditional house churches, or Church M in the same city, a small chapel that deconsecrated the site of the enormous Artemis Temple. In addition, larger churches arose as pilgrimage centres either in the suburbs – such as the Church of St. John at Ephesus that could be dated to AD 390-420 or the Martyrion of St. Philip at Hierapolis, constructed around AD 400 – or in the countryside.⁷⁶ Even though this was nothing compared to the church boom that began in the second half of the 5th century, the locations of these sites again announced the Christian dominance of urban topography. The Ayasoluk Hill to the north-east of Ephesus was visible to both visitors arriving by land from the road as well as for all visitors travelling by sea (Fig. 5). The Martyrion of St. Philip towered above Hierapolis.⁷⁷

It was in all likelihood not coincidental that these first monumental new churches were pilgrimage sites, nor that the switch from house churches to public cult centres can be situated in the Theodosian period. Theodosius not only made religion a state matter through his continuous efforts to establish an unambiguous Christianity and to eradicate paganism,⁷⁸ but also strove to make Christianity more tangible. On the whole, the establishment of monumental, clearly visible centres for religious celebrations in addition to more private gathering places fits in nicely with the official promotion of the true faith. Furthermore, the worship of holy places and relics was strongly endorsed from the later 4th century onwards. Pilgrimages towards the Holy Land – begun under Constantine – further took flight;⁷⁹ locations that could be connected to the life and especially the death of the Apostles, martyrs or saints became focal points of holiness also elsewhere⁸⁰ and for those cities that had not been blessed with an apostolic past or a god-blessed city

⁷⁶ TURNER (1974, pp. 166-230) and BROWN (1981, p. 42) for the psychological consequences of extra-urban locations.

⁷⁷ The position of the churches was further exploited. The Martyrion possessed two porticoes, one which provided an expansive overview of the city and the other from which the surrounding landscape leading towards the Kadmos Mountain could be admired (DE BERNARDI 2002, p. 157). At the latest in its Justinianic construction phase, the atrium of the Basilica of St. John was designed to provide a panoramic view over the plain and the harbour of Ephesus.

⁷⁸ LIEBESCHUETZ 1991, pp. 146-165; HUNT 1993, esp. pp. 146-150.

⁷⁹ ELSNER and RUTHERFORD 2005, pp. 28-29.

⁸⁰ The Apostle Philip is said to have been martyred in Hierapolis. The church on Ayasoluk Hill at Ephesus supposedly stands over the burial site of St. John, the apostle, author of the gospel and the Apocalypse. At Resafa (Syria), the original phase of the complex of St. Sergius was assigned to the first quarter of the 5th century AD (ULBERT 1986, p. 139). In the first half of the 5th century a church was erected above the tomb of St. Menas in Abu Mina, Egypt (GROSSMANN 1998, p. 283).



Fig. 5 The Ayasoluk Hill at Ephesos

dweller, the worship of relics achieved the same results.⁸¹ It is even likely that the imperial court interfered or at least influenced the churches at Hierapolis and Ephesos. The Martyrion of St. Philip stood out because of its size, its exceptional design that can be identified not as the work of a local architect, but as being devised by a theoretically schooled *mechanikos*, and

⁸¹ Theodosius is known to have had the body of the exiled former bishop of Constantinople, Paul, brought to the city in 381. A few years later, the remains of the African martyrs Terentius and Africanus were transferred and in 391 the head of John the Baptist arrived at the newly built church of Hebdomon (CROKE 2010, p. 255), which, like the complexes at Ephesos and Hierapolis, was at that time located outside the city proper. These efforts were in the western part of the Empire matched by the relocations of relics to Milan organised by Ambrose (DASSMANN 1975; BAUER 2008, pp. 184-185).

its newly carved, rich architectural decoration.⁸² Procopius (*De Aedificiis* 5.1.4-6) tells us that the successor of the Theodosian church of St. John was constructed by Justinian. Also the first church was in all likelihood inspired by the Church of the Apostles in Constantinople.⁸³ Anyhow, from the later 4th century onwards, a network of Christian holy places rivalling the many sanctified locations of the pagan days came to form a prominent factor in the everyday life of Christians.⁸⁴

Streets and squares

A third phenomenon that occurred almost simultaneously in many cities was the large-scale renovation of their armatures and especially their colonnaded streets. Colonnaded streets were already seen as an enhancement of urban life in Roman times, but in Late Antiquity, they became symbolic for a city and a source of pride in the writings of many authors.⁸⁵ The decades preceding the Theodosian period saw extremely few positive interventions pertaining to streets and squares, the only known exception in Asia Minor being the Tetrastoon at Aphrodisias.⁸⁶ However, around the same time, the northern portico of the city's South Agora was spoliated and temporarily encroached.⁸⁷ Similarly, the 4th century earthquakes at Ephesus, the diocesan capital, left the prominent area around the Celsus Library in a deplorable condition.⁸⁸ Around AD 365, the large agora of Hierapolis was also damaged during an earthquake and subsequently deserted.⁸⁹

⁸² The plan of the Martyrion had been based on Euclidian geometry (DE BERNARDI 2002). For *mechanikoi* and *architektones*, see JONES 1964, pp. 1013-1014; MANGO 1976, pp. 14-15; OUSTERHOUT 1999, pp. 43-44; SCHIBILLE 2009. The specific shape of the martyrion also necessitated a complicated roofing system, which may have been difficult to execute for local carpenters who were more familiar with simple saddleback roofs. In comparison to contemporaneous building projects, the Martyrion was provided with completely finished architectural fragments, including octagonal pedestal bases with detailed mouldings and especially, Composite capitals, which had always been rare in Asia Minor. Similar capitals also appeared in the original phase of the Arkadiane at Ephesus, which was probably an imperial project.

⁸³ KRAUTHEIMER 1986, p. 70.

⁸⁴ For pre-Christian pilgrimages, see for instance ELSNER and RUTHERFORD 2005.

⁸⁵ E.g., Libanios, *Oratio* 11.201, 215-216 and Malalas, *Chronographia* 15.11 for Antioch, ps-Joshua Stylites, *Chronicle* §29 for Edessa, Chorikios, *Oratio* 7.52 for Gaza (discussed in SALIOU 2005, p. 176) and Prokopios, *De Aedificiis* 3.4.18 for Melitene.

⁸⁶ This more or less square plaza of ca. 45 by 50 m was located behind the city's theatre. As a consequence, rather than being a completely new creation, the pavement and porticoes of an older *porticus post scaenam* were probably redone in the early 360's (ala2004 20).

⁸⁷ DE CHAISEMARTAIN and LEMAIRE 1996, p. 158.

⁸⁸ Breaks in the water conduit caused the water to run down the Stiegengassen, over the Library Square and towards the Agora. A series of water mills was built, the lowest in front of the Celsus Library (HUEBER 1997a, pp. 260-261; 1997b, p. 269).

⁸⁹ ARTHUR 2006, p. 33.

A new phase of construction was then initiated in the later 4th century AD (Table 3). At Constantinople itself, the building boom under the Theodosian dynasty included the creation of three imperial fora and one additional civic square along the Mese, the city's central axis laid out under Constantine (Fig. 6).⁹⁰ Theodosius himself added the Forum Theodosius and its associated monuments as well as the civic square known as 'Bus'.⁹¹ The Forum of Arcadius was finished under Theodosius II, who may have also created the Sigma.⁹² Also in the cities of Asia Minor, some streets and squares were still newly laid out, particularly in new city quarters. However, as stated in the introduction, most of the cities in Asia Minor had such a long history that renovations and restorations were of the utmost importance. In contrast to fortifications, there was apparently little or no difference between larger and smaller cities for what concerns the chronology of these operations. They occurred more or less simultaneously at the diocesan capital of Ephesus, in provincial capitals such as Sardis and Aphrodisias and in smaller cities such as Aizanoi.

The colonnades of the Sebasteion Street and the Tetrastoon at Aphrodisias consisted of new building elements to which they thanked their homogenous appearance. The presence of newly carved pedestals, column shafts and capitals at Aphrodisias also in the late 4th and early 5th century can be explained by the local marble quarries which remained in use far into the Late Roman period.⁹³ Conversely, most of the streets and squares that were created, re-laid or repaired in the Theodosian period within the region of Asia Minor combined building elements of various origin.⁹⁴ This reuse altered the appearance of pavements, of stylobates, and most noteworthy, also that of colonnades and porticoes. I will explore the characteristics of Theodosian and by extension Late Antique colonnades by means of two examples.

⁹⁰ In comparison, two fora in total – the pre-Constantine agora of Constantinople or the Augusteion and the Forum of Constantine – could be identified that pre-dated the Theodosian period, whereas two imperial fora were established under later Late Antique and Early Byzantine emperors: the Forum of Marcianus and the Forum of Leo I. These are discussed in BAUER 1996, pp. 148-187, 213-217.

⁹¹ For a description of these squares, see BAUER 1996, respectively pp. 187-203 and pp. 234-235.

⁹² BAUER 1996, pp. 203-213.

⁹³ Reuse became common practice here by the early 6th century at the latest, when the South Portico was renovated using diverse building elements (DE CHAISEMARTIN and LEMAIRE 1996, p. 157).

⁹⁴ In contrast, streets in the Near East were mostly laid out with new materials, so that their appearance often differed little from that of their Roman predecessors. This was the case in the Theodosian age, for instance, in Palladius Street at Skythopolis, but also with much later streets such as the extension of the *Cardo* at Jerusalem under Justinian.

Table 3. Examples of renovated and repaired streets and squares in cities of Asia Minor

Site	Late antique intervention	Date	Selected bibliography
Aizanoi, agora	New decoration	Around 400	Naumann 1979, pp. 45-62
Aizanoi, late antique colonnaded street	New	End 4th-begin 5th c.	Rheidt 1995; Von Mosch 1995; Wörrle 1995; Rheidt 2003, pp. 243-247
Aphrodisias, North Agora	Repaired	Later 4th c.	Smith and Ratté 1997, pp. 6-8; 2000, pp. 233-235; Ratté 2001, p. 135; Ratté and Smith 2004, pp. 156-160
Aphrodisias, Sebasteion Street	Relaid	End 4th-begin 5th c.	Erim 1990, pp. 11-13, 27 fig. 30; Dillon 1997
Aphrodisias, South Agora	Spoliated	4th c.	Erim 1990, pp. 13-23; de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996
Aphrodisias, Tetrastoon	New	Second half 4th c.	Erim 1986, p. 89; ala2004 20
Ephesos, Arkadiane	Relaid	Early 5th c.	Wilberg and Heberdey 1906, pp. 132-133; Alzinger 1970, p. 1597; Foss 1979, p. 56; Bauer 1996, p. 423; Schneider 1999
Ephesos, colonnaded street between Arkadiane and Church of St. Mary	New	Second quarter 5th c.	Keil 1964, pp. 76, 80; Foss 1979, p. 60; 1977, p. 472; Jacobs 2011, p. 324
Ephesos, Domitian Street	Repaired	Later 4th c.	Eichler 1961; Veters 1972-1975
Ephesos, Embolos	Relaid	Late 4th, early 5th c.	Foss 1979, pp. 65-66; Bauer 1996, pp. 284-290, 422-425; Thür 1999; Roueché 1999, p. 167; Roueché 2002; Ladstätter 2009
Ephesos, plaza in front of the Celsus Library	Relaid	Around AD 400	Jobst 1983, pp. 149-242, esp. 230-231; Bauer 1996, pp. 282, 423-424; Hueber 1997a, pp. 260-261; 1997b, p. 269
Ephesos, State Agora	Repaired	Second half 4th c.	Eichler 1965, pp. 96-97; Alzinger 1972-1975, p. 296; Foss 1979, p. 82; Bauer 1996, pp. 290-293; Scherrer 2001, pp. 78-87

Site	Late antique intervention	Date	Selected bibliography
Ephesos, Tetragonos Agora	Repaired	Under Theodosius I (379-395)	Wilberg and Keil 1923, pp. 4-18, 40-75; Foss 1979, p. 63; Bauer 1996, pp. 275-278, 423; Scherrer 2000, pp. 140-146; Scherrer and Trinkl 2006, pp. 48-51; Ladstätter and Pütz 2007, pp. 404-405
Hierapolis, agora	Spoliated	Late 4th c.	D'Andria 2001, pp. 104-108, 112; 2003, pp. 88-110; Arthur 2006, pp. 109-110, 117; Jacobs 2009b, pp. 207-208; 2011, pp. 626-627
Hierapolis, processional way	New	Early 5th c.	Jacobs 2011, pp. 127, 154, 331, 338, 588, 717
Sagalassos Streets A2'-A3'-A4'	Repaired	Later 4th to early 5th c.	Waelkens <i>et al.</i> 1997, pp. 168-171, 185-187; Martens 2007, pp. 349-350
Sagalassos, plaza in front of the Neon Library	Repaired	Third quarter of the 4th c.	Waelkens <i>et al.</i> 1995, pp. 48-50, 59-61; 1997, pp. 120-121, 125; Poblome 1999, pp. 315-316; Waelkens <i>et al.</i> 2000a, p. 329; 2000b, p. 426
Sardis, colonnaded street in sector MMS	New	Early 5th c.	Foss 1976, pp. 44-45, sources 18 and 19; Greenewalt, Cahill and Rautman 1987, pp. 18-20; Greenewalt, Ratté and Rautman 1994, p. 12; 1996, pp. 6-7
Sardis, Marble Road	Renovated	Around AD 400	Yegül 1986, pp. 18-21; Crawford 1990; Bejor 1999, pp. 20-21
Sardis, colonnaded street in sector HoB	New	5th c.	Foss 1976, p. 44: 115, source 18
Sardis, colonnaded street to the east of the Bath-Gymnasium	Repaired	Early 5th c.	Yegül 1986, p. 22; Jacobs 2011, p. 716
Sardis, plaza in sector MMS/N	Relaid	Early 5th c.	Hanfmann 1983, p. 168; Greenewalt, Ratté and Rautman 1994, p. 4; 1995, p. 7; Greenewalt and Rautman 1998, pp. 474-478
Side, agora, possibly 'Forum of Arcadius'	Repaired	Under Arcadius?	Mansel, Bean and Inan 1956, pp. 26-37; Mansel 1963, pp. 97-107; Nollé 1993, pp. 486-488, no. 166; Bauer 1996, p. 293; Foss 1996, pp. 34-35

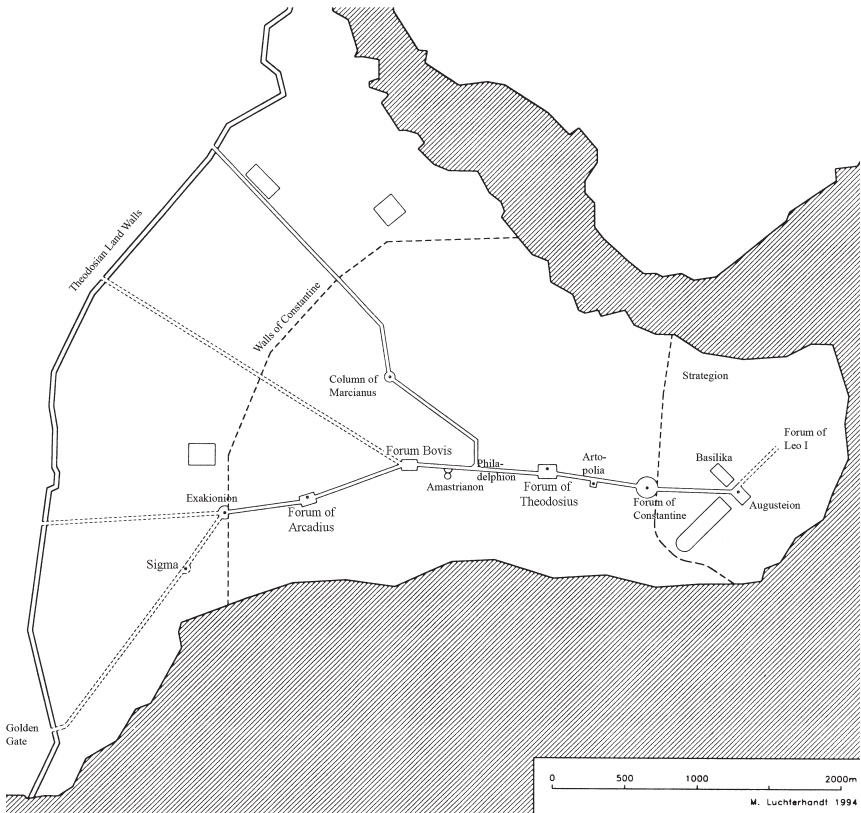


Fig. 6 Late Antique fora and plazas at Constantinople
(after BAUER 1996: 146, fig. 47)

First of all, Aizanoi's Late Antique colonnaded street proves that it was still possible to create uniform ensembles even when working with miscellaneous building elements and despite smaller building mistakes (Fig. 7).⁹⁵ The new thoroughfare probably replaced an old, secondary street that had led to the Zeus Temple of the town. Around AD 400, the temple was probably being converted into a Christian Church. At this time, the need for a more monumental approach may well have been felt. No effort was spared for its creation. The area was cleared from earlier structures before the 8.30 m wide road, its colonnades and rows of shops were laid out. All building elements used – the pavement slabs of the road and the colonnade,

⁹⁵ RHEIDT 1995, pp. 699-710; VON MOSCH 1995, pp. 742-744 for the coin finds associated with the construction of the street.



Figure 7 The Late Antique colonnaded street at Aizanoi

the stylobates, the columns as well as the entablature pieces – were reused. They were clearly assembled beforehand and their particular measurements were taken into account during construction. For example, the longer set of columns in the northeast colonnade was combined with a low stylobate. In contrast, the stylobate of the southeast colonnade was made of two steps. Some of the reused blocks possessed profiles; others had functioned as the upper or lower margins of marble walls.⁹⁶ Both colonnades were composed of unfluted Ionic columns. The ones in the northeast were some 4.9 m high, those in the southwest 4.1 m. Both colonnades were combined with Ionic capitals that originally did not belong to the shafts. The Ionic capitals of the northeast colonnade were somewhat too small and therefore the volutes had to be re-cut to make them fit the columns. For the same reason, the top profile of the column shafts also needed to be removed. The columns in the northeast all came from the temple of Artemis that was mentioned in an inscription on two of the architraves supporting the portico roof. These architraves were supplemented by items with different but similar measurements and profiles. Above the architraves, a frieze with garlands deriving

⁹⁶ RHEIDT 1995, pp. 699-700 and p. 708.

from the town's bath-gymnasium and a cornice with consoles was found. The elements of the latter originated from at least three different buildings and were placed next to each other without any regard for their varied size or decoration. The architrave on top of the columns in the southwest colonnade likewise consisted of a variety of elements that did not always fit together nicely. Also the frieze is a composition, of which some elements possess a simple decoration, while others had none. Conversely, the dented cornice on top was derived from one single building.⁹⁷

Although this street thus included quite a few imperfections, their impact was limited by taking as many building elements from the same structure as possible. Especially the fact that the columns of each colonnade were all identical was beneficial for the final result. With a total height of some 6 m and an entablature that was maybe unsystematically composed but still classical, its appearance was even traditional. This was no longer the case in other streets belonging to the period under research. Most often, there was a large variety among the columns. Thus the second example of a Theodosian colonnaded street I will discuss, the Marble Road at Sardis, was framed by eclectic rows of columns (Fig. 8). The nine column bases recovered from the north colonnade abutting the Bath-Gymnasium complex could be divided into two groups: five small Attic-Ionic bases with plinths and four much larger Attic bases without plinths. Furthermore, at least three column shafts were supported by Ionic pedestals. It should also be mentioned that the items of these separate groups varied in dimension. Finally, a large, rectangular base with two receding curved mouldings was found in situ. In order to integrate it in the row of columns, it was laid somewhat off-centre and supported by an extra stone on the lower step. The column was again placed off-centre compared to the base, but in line with the rest of the colonnade. The column shafts could be divided into two groups with different diameters and heights.⁹⁸ They were cut down to eventually achieve an even height for all elements of the colonnade. In capitals there was also a wide range of variation in size and style with Pergamene, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and Composite items present. Some of them were re-cut in order to make them shorter, so that they corresponded better with the varying lengths of the column shafts. Their height ranges between 0.12 and 0.44 m! Moreover, small Attic-Ionic bases were reused as capitals. As a result of the large variety within this ensemble and

⁹⁷ RHEIDT 1995, p. 710.

⁹⁸ The first, comprising ten members, possessed lower diameters between 0.34 and 0.38 m; the second, with seven members, had lower diameters of 0.42 to 0.48 m. Of the first group, the height of three columns could be established (1.70; 1.92; 1.96 m). In the second group, a shaft of 2.18 m was almost completely preserved.



Fig. 8 The colonnade section of the Marble Road at Sardis abutting the Bath-Gymnasium complex

the subsequent re-carving and down-shaving to enable the installation of a simple wooden entablature on top of the capitals,⁹⁹ the total height of the colonnade probably did not reach higher than 3.20 m.

This widespread use of secondary material within city centres clearly distinguished the Late Antique city from its Roman predecessor. This is rather ironic, since porticoes and colonnades thanked their initial popularity to their ability to regulate the appearance of both public spaces and streets.¹⁰⁰ The unity that had for centuries been the foremost characteristic of a row of columns now evaporated. In the following decades and centuries, the appearance of colonnades and especially of street pavements would be given an evermore varied and often untidy appearance as the result of subsequent smaller-scale renovations and repairs.

Nevertheless, the decoration of these new streets remained very traditional. As was the case in the past, they were still abundantly adorned with decorative monuments and in particular, with statues. We are well informed of the statuary decoration of the monuments and streets in Constantinople by literary, epigraphic and iconographic sources.¹⁰¹ Thus the lower relief windings of the column of Arcadius, erected on the Forum of Arcadius in AD 402, show pagan and mythological statues, most of them ancient works of art already imported into Constantinople by Constantine, on display

⁹⁹ As opposed to the traditional entablature consisting of an architrave, a frieze and a cornice that was common in earlier centuries.

¹⁰⁰ GROS 1996, p. 95; MACDONALD 1986, pp. 32-33; BEJOR 1999, p. 7. The long perspectives offered by colonnades also exalted admiration in literary sources, see for example Achilles Tatius 5.1-5 (2nd century AD) on Alexandria and *Oracula Sibyllina* 13. 64-68 (AD 253) for the colonnades of Bosra and Philippopolis.

¹⁰¹ BASSETT 2004.

along the city's main street.¹⁰² The Theodosians followed Constantine's example and further augmented the statuary numbers of the capital by importing older statuary and by erecting contemporary portrait statues of the ruling emperors and their families especially on the imperial fora and the squares of the city.¹⁰³

The combination of old and new statues was also made in the Empire's provincial capitals. The best-studied ensemble is a collection of 12 bronze Nikes on the Embolos or Kuretenstrasse at Ephesus. They had been taken from an unknown location in the city and put on display together with a portrait statue of the empress Aelia Flacilla (AD 379—386) and maybe also with a rider statue of the emperor Theodosius.¹⁰⁴ In the later 4th century, the Embolos was clearly upgraded to be the representational centre of the city. As such, it became a favoured location to post new statues of contemporary inhabitants, proconsuls and emperors.¹⁰⁵ Likewise, at Aphrodisias, newly carved honorific statues of emperors and governors as well as new statuary decoration still appeared.¹⁰⁶ Thus the back wall of the Sebasteion Street, which, as said above, was still composed of contemporary architectural elements, received an elaborated decoration including pilaster capitals depicting Eroses or a putto carrying out diverse activities.¹⁰⁷ Conversely, smaller cities of the province almost exclusively used the existing collection of older statues at their disposal to decorate their urban armatures. For instance, the further elaboration of the colonnaded street of Aizanoi included two honorific bases and at least one mythological statue taken from elsewhere.¹⁰⁸

Therefore, despite their often less classical appearance, the widespread relaying, renovation and re-decoration of civic armatures in the Theodosian period indicate that they were still very much central to civic life, both in Constantinople and in the other cities of Asia Minor. The importance of quite a few older civic squares would, however, dwindle in the further course

¹⁰² BAUER 1996, p. 336.

¹⁰³ See references cited in notes 90-92.

¹⁰⁴ ROUECHÉ 2002; AUINGER and AURENHAMMER 2010, p. 684.

¹⁰⁵ THÜR 1999 for the Late Antique history of the Embolos. ROUECHÉ 2009, AUINGER and AURENHAMMER 2010 discuss the statues erected and relocated here.

¹⁰⁶ Honorific bases for imperial statues: ala2004: 23, 25, 26 and 27. Statues of the governors Alexander and Oecumenius were found in the North Stoa of the North Agora (ala2004: 31 and 32; SMITH 1999, pp. 165-167; 2002).

¹⁰⁷ DILLON 1997, pp. 744-762.

¹⁰⁸ A first originally carried the bronze image of Aurelius Demetrius, mentioned in the inscription as neokoros (temple warden) of Zeus (WÖRRLE 1995, pp. 725-726). The statue it supported on the colonnaded street was not retrieved. On top of a second base, originally intended for a Markia Tateis, mother of two Asiarchs, a statue of a satyr was now posted (VON MOSCH 1995). The motives for these relocations and new combination, together with further examples of statuary reuse, are discussed in full in JACOBS 2010.

of the 5th century.¹⁰⁹ Most agorae that, just like the imperial fora of Constantinople, interrupted the course of a colonnaded street – that thus could be conceived of as broader parts of colonnaded streets – survived until the end of Antiquity.¹¹⁰ The importance of the colonnaded main streets, as said in the beginning of this section, indeed only became greater. They formed the stage of many important events, notably secular and an ever-growing number of Christian processions. At Constantinople, the urban ceremonial developed under Theodosius first included the appearance of the emperor in the city streets, foremost the Mese, surrounded by clergy and courtiers. In addition, Christian processions are known to have taken place on important religious feasts such as Ascension Day, when new saints were introduced to the city or when resident saints were celebrated.¹¹¹ Similar religious processions must also have been initiated in smaller cities, at least from the moment that the first monumental churches appeared. Here, colonnaded streets would also frame public rituals such as *adventus*, official visits of the provincial governor or, more rarely, by the emperor himself.¹¹² Unsurprisingly, these highly visible and much visited locations were treated as the primary showcases of a city.

THE LATE ANTIQUE CITY AND THE CHANGED POLITICAL SITUATION

The consequences of the changes made to the administrative structuring of the Empire and, as a consequence, to the municipal life in the beginning and the course of the 4th century are worth discussing in more detail.

¹⁰⁹ A detailed overview of the later history of multiple agorae and related squares can be found in LAVAN 2006. Private usurpations of fora in North Africa is discussed in MESSERSCHMIDT 2010.

¹¹⁰ The two agorae of Sagalassos are exemplary: both of them were located along the main colonnaded streets of the city and thus had to be crossed when traveling through it. Large-scale renovations to the main streets as well as the agorae continued far into the 6th century AD (BES, JACOBS and WÄELKENS *forthcoming*).

¹¹¹ BAUER 1996, pp. 381-387 with references; BAUER 2008, pp. 200-203 and CROKE 2010, pp. 254-255 for political processions. The most important source for reconstructing the occasions, composition and routes of processions are the *Typikon* of Hagia Sophia, from the beginning of the 10th century and the Book of Ceremonies of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, written a few decades later. BALDOVIN 1987, pp. 181-204 discusses all relevant literary sources for religious processions in Constantinople. See also BAUER 2001, pp. 50-52; 2008, pp. 203-206; BERGER 2001; 2002.

¹¹² The reception of such an official happened according to a predetermined schedule. He would be greeted by a delegation while approaching the city; local magistrates and a carefully lined up crowd awaited his arrival outside the city gate. From there on, city dwellers accompanied him over a main colonnaded thoroughfare to the city centre, where he would listen to a laudatory speech. His departure followed a reversed sequence (SLOOTJES 2006, pp. 106-110).

Indeed, with the renewal of building activity in the Theodosian period, the practical consequences of the rearrangement of the political arena were noticeable foremost in the cities.

The cities of the Roman Empire no longer possessed the means they had in the first three centuries AD. The reforms initiated by Diocletian created a more complicated central administration, with smaller provinces and a very bureaucratic tax system. The task of local councillors was suddenly more burdensome and much less rewarding, which explains why members of the local elite became eager to escape their traditional duties.¹¹³ As competition for prestigious posts in the municipal government strongly diminished, so did the private benefactions that had traditionally ensured candidates of local popularity. Moreover, civic property and civic taxes were confiscated by the imperial *res privata* under the reigns of Constantine and Constantius. This confiscation must have severely curtailed possibilities to finance projects of the traditional kind, and even made it difficult to maintain existing urban amenities. Complaints soon followed.¹¹⁴ In order to ensure the proper upkeep of public buildings and walls, a fixed part of the city's remaining revenues was apportioned for this purpose in AD 374.¹¹⁵

Especially smaller cities of the province were hit by the cutback in their resources. Physical consequences are foremost noticeable in their fortifications. Their walls were characterized by the smaller size of their circuits, the large-scale employment of reused blocks, and the clear differences between wall sections, with only the stretches near gates and the gates themselves constructed with care. The overseers of the construction apparently concentrated resources and skills here, leaving the rest of the wall construction to less professional builders, probably unskilled city dwellers performing *munera*.¹¹⁶ As a consequence, material and labour costs of these

¹¹³ On the decline of the curial order, see MILLAR 1983; LANIADO 2002: esp. chapter 1.

¹¹⁴ CHASTAGNOL 1986.

¹¹⁵ *CTh* 15.1.18 (AD 374). *CTh* 4.13.5 (358) already ordered a refund of 'one fourth of the payments of imposts' to the cities of Africa so that they could restore their walls and repair their buildings. *CTh* 5.14.35 (AD 395 = *CJ* 11.70.3) confirmed that one third 'of the regular tax which is paid annually from parcels of land and estates of a municipality is sufficient for the restoration of the public walls'. For the confiscations and refunds by the central administration, see also JONES 1964, pp. 732-733; LEPALLEY 1979, pp. 61-72; CHASTAGNOL 1986; DELMAIRE 1989, pp. 276-299, 645-657. LIEBESCHUETZ 1996 has suggested alternative revenues for replenishing these losses.

¹¹⁶ Laws implying the existence of compulsory tasks in the 4th and early 5th century AD are *CTh* 15.1.5 (AD 338); 15.1.7 (AD 361) 15.1.23 (AD 384); 15.1.49 (AD 412); 11.16.4 (AD 328) and *Digesta* 50.4.4 (ascribed to Ulpian). In addition, both laws on wall construction cited in note 33 suggest the involvement of the urban population in wall construction. Especially the second edict, which explicitly stated that 'all persons, regardless of their privileges, shall be compelled to aid in the construction of walls and in the purchase and transportation of supplies, so that in these instances, at least, all shall be forced to perform these compulsory services in proportion to their landholdings and land tax units.'

walls could be seriously reduced. Finally, it is also significant that smaller cities only took the trouble to construct walls when they had been explicitly told to do so by the central administration.

Conversely, the walls of capitals preceded the enceintes around the other cities of the provinces by a couple of decades. The costs of these walls were high as they invariably surrounded most if not all of the inhabited area, as they were completely constructed anew and, at times included additional decoration on the wall faces themselves. It is true that the administrative changes of the early 4th century had been beneficial for provincial capitals. They were the residence of the local governor, who as direct representative of the imperial government held almost absolute control over the cities of his province. He became responsible for the management of major public works – meaning that he decided what was to be undertaken and how much would be spent on it – in all municipalities of his province.¹¹⁷ Moreover, he controlled their funds and was even given the power to transfer money from one town to another, if he found it necessary.¹¹⁸ Unsurprisingly, a governor favoured his capital, which resulted in more numerous building projects of higher quality. Moreover, governors were in a position to request additional support from the imperial government, in the form of financial contributions or simply tax remissions.¹¹⁹

The concentration of power and funds in the imperial centre of Constantinople itself caused its fortifications, and, in addition, almost every construction adorning the city, to be larger, more creative and more luxurious than anywhere else in the Empire. Newly carved architectural elements were amply used in its fortifications, in its streets, squares and in grandiose monuments, both secular and Christian. Although this was no doubt made possible and also necessary by the presence of the imperial court, constructors at Constantinople also had little other choice, since the city was largely built on virgin ground where only few building elements were available for reuse. The import of older ashlar, entablature pieces and columns, which sometimes did occur,¹²⁰ cannot have been much cheaper than the production of new ones.

¹¹⁷ JONES 1964, p. 374 for the tasks of the governor. SLOOTJES 2006, pp. 77–89 deals with the position of the governor as benefactor of public works. Epigrams commemorating governors, see ROBERT 1948, pp. 35–82, esp. pp. 60–82. City councils are mentioned in only two out of 53 laws assembled in book 15 of the Theodosian Code. During that period, it was the governor who was assumed to be responsible (JONES 1964, p. 1312, note 103).

¹¹⁸ *CTh* 15.1.18 (374).

¹¹⁹ Johnson 1983, pp. 59–60 for examples. Grants may also have been obtained by sending a special representative or embassy to the court, such as the one that obtained the status of *civitas* for the community of Orcistus in the early 4th century (CHASTAGNOL 1981). On the organisation of embassies in general, see *Digesta* 50.7, especially 50.7.1–3.

¹²⁰ E.g., Justinian had red and green columns from the Harbour Gymnasium at Ephesos transported to be integrated in his Hagia Sophia.

However, in order to give the newly founded capital more prestige and to provide it with more historical, artistic and religious authority, it also needed a rich statuary decoration. For this purpose, Greek and Roman statues were taken from at least 23 cities – including Rome – and distributed over the capital's monuments, streets and squares in two distinct phases: the first and by far the largest in the very beginning, under Constantine, the second under the Theodosian dynasty, from ca. 380 to 420.¹²¹ They were then supplemented by new statues depicting members of the imperial house, of the Constantinopolitan court or of local celebrities such as victorious charioteers. Like Constantinople, provincial capitals combined new and old statues into one decorative ensemble. In smaller cities, however, Late Antique honorific statues and new sculptural decoration were extremely sparse, since the changed political situation had ensured that the political arena together with the largest supplies of money became concentrated in the provincial capitals. Smaller cities were left with little choice but to reuse older items to ensure a worthy setting for urban activities.

The dichotomy between Constantinople and provincial capitals on the one hand and the smaller cities of the provinces on the other was thus expressed in their fortifications and their statuary record, with the use of new building blocks and new sculptural decoration largely limited to the former. Conversely, a city's status in secular administration was not so influential for what concerns street infrastructure or church buildings. Only at Constantinople, reuse of building blocks stayed a marginal phenomenon. A provincial capital such as Sardis and even the diocesan capital of Ephesos possessed colonnades combining diverse architectural elements. Strikingly, even at the Arkadiane, known to have been renovated under the auspices of an emperor, one did not refrain from combining the older columns of the street with a variety of other building materials, rather than providing it with a new and uniform architectural decoration.¹²² In contrast, the colonnade section excavated at the otherwise unexceptional town of Aizanoi was made of homogenous columns. In this particular case, it could be argued that the use of the building elements was ideological, as it was made very clear to passers-by that a temple was recycled for this purpose: on two architraves an inscription was readable, belonging to the original pagan cult building that was apparently dedicated to Artemis. Moreover, in the northwest colonnade, two slabs from the temple's

¹²¹ BASSETT 2004, pp. 37-120. Statuary transports to Constantinople largely came to an end after the Theodosian dynasty.

¹²² The inscription (*IvE* IV 1306) identifying the street itself was also a rather unimpressive monument, carved into a marble base of which the older text was replaced by this new inscription, with very irregular letters.

tympanon, one of them carrying a flat relief of a deer, were integrated in the pavement of the northwest colonnade to be trodden on. Although the derision of the goddess Artemis was no doubt a nice side effect of the temple dismantlement, the main reason was pragmatic in my opinion. The temple, which by the late 4th century was probably deserted and decaying, offered a substantial supply of identical elements that could relatively easily be assembled into a classical-looking ensemble.

Finally, church construction was also independent from administrative status in this period and instead followed its own logic, with the most magnificent building complexes arising near capitals as well as in smaller cities and in the desert. In this respect, it is understandable that Theodosius had to boost the Christian importance of the capital by importing relics into the city.

A THEodosian 'RENAISSANCE'

In this article, I have attempted to place three major developments that characterized the cities of Asia Minor in the Theodosian period – the widespread construction of walls, the desertion of temples followed by the creation of monumental churches and finally the renovation of the cities' armatures – back into their historical framework and in the wider cityscape of which they were a part of and with which they interacted.

The expansion of Constantinople in the Theodosian period is self-explanatory. Theodosius' determined effort to create a capital worthy of imperial authority led to the city being furnished with adequate infrastructure – not only additional streets, fora and fortifications, but also aqueducts, cisterns, a harbour¹²³ and horrea for storing the grain to feed the increasing population – representative public buildings, religious foundations and also lavish palaces for members of the court and the elite that were assembling around the emperor. Somewhat more difficult is the explanation why Asia Minor experienced a boost from the later 4th century onwards.

On the one hand, interventions in Constantinople surely functioned as an example for the other cities of the Empire and elements of its city fabric and ritual life were thus transposed on a smaller scale. On the other hand, the central administration in all likelihood was responsible for, or at the

¹²³ The aqueduct of Valens was further extended in the Theodosian period (BERGER 1997, p. 380; CROW, BARDILL and BAYLISS 2008, p. 16). For the vast expansion of the city's water storage especially from AD 406 onwards, see CROW, BARDILL and BAYLISS 2008, pp. 15-16. The capital's existing harbours were restored (*CTh* 15.1.23) and a new one was constructed on the Marmara side of the city (KOCABAŞ 2008, pp. 18-20).

least strongly encouraged, the first two developments discussed above. Nevertheless, there never appears to have been a deliberate policy of urban renewal, neither from the imperial administration nor from individual cities. Rather, a number of unrelated factors arising in just a few decades' time fuelled the formation of the typical Late Antique city. These developments did have a direct influence on one another at times. For instance, the construction of monumental churches necessitated the presence of an adequate – meaning both practical and representative – approach. Thus the adaptation of the Temple of Zeus at Aizanoi was probably the direct incentive for the conversion of a secondary street into a colonnaded venue. Likewise, the establishment of the Martyrion of St. Philip outside the city walls of Hierapolis induced the layout of a new ceremonial approach, which, although it was probably never colonnaded, did aim at evoking awe from visitors.¹²⁴

Finally, almost all examples mentioned above were concentrated in the later 4th and the first decades of the 5th century. Indeed, it appears that from ca. the 420's onwards, interventions to the secular city had already slowed down, even if one probably still profited from all the works that had just been carried out. The second half of the 5th century was even less eventful. With a few exceptions, streets were no longer built or renovated and fortifications may already have been decaying.¹²⁵ Finances became more and more redirected to the Church, which is expressed in the fast growing number of churches in the second half of the 5th and the first half of the 6th century AD. It is because of the diversity of interventions that the Theodosian age, and in particular the last twenty years of the 4th and the first twenty years of the 5th century AD, can be considered to have been the last renaissance of the Roman Empire.

¹²⁴ After exiting the city through a secondary gate, church-goers crossed a small valley by means of an imposing bridge, then ascended the slope to the east of the city by means of a long staircase, passed through a door fronted by a small, semi-circular staircase and then turned 90 degrees to the north to mount the high, steep staircase that, with a final surprise effect, gave access to the Martyrion.

¹²⁵ Debris and rubbish were dumped against wall sections near the North-West Gate at Sagalassos (WÆLKENS *et al.* 2000, pp. 231-239). The courtyard in front of the Magnesian Gate at Ephesos was already used for burials at the end of the 4th century or somewhat later. After the 5th century, the gate went out of use (SOKOLICEK 2009, 342-344). At some sites, such as at Blaundos (GIESE 2006a, p. 78), and probably also at Kyaneai (HANSEN 1996, pp. 28-30), two Late Antique phases of fortification were recognised, whereby original wall stretches needed to be supplied with new additions. The only examples in Asia Minor of large-scale interventions to streets postdating the Theodosian period are the repaving of the Marble Street at Ephesos by the proconsul Eutropius in the third quarter of the 5th century (*JvE* IV 1304) and the renovation of the north-south colonnaded street and the two agorae at Sagalassos in the second quarter of the 6th, presumably after a heavy earthquake (JACOBS and WÆLKENS *submitted*).

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SUMMARY

Asia Minor witnessed a resurgence of construction and renovation activities in the Theodosian age, and in particular in the last twenty years of the 4th and the first twenty years of the 5th century AD. In fact, the typical Late Antique city, with its imposing fortification walls, heterogeneous street colonnades and agora porticoes, and monumental churches replacing earlier temples, came into being in these decades. A confrontation of the material remains with contemporaneous historical, political, social and religious events and changes, would suggest that these urbanistic interventions were the result of unrelated factors arising in just a few decades' time. Despite the absence of a deliberate Theodosian policy of urban renewal, the care for and energy invested in the cityscape does testify to continuance of aesthetic principles and representational concerns, not only at Constantinople, but also in the provincial capitals and even in the smaller cities of the region.

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BEAUTY IN THE EYES OF GOD.
BYZANTINE AESTHETICS AND BASIL OF CAESAREA*

*La vraie beauté est celle qui dépasse
toute intelligence et puissance humaine
et que l'Esprit seul est capable de contempler¹*

INTRODUCTION

When entering a Byzantine church any visitor is amazed by the overwhelming wealth of imagery. What the initiated visitor knows is that to the orthodox believer these images are not decoration in a modern and art historian sense, but the *logoi* of God and the visible proof of the effectuation of God's incarnation. The image/icon is holy because it communicates knowledge of the orthodox tradition and serves the believer who seeks enlightenment. The holy image² has a didactic as well as a mimetic purpose to the believer, who should contemplate as well as imitate the lives of Christ, the Theotokos, and the saints³.

The substratum of religious life in Byzantium was faith in an axiomatic continuum of the Eastern orthodox tradition and a one-God concept built upon an orthodox twofold identification of the image of God, the God-Man Jesus Christ. Visualizations of the holy drama interacted not only with the

* The present article is a rewritten and enlarged version of my paper *Beauty in the Eyes of God. Byzantine Aesthetics and St. Basil of Caesarea "On the Hexaemeron"*, presented at an International Conference on *The Actuality of St. Basil the Great*, September 20-23, 2010, at the Institution for Dogmatics at the Faculty of Theology, Åbo Akademi University, Åbo/Turku, Finland, in collaboration with the Faculty of Orthodox Theology, University of Oradea, Romania, and University of Balamand, Lebanon. Both paper and article were carried out during the tenure of a three-year post-doc fellowship financed by Stiftelsen Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, Stockholm, at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Turkey.

¹ Basil of Caesarea, *In Psalmos*, 44. 5, PG 29, 400C. French. tr. by T. ŠPIDLÍK, *La sophiologie de S. Basile* (OCA, 162), Rome, 1961, p. 232.

² My notion of "holy image" relates to 'image' (εἰκόων) as an historical material reality, in a patristic sense material likeness reflecting spiritual realities. It also relates to God's twofold identification as human and supra mundane that God is present both in humanity and divinity. It concerns the image of God in humankind; of what is made in divine imagery, and in what it consists.

³ On corporeality in Byzantine aesthetics and Basil's idea of imitation of the "good works" of the saints, see A. KARAHAN, *Transition and Mediation of Ideas between Syria and Byzantium. John Damascene's Polemics against the Iconoclasts and the Impact of Orthodox Epistemic on Byzantine Aesthetics*, paragraph on "Imitation – Word and Image" (forthcoming).

material body of the church and its architectonic interior of spatial immateriality, but also with the celebration of the liturgy. What the orthodox believer experienced was an image of God's kingdom.

POINT OF DEPARTURE

The article is part of my research project titled: *The Image of God in Byzantine Cappadocia: an Investigation of Its Relation to Divine and Human in Fourth-Century Cappadocian Thinking*⁴. The project explores the distinction between God *is* (not what God is) and God *acts* in Byzantine aesthetics; how transcendence, the inexplicable uncircumscription of God interacts inseparably with God's presence in the visible world (immanence). Vital for my methodology is that we must first recognize dogmatic praxis and subsequently ask the question why.

The purpose of the article is twofold. First, I will explore how Basil of Caesarea preaches on the notion of beauty and good. For sources, I primarily turn to his homilies *On the Hexaemeron*, but also to his treatise *On the Holy Spirit*⁵, and to a minor extent to some other of his works. Second, based on Basil's reflections on and models of explaining beauty and good, I will map out how Byzantine aesthetics identify not only God's comprehensible immanence (humanity and presence in the world), but also the beauty of its inseparable communion with God's incomprehensible transcendence (divinity). I will explore the causal connection between the orthodox idea of beauty and

⁴ The image material is primarily from Haçlı kilise (beginning of the 10th c.), Tokalı kilise, the Old church and the New church (mid 10th c.), the three "églises à colonnes" Çarıklı kilise, Elmalı kilise, and Karanlık kilise (mid 11th c.), and to a minor extent El Nazar kilise (mid 10th c.). All the churches are located in Göreme, Cappadocia, in the Anatolian mountainous region of what is now central Turkey. The dating of El Nazar derives from an electronic reference by C. JOLIVET-LÉVY, *Archéologie religieuse du monde byzantin et arts chrétiens d'Orient*, in *Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études (EPHE), Section des sciences religieuses*, 115 (2008), mis en ligne le 21 octobre 2008 (URL: <http://asr.revues.org/index266.html>). G. DE JERPHANION, the first researcher to systematically map out the rock-cut churches/chapels of Byzantine Cappadocia coined the notion "églises à colonnes" (*Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin. Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, vol. 1: 1-2, Texte, Paris, 1925-1932, p. 377). Depictions of Basil of Caesarea remain in the churches of Tokalı, Çarıklı, Elmalı, and Karanlık.

⁵ For these texts, we have used the following editions and translations: *Basile de Césarée. Homélie sur l'Hexaéméron*, texte grec, introduction et traduction par S. GIET (SC, 26bis), Paris, 1968²; *Saint Basil. Exegetic Homilies* (including *On the Hexaemeron*), English translation by A. C. WAY (*Fathers of the Church*, 46), Washington, 1963 — *Basile de Césarée. Sur le Saint-Esprit*, texte grec, introduction, traduction et notes par B. PRUCHE (SC, 17bis), Paris, 1968²; *St Basil the Great. On the Holy Spirit*, English translation by D. ANDERSON, Crestwood, New York, 1997.

Byzantine aesthetics. How patristicism, the theology or mode of thought of the church fathers that founded the basis of Byzantine culture, also constitutes the conceptual basis for the specificity of Byzantine aesthetics. My study will explore Byzantine aesthetics based on Basil's thinking as theory and method.

My study does not provide a direct link between written *logos* and painted *logos*. It is not a direct *Quellenanalyse*, nor a systematic study of Basil's homilies *On the Hexaemeron*, or his treatise *On the Holy Spirit*, neither is it a comparative study of the two. Either of these perspectives is a task for a book, not an article. I also want to call attention to the fact that statements concerning images in the texts of Basil of Caesarea have a different aspect to them than they do in Byzantine image theology and the polemical writings in favor of holy images by later Iconodules, such as John Damascene. The chronological as well as the historical background against which the texts in question were written differ. As Andrew Louth has correctly emphasized, when referring to images, trained rhetors such as the Cappadocian fathers Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa spoke of mental images in a rhetorical culture:

they are about the way in which the skilled rhetor in such a culture can conjure up visual images in the minds of his audience ... They fit into John's [Damascene] argument in a rather oblique way, for what John is concerned to demonstrate is the necessity of actual visual images of Christ, the Mother of God and the saints – icons painted, woven, carved or inscribed. That is not the point made by the Cappadocian fathers at all; they are using images – evoked rather than “actual” (though are evoked images any less “actual” than actual images?) to lead the minds of their audience to experience the events described, as if they had been there in person⁶.

We know that Basil of Caesarea is one of the three hierarchs of the Orthodox Church, and as such commemorated at each Orthodox liturgy⁷. Thus, Basil's status as one of the dogmatic pillars of the Orthodox Church and his vital role for Byzantine theology are undisputed. In addition, I argue that Basil was of crucial importance for Byzantine image theology and Byzantine aesthetics, because of his choice of rhetoric and theological language. For example, when speaking of God and the divine in his homilies *On the Hexaemeron*, Basil returns repeatedly to the faculty of vision. By way of a subtle religious language, Basil refers to the divine reality in terms of different pictorial metaphors. Later image theologians such as

⁶ A. LOUTH, *The Cappadocians and the Areopagite in the Iconoclasm*, in J. BØRTNES and T. HÄGG (eds.), *Gregory of Nazianus. Images and Reflections*, Copenhagen, 2006, p. 277.

⁷ The other two are the Cappadocian father Gregory Nazianzen and John Chrysostom.

John Damascene and Theodore of Stoudios transferred both directly and indirectly Basil's mode of thought, interpretations, and metaphors into a physical world of holy images. Basil's way of speaking about the invisible God in terms of metaphors is still today utterly suitable for deepening our understanding of Byzantine aesthetics.

From the outset, I will map out some reasons for choosing the thought of Basil of Caesarea as a model for exploring Byzantine aesthetics. In the following paragraph, I will discuss Byzantine corporeality and balanced kinetics, partly based on Basil's idea that a carnal man's mind is not trained in contemplation, but remains buried in the mud of fleshy lusts. I will examine how the familiar world around us relates to corruption and in what sense it deviates from the idea of what should be imitated. I will also consider how Basil discusses Christ's divinity in terms of the Lord being ripe in beauty and how divine knowledge, in an orthodox sense, relates to spiritual beauty. Moreover, I will focus on the causality between Byzantine aesthetics and the Christian tradition 'of right belief' (ὀρθόδοξος). I will explore why and how Byzantine aesthetics identifies the right (ὀρθοδόξως) manner of teaching about God (θεολογία). I will discuss Basil's criticism of the futile transitoriness of corporeal beauty and his emphasis on contemplation of the type of beauty that leads from the transitory to the eternal. What is beautiful in an orthodox sense, and how does the orthodox idea of beauty relate to Byzantine corporeality, form, shape, perspective, and light effects? The two last paragraphs are devoted to my hypothesis that patterned borders, circles, brilliance and light, gems, gold, silver, and pearls constitute apophatic meta-images of God's divinity. They identify in congruence with orthodox belief the incomprehensibility and uncircumscription of God. In my concluding remarks, I will analyze how coexistence and interaction of portraits, narration, corporeality, light, brilliance, and patterned borders answer to God's twofold identification. How and why interaction of human and divine is a prerequisite for salvation of humankind. How the specificity of Byzantine aesthetics relates to Cappadocian apophatic theology.

WHY BASIL OF CAESAREA?

My choice of Basil for exploring why and how the specificity of Byzantine aesthetics answers to patristicism might seem bizarre, since Basil discusses at length the human inability of accurate perception. In his sixth homily *On the Hexaemeron*, he enlightens his addressees on the precarious reliability of sight by referring to God's creation of the sun and the moon:

‘And God made the two great lights⁸’ ... The size of objects seen at great distances is naturally reduced, since the power of sight is not able to cover the space between ... since our visual impression is small, by imposing its own quality on the visible objects, it causes that which is seen to be considered small. Therefore, if the visual impression is false, its judgment is untrustworthy (Μικρὰ οὖν ἡ ὄψις ἡμῶν γιγνομένη, μικρὰ ἐποίησε νομίζεσθαι τὰ ὁρώμενα, τὸ οἰκεῖον πάθος τοῖς ὄρατοῖς ἐπιφέρεισα. Ὡστε ψεύδεται ἡ ὄψις, ἄπιστον τὸ κριτήριον) ... our visual impression, being spent in the air, becomes faint and is not sufficient for the accurate perception (τὴν ἀκριβῆ κατάληψιν) of the objects viewed⁹.

That is, our vision is not enough for perceiving the greatness of God, not even the greatness of the things created by God. Basil emphasizes that human sight does not preserve the shapes. From a hilltop the yokes of oxen and plowers look like ants, and from a mountain, the islands and the trading vessels do not look bigger than a dove. Our sight says that the great mountains are round and smooth. The light is thus infinitely greater than it appears (Μέγας οὖν ὁ φωστῆρ ... καὶ ἀπειροπλασιῶν τοῦ φαινομένου)¹⁰. At heart of Basil’s discussion is of course the idea of the limitations of human perception (διάνοια) and human nature. Humans cannot take in and understand the total implication of God. In comparison to God’s *is* and the Creation human perception is small, that is human nature is circumscribed, whereas God is uncircumscribed.

I argue that Basil’s syllogism verifies why the third dimension is inappropriate in a Byzantine orthodox context. Basil’s mode of thought facilitates and deepens our understanding of the different kinds of inverted perspectives and flattened corporeality that characterizes Byzantine aesthetics. Narration of the holy drama in the three dimensions of length, breadth, and depth would set the event solely within physical law and human perception, and disregard divine law. Belief in the two natures of God demands delineations that respect both the human laws of circumscription and the divine laws of infinite measure. To draw a holy image has nothing to do with the science of sight, optics, because, orthodox faith in “accurate perception” does not relate to how human eyes erroneously perceive the visible world. It does not concern the art of delineating persons and solid objects upon a plane surface so that the drawing produces the same impression of apparent relative positions and magnitudes, or of distance, as do the persons and/or the actual objects when viewed from a particular point. The predominant theory of perspective that characterizes much art of the Italian Renaissance,

⁸ Gen. 1.16.

⁹ Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 6.9.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

for example, would have failed to produce the desired effect. Only suitable are such shapes, forms, and perspectives that can help bridge the gap between God and humankind, such features that emphasize the twofold identification of God.

A second important reason for choosing Basil is the massive impact of his proclamation of the “equal force in true religion” of the unwritten (ἄγραφος) and the written (ἔγγραφος) tradition. The teachings of the Church, Basil underscored, whether publicly proclaimed (κήρυγμα) or reserved to members of the household of faith (δόγματα) is an uninterrupted transmission of spiritual authority through a succession of bishops from the apostles downward. “Dogma (δόγμα) is one thing”, Basil emphasized, “kerygma (κήρυγμα) another; the first is observed in silence, while the latter is proclaimed to the world”¹¹. During the era of iconomachy¹², image defenders turned Basil’s mode of thought into a rock-solid argument for authorization of holy images on apostolic grounds¹³. John Damascene wrote:

just as throughout the universe the gospel has been proclaimed without being written, so throughout the universe there has been handed down, without being

¹¹ Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu sancto*, 27.66 (we only slightly changed the translation of ANDERSON, pp. 98-100): “Concerning the teachings of the Church, whether publicly proclaimed or reserved to members of the household of faith, we have received some from the written sources (Τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένων δογμάτων καὶ κηρυγμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐγγράφου διδασκαλίας), while others have been given to us secretly (1 Cor. 2.7), through apostolic tradition (ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως). Both sources have equal force in true religion. No one would deny either source – no one, at any rate, who is even slightly familiar with the ordinances of the Church. If we attacked unwritten traditions (τὰ ἄγραφα τῶν ἐθῶν), claiming them to be of little importance, we would fatally mutilate the Gospel, no matter what our intentions – or rather, we would reduce the Gospel teachings to bare words”.

¹² Iconomachy (εἰκονομαχέω, ‘war against images’) is the notion used by the Byzantines for what later scholars has named Iconoclasm. On Byzantine iconoclasm, see also A. KARAHAN, *Byzantine Iconoclasm and the Belief in Eikon tou Theou: An Issue of Christology or a Quest for Political Power?* (forthcoming); L. BRUBAKER and J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680-850: A History*, Cambridge, 2011; IDEM, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast era (ca. 680-850): the Sources. An Annotated Survey*. With a section on the architecture of Iconoclasm: the Buildings by R. OUSTERHOUT, Aldershot, 2001.

¹³ Cf. John Damascene, *Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres*, I.23; II.16, ed. B. KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, III (PTS, 17), Berlin - New York, 1975; *Expositio fidei*, 4.12; 4.16, ed. B. KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, II (PTS, 12), Berlin - New York, 1973. Cf. also Theodore of Stoudios, *Antirrhetici*, II.1-5, PG 99, 352-356; Germanus of Constantinople, *On the Divine Liturgy*, 11, in *St Germanus of Constantinople. On the Divine Liturgy*, Eng. tr., intr., and comm. by P. MEYENDORFF, Crestwood, New York, 1984, p. 63; the text by Germanus published in PG 98, 384-453, is a corrupt medieval version (cf. MEYENDORFF, p. 12); Nicephorus of Constantinople, *Antirrhetici (Refutations of the Iconoclasts)*, 3.7 and 3.8, PG 100, 385 and 389.

written, the tradition that images are to be made of Christ the incarnate God and of the saints¹⁴

Basil's reference to several "unwritten traditions" included such liturgical and sacramental practices as the use of the sign of the cross, facing east at prayer, threefold immersion at baptism, the blessing of water for baptism and of oil for chrism¹⁵. All of these were established practices in Church life, although we find none of them documented in the writings of the New Testament; their authority as traditions is unwritten in form but apostolic in origin¹⁶. Based on Basil's line of argument, John Damascene, but also other Iconodules argued that there was no need for consolidation in the Scriptures for utilizing images of Christ and the saints. Images belong to the unwritten tradition.

A third reason is Basil's statement in his homily *On the Holy Forty Martyrs*, where he refers to the 'painter' (ζωγράφος) of painted images that is 'paintings on tablets' (γραφή, πίναξ). Basil emphasizes that what the word (λόγος) communicates by sound, the art of painting (γραφική) communicates silently by imitation (διὰ μιμήσεως)¹⁷. Later at the Seventh Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 787 use of holy icons was authorized by stating that through the two media of text and image, "which accompany each other ... we acquire the knowledge of the same realities"¹⁸. In this context, it is crucial to remember that the Greek noun γραφή denotes an inscription as well as a drawing, and the verb γράφω implies the act of painting as well as describing. Not only is word and image interrelated, but also the action of painting and what is depicted and unfolded in this act. This semantic fourfold communion is essential for the outcome of Byzantine theological aesthetics. The Byzantine world of religious images is founded upon a semantic catenation of word and image, the act of the artist, and what he/she unfolds.

A fourth and vital reason is Basil's choice of theological language. For example, in his *Epistula* II addressed to Gregory Nazianzen, Basil emphasizes that in the study of the divinely inspired Scriptures, the lives of saintly

¹⁴ John Damascene, *Contra imaginum calumniatores*, II.16; Eng. tr. by J. PELIKAN, *The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine*, II, Chicago - London, 1974, p. 99.

¹⁵ On Baptism in Basil of Caesarea, Gregory Nazianzen, and Gregory of Nyssa, see E. FERGUSON, *Baptism in the Early Church. History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries*, Grand Rapids, Michigan- Cambridge, UK, 2009, pp. 583-622.

¹⁶ PELIKAN, *Christian Tradition*, p. 99.

¹⁷ Basil of Caesarea, *Homilia* 19, *In sanctos quadraginta martyres*, §2, PG 31, 509A.

¹⁸ MANSI, XIII, 300C; Eng. tr. in L. OUSPENSKY, *Theology of the Icon*, I, Crestwood, New York, 1992, pp. 7-8.

men “lie before us like living images of God’s government, for our imitation of their good works”¹⁹. He compares the painter, who persistently observes his model, to the believer, who should as indefatigably imitate the actions of the saints:

just as painters in working from models constantly gaze at their exemplar and thus strive to transfer the expression of the original to their own artistry, so too he who is anxious to make himself perfect in all the kinds of virtue must gaze upon the lives of the saints as upon statues, so to speak, that move and act, and must make their excellence his own by imitation²⁰.

In his rhetorical metaphors on human perception, Basil repeatedly contextualizes his narration within the world of arts. In first homily *On the Hexaemeron*, when explaining how God in the beginning made Heaven and Earth, the world is compared to a work of art (ὁ κόσμος τεχνικόν) “set before all for contemplation, so that through it the wisdom of Him who created it should be known”²¹. The creative arts (ποιητικῶν τεχνῶν):

even though the action ceases, the work remains, as that of architecture, carpentry, metal work, weaving, and of as many such arts as, even if the craftsman is not present, ably manifest in themselves the artistic processes of thoughts, and make possible for you to admire the architect from his work, as well as the metal worker and the weaver. That it might be shown, then, that the world is a work of art²².

Basil distinguishes between creative, practical, and theoretical arts. Practical arts such as dancing and flute playing have no permanent value; they have no meaning, because they stop when the motion stops, whereas the aim of theoretical arts is the action of mind. Creative arts, however, have a permanent value, because we can admire the creator from his work. What Basil’s metaphor subtly highlights is the contrast between permanence (contemplation) versus impermanence (motion) that is good versus bad. In the context of Byzantine aesthetics, Basil’s discussion sheds light on not only why lifelike corporeal kinetics fails to represent the value of permanence, but also why to fit a “model” for contemplation Byzantine aesthetics had to

¹⁹ Basil of Caesarea, *Epistula*, II, in R. J. DEFERRARI, *Saint Basil. The Letters*. Edition with an English Translation (*The Loeb Classical Library*), 4 vols., Cambridge (MA) – London, 1926-1939 (= 1950), vol. I, pp. 14-15. Basil recognizes the Scriptures itself as a temple, into which the reader as worshipper penetrates (cf. *Hexaemeron*, 2.1). Cf. P. ROUSSEAU, *Basil of Caesarea (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 20)*, Berkeley- Los Angeles – Oxford, 1994, p. 329.

²⁰ Basil of Caesarea, *Epistula*, II (DEFERRARI, I, pp. 16-17).

²¹ Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 1.7.

²² Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 1.7.

adjust the visible to a “realism” suitable for contemplation of the eternal divine. I will come back to this later in the article.

My fifth reason relates to the impact of Basil’s thinking on the doctrinal writings on the cult of images at the Council of Nicaea in 787. Ten out of seventy-seven quotations originated from Basil. Of especial importance to the Iconodules was a passage in his anti-Arian treatise *On the Holy Spirit*, 18.45. Discussing the Trinitarian issue, Basil utilized the image of the emperor as an analogy for God not being “one, two, or three”, or “first, second, and third”, God says, “I am the first and I am the last”²³, and Basil concluded:

We have never to this present day heard of a second God ... The Son is in the Father and the Father in the Son; what the Father is, the Son is likewise and vice-versa – such is the unity. As unique Persons, they are one and one; as sharing a common nature, both are one. How does one and one not equal two Gods? Because we speak of the emperor, and the emperor’s image – but not two emperors. The power is not divided, nor the glory separated ... the honor given the image passes to the prototype. The image of the emperor is an image by imitation, but the Son is a natural image; in works of art the likeness is dependent on its original form, and since the divine nature is not composed of parts, union of the persons is accomplished by partaking of the whole. The Holy Spirit ... is united to the Father and the Son as unit dwells with unit²⁴.

During the iconoclastic controversy²⁵, Basil’s statement came to be used as an orthodox *raison d’être* for authorizing images of Christ, the Theotokos, and the saints. John Damascene, the most committed of image defenders, together with other Iconodules turned the belief in the image of God (εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ) into one of the most important of orthodox arguments for authorizing holy images. Yet this was not at all that Basil had had in mind. When speaking of Christ as the image of God (εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ), neither Basil nor the other two Cappadocian fathers referred to material images. Despite that, later fathers used their modes of thought on Christology and soteriology, but also Trinitarian theology in the most resourceful and creative of ways to authorize use of holy images on orthodox grounds. Orthodox image theology was verified through patristicism.

In his *Three treatises against those who attack and speak against holy images*, John Damascene presented an entire cosmology that linked Creator

²³ Is. 44.6.

²⁴ Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu sancto*, 18.45.

²⁵ L. BRUBAKER argued, at a lecture held at the Annual Meeting of the Swedish Byzantine Society, at *The Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study*, at Uppsala, Sweden, May 8, 2010, that there is only written proof of active imperial iconoclasm between 750-775 and 833-842, i.e. only during a period of 34 years.

and Creation through a comprehensive schema of images²⁶. A holy image of Christ proved that God had taken flesh, according to John and his fellow orthodox advocates. Resurrection and salvation depended on Christ's suffering in the flesh, the twofold identification of the God-Man. Thus, repudiation of holy images nullified not only the Incarnation, but also the salvation of humankind. It was not a question of worshipping matter. Since, as John Damascene emphasizes in his Second Treatise, §19, if destroyed the image can even be thrown into the fire.

My sixth reason related to my fifth, also concerns Basil's mode of thought on Christology and Trinitarian theology. To explain the *ὁμοούσιος* ('of the same substance') concept Basil had introduced the identification of one *οὐσία* (substance) and three *ὑποστάσεις* (Persons)²⁷. He argued that *μία οὐσία τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις* was the only acceptable formula for the Trinity²⁸. To Basil, *οὐσία* denoted the existence, or essence, or substantial entity of God, while *ὑπόστασις* signified the existence in a particular mode, the manner of being of each Persona²⁹. Basil explained the term *ὁμοούσιον* as relational – the divine *οὐσία* is the Father's *οὐσία*, shared with the Son by begetting him and with the Spirit through procession³⁰. Basil declared that faith confesses distinction in *ὑπόστασις* and community in *οὐσία*; *ὑπόστασις* relates to the individuality of each, whereas *οὐσία* relates to the principle of community³¹. Basil identified the idea of co-inherence (*περιχώρησις*) of the *ὑπόστασις* one within the other and accentuated the properties of the three *ὑποστάσεις* Fatherhood, Sonship, and Sanctification³². Philip Rousseau has emphasized that "it was the quality of 'being related' that claimed priority, and problems connected with the mode of generation were of less significance – indeed, they were, in the

²⁶ The most recent English translation is A. LOUTH, *St John of Damascus. Three Treatises on the Divine Images*, Crestwood, New York, 2003. O. ANDRÉN has made a Swedish translation, with introduction by A. KARAHAN, *Johannes Damaskenos. Tre försvarstal mot dem som förkastar de heliga bilderna*, Skellefteå, 2008.

²⁷ A. KARAHAN, *The Issue of περιχώρησις in Byzantine Holy Images*, in J. BAUN, A. CAMERON, M. EDWARDS, and M. VINZENT (eds.), *Studia Patristica, XLIV-XLIX, Papers presented at the Fifteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2007*, Leuven – Paris – Walpole (MA), 2010, p. 32.

²⁸ The formula implies that each Persona, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit fully and equally possess the one substance of God. Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Homily, 24, Contra Sabellianos*, §4, PG 31, 605B.

²⁹ J. QUASTEN, *Patrology*, Westminster, Maryland, 1994, p. 228.

³⁰ Basil of Caesarea, *Epistula*, LII (DEFERRARI, I, pp. 332-334).

³¹ Basil of Caesarea, *Epistula*, XXXVIII (without address, in behalf of a foster brother) (DEFERRARI, I, pp. 200-203).

³² L. D. DAVIS, *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils (325-787). Their History and Theology (Theology and Life Series, 21)*, Collegeville, Minnesota, 1990, p. 114.

end, beyond understanding and should not even be discussed”³³. In the third part, *On the Orthodox Faith*, of his exposition of the Christian Orthodox tradition, *The Fountainhead of Knowledge*, John Damascene much later argued that interpenetration, co-inherence (περιχώρησις) signifies not only the relation of the three divine persons (ὑποστάσεις) of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but also the two natures of divine and human in the God-Man³⁴.

On the Christological issue, Basil underlined in *Homily 24, Against the Sabellians, the Arians, and the Anomoians*: “the Son (Christ) is from the Father by generation (γεννητῶς) and expresses in Himself the Father by nature (φυσικῶς); as an image He is absolutely without difference, as generated He preserves the same essence as the Father”. Based on the relation between emperor and emperor’s image, Basil again brought up that the image of the emperor does not cause an existence of two emperors. He also pointed out that, the imperial image is of wood, wax, and colors, a result of the art of the painter. It is “a corruptible image, in imitation of something corruptible”³⁵. By this statement, Basil acknowledged that the image of the invisible God, Jesus Christ is neither a second God nor an imitation of something corruptible. Exempted from deterioration, the natural image of God identifies the divine.

The Trinity identifies a community in substance. Yet, God’s triune *is* and the image of God is a monotheistic concept. In an orthodox sense, it is not possible to disunite God’s humanity from God’s divinity other than in a theoretical dogmatic sense: Jesus Christ is as much human as divine. God incarnated *is*, however, never only human, neither only divine. Therefore, I argue, any identification of God, written, spoken, or painted, that disregards God’s interaction of human and divine is nothing short of heresy.

³³ Basil of Caesarea, *Contra Eunomium*, 2.20-22, ed. B. SESBOÛÉ, G.-M. DE DURAND and L. DOUTRELEAU, *Basile de Césarée. Contre Eunome suivi de Eunome, Apologie*, II (SC, 305), Paris, 1983, pp. 80-92 (see also ROUSSEAU, *Basil*, p. 107).

³⁴ John Damascene, *Expositio fidei*, in a Christological sense: chapters 47, 48, 51, 52, 61 and 91, and in a Trinitarian sense: chapters 8, 15 and 91. Cf. also KARAHAN, *The Issue of περιχώρησις*, pp. 27-34.

³⁵ Basil of Caesarea, *Homily, 24, Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos*, PG 31, 607A; Eng. tr. by B. G. LADNER, *The Concept of the Image in the Greek Fathers and the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy*, in *DOP*, 7 (1954), p. 3. By pronouncing the full deity of the second person of the Trinity, the “consubstantiality” (ὁμοουσιότης) of the Son with the Father, the First ecumenical council of Nicaea in 325 anathematized such statements as “the Son was created”, and “there was a time when he was not”. Ideas maintained by the Alexandrian priest Arius and his followers. The most radical fraction was the “Anomoians”, led by Aetius and his disciple Eunomios, who declared the Son to be “unlike” (ἀνόμοιος) the Father. J. BØRTNES, *Introduction: Prompting for Meaning in Gregory’s Rhetoric*, in BØRTNES and HÄGG, *Images and Reflections*, p. 9.

Byzantine aesthetics has to indicate the twofold reality of God, and this is the core element of its specificity. To those well acquainted with patristicism my hypothesis might seem ridiculous and highly ignorant, since all fathers with fervor denounce any materialization of the divine³⁶. I find support for my hypothesis in Basil's discussion on how the triune God created humankind in *On the origin of humanity, Discourse, 1: On that which is according to the image*:

You have learned that there are two persons (πρόσωπα), the one who speaks and the one to whom the speech is addressed. Why did he not say, "Make," but, "Let us make a human being"? That you may know the sovereignty, that in acknowledging the Father you may not reject the Son; that you may learn that the Father created through the Son, and the Son created by the Father's will; that you may glorify the Father in the Son, and the Son in the Holy Spirit. Thus you have been made a common work, that you may be a worshiper of both together, not dividing the worship but uniting the Godhead³⁷.

Basil continues:

It says, "God made the human being," that you may unite (ένώσης) the Godhead and unite (ένώσης) not the hypostases but the power (τή δυνάμει), that you may have one glory (μίαν δόξαν) not divided in the worship (προσκύνησιν), not divined into polytheism. It does not say, "The gods made the human being," but, "God made (Έποίησεν ό Θεός)." The hypostasis of the Father is proper to him, and that of the Son is proper to him, and that of the Holy Spirit is proper to him. Then why are there not three gods? Because the Godhead is one ("Ότι μία θεότης). For that Godhead which I see in the Father, the same also is in the Son; and that which is in the Holy Spirit, the same also is in the Son. Since there is one form in each of them, the causation from the Father is also the same in the Son (Διότι μορφή έν έκαστέρω μία, και άρχή από Πατρός έν Υίω ή αυτή). Because of this, our worship and praise (προσκύνησις και δοξολογία) are also one. The prelude to our creation is true theology (θεολογία άληθινή) ... God is without form and simple (Άσχημάτιστος ό Θεός, άπλοός). Do not imagine a shape (μορφήν) in regard to him ... Do not enclose God in bodily concepts, nor circumscribe him according to your own mind. He is incomprehensible in greatness³⁸.

³⁶ On patristic authorities, significance of dogma, and Byzantine aesthetics in the Late Byzantine image program of the Chora church, Istanbul, see A. KARAHAN, *Byzantine Holy Images – Transcendence and Immanence. The Theological Background of the Iconography and Aesthetics of the Chora Church* (OLA, 176), Leuven – Paris – Walpole (MA), 2010, pp. 211-232.

³⁷ Basil of Caesarea, *On the Origin of Humanity*, 1.4; Greek text in A. SMETS et M. VAN ESBROECK, *Basile de Césarée. Sur l'origine de l'homme (Hom. X et XI de l'Hexaéméron)*. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes (SC, 160), Paris, 1970, pp. 174-176; Eng. tr. by N. V. HARRISON, *St Basil the Great. On the Human Condition*, Crestwood, New York, 2005, p. 33.

³⁸ Basil of Caesarea, *On the Origin of Humanity*, 1.4-5 (we slightly changed the translation of HARRISON, pp. 33-34).

From the above quotes, we can conclude that the triune Godhead, God's supra mundane *is*, is believed to be indivisibly one. The Trinity is without shape and structure. Moreover, the creation of humankind is a work of God. Humankind is created from true divinity (θεολογία) that is from God's incomprehensible, uncircumscribed, and invisible *is*. In addition, on the Christological issue Basil objects in his treatise *On the Holy Spirit* in a polemical attack on "the heresy of Sabellius":

I am referring to those who use intervals of time (διαστήμασι) to separate the Son from the Father, saying there was a time when the Son was not, or the Spirit from the Son calling the Spirit a created being³⁹.

Based on Basil's modes of thought, paradoxical as it may seem, to indicate the God-Man in a holy image demands identification of the divinity (θεολογία) of the God-Man, in some way or another. Lack of divine connotation would identify Christ as solely human, and not as God-Man. It would rescind salvation of humankind. Since the gift of Divine grace through the Passion dogmatically depends on the twofold orthodox reality of interaction of divine and human.

To deepen our understanding of Byzantine aesthetics and its communion of divine and human, it is pivotal to recognize its context of faith. Of vast importance is Basil's emphasis that the holy drama is a historical event with identifications beyond the interval of time (διάστημα), together with his seminal trinitarian definitions: the triune Godhead is one, divine nature is simple and not composed of parts, union of the three persons is a partaking of the whole.

To sum up, my first reason for choosing Basil is his emphasis on the shortcomings of human perception of the created. His opinion on the inaccuracy of human perception concurs with the lack of third dimensional perspectives in holy images. Of great importance also is his emphasis on the equal apostolic force of the written and unwritten traditions, which over time relates to the undisputable role of holy images in orthodox religious life. Moreover, Basil compares and links imitation of the spoken word (λόγος) with imitation of the lives of the saints (referred to as painted images, in a mental sense of course). His idea is imperative for a deeper comprehension of why and how Byzantine corporeality and perspectives do not pertain to human optics. Orthodox theology focuses on spiritual imitation not physical ditto. Basil's statement verifies that word and image are associated. Operating within the context of a rhetorical culture, Basil does

³⁹ Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu sancto*, 25.59 (Λέγω δὴ τούτους οἱ χρονικοὺς διαστήμασι τοῦ μὲν Πατρὸς τὸν Υἱόν, τοῦ δὲ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον διαιροῦσι).

not refer to material and tangible holy images. Yet, Basil employs visual and narrative metaphors and theological language that discuss God, creation, and cosmology in terms of image, art, and sculpture. God is the Artisan and Architect. The rich rhetorical imagery of Basil is his signum. In addition, it emphasizes the cardinal role of the created and ordered world to render knowledge. The believer who contemplates the created universe in a right manner will come closer to God. The way Basil speaks on doctrinal matters is pertinent in the context of holy images. Of great impact for the specificity of Byzantine aesthetics are his definitions on God as twofold (Christology) and God as triune (Trinitarian theology). The image of God and the Trinity is one. God identifies a common divine nature not composed of parts, the union of three persons is accomplished by partaking of the whole. The Son is generated from the Father, thus he is not circumscribed within intervals of time and space.

In the following five paragraphs, I will explore Byzantine aesthetics based on Basil's conceptions and beliefs and the Eastern orthodox tradition.

IMITATION OF WHAT? BALANCED KINETICS AND CORPOREALITY

The issue of imitation in an orthodox context concerns the eternal divine. The orthodox believer should focus on and imitate actions that lead to likeness with God, actions that do not finish when they end. Suitable for imitation are persons, subjects, and objects that lead to communication with God and a future life in God. Beauty of the body, in an orthodox sense, equals corporeal identifications that help the believer on her/his journey towards eternal deification. The beauty of the human body lies in its potential use for reaching God. Beauty in a holy image is that which gives impetus to contemplation and imitation of God's divine nature. Beauty equals aesthetics that can develop the image of God within the believer. Focus is not on impermanence, but permanence.

The Theotokos and all other saints are particularly close to God. Having lived their lives in divine likeness, saints are deemed worthy and suitable for imitation. They have imitated the life of Christ and have a message, moral and spiritual. Saintly men lie before us like living images of God's government, for our imitation of their good works, as we heard Basil emphasize earlier⁴⁰. Saints focus beyond the earthly. Thus, they are included in the holy drama as persons with corporeal features and semantics relating to the eternal divine. A saint constitutes a link between Heaven and Earth.

⁴⁰ Basil of Caesarea, *Epistula*, II (see our notes 19-20).

A saint's life is like a sacred book. By appreciating and paying close attention to the Scriptures, the saints identify divine knowledge⁴¹.

Basil recognizes humankind as made in the image of the Creator⁴². Whereas Basil's brother and the youngest of the three Cappadocian fathers Gregory of Nyssa frequently affirm the idea that the image of God is present in humankind⁴³. Gregory also emphasizes, "Christianity is the imitation (*mimesis*) of God's nature"⁴⁴. Gregory Nazianzen, the third Cappadocian, emphasizes that humankind possesses a portion of God, and this particle of divinity constitutes the potential of eternal life in each human being⁴⁵. Gregory Nazianzen speaks of God's grace and points out that a "divine particle" was offered to humankind with the breath of life⁴⁶, whereas Gregory of Nyssa declares, "if man's heart has been purified from every creature and all unruly affections, he will see the Image of the Divine Nature in his own beauty"⁴⁷.

Saints identify individuals who have purified themselves. They are holy because they communicate with their own "divine particle". Saints have succeeded in imitating Christ, the image of God. Thus, they are closer to God than the rest of the believers. Saints are in likeness with God. For that reason, saints constitute models for imitation. A saint's likeness with God makes her/him beautiful. Saints are certainly not beautiful because of their gorgeous athletic bodies. The bodies of saints identify association with the divine and dissociation from corruption. Flattened corporeality and kinetic ethereal effects associate holy persons with the incomprehensible divine. Sometimes their bodies are hovering in space, or their portraits are set against golden backgrounds to imply divine connotation. (Figure 1)

I argue that the ideological underpinning to the characteristic equanimity and self-control of holy persons in Byzantine aesthetics is in the belief that God identifies balance; God created the cosmos and in Greek, the word *κόσμος* denotes both universe and order. Balanced versus unbalanced and lopsided kinetics dichotomize the spiritual beauty of holy persons from the lack of spiritual beauty of individuals who have isolated themselves from God, individuals who lack divine knowledge, who are not cured, but morally impure and ignorant of the divine. Judas who betrayed God is one

⁴¹ Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 3.10 and 10.1.

⁴² Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 9.5.

⁴³ Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *In Psalmos*, PG 44, 441CD.

⁴⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *De professione Christiana*, PG 46, 244C.

⁴⁵ Gregory Nazianzen, *Homily 14.7*, PG 35, 865C.

⁴⁶ V. LOSSKY, *Orthodox Theology. An Introduction*, Crestwood, New York 1989, p. 130.

⁴⁷ *St. Gregory of Nyssa: The Lord's Prayer, The Beatitudes*, Eng. tr. by H. GRAEFS (*Ancient Christian Writers*, 18), London 1954, p. 147.



Fig. 1. The Metamorphosis. Çarınklı kilise (Göreme 22). Photo A. KARAHAN

example. In the motif of his Treason at Çarıklı kilise, at Göreme, Cappadocia, the different parts of his body identify disequilibrium, both in size and kinetic energy. The size of Judas' head is only a third of the head of Christ. The depiction indicates how Judas is out of spiritual balance, his contemplative capacity is darkened and his likeness with God abortive. (Figure 2) In perfected serene balance stands the God-Man upright beside him. The human image of God personifies the supreme model for imitation. Those who imitate Christ, but also the Theotokos and the saints will obtain moral control and spiritual perfection. To have God actively present in your soul, to imitate and act as Christ and the saints imparts harmony⁴⁸.

Stephen M. Hildebrand has well remarked that for Basil, salvation (σωτηρία) is knowledge that “includes and presupposes moral righteousness”. Moral impurity attributes to ignorance. To cure ignorance demands restoration of moral purity⁴⁹. Moral progress, from Basil's point of view, is the only positive change (μεταβολή)⁵⁰. All other changes relate to something dire, undesirable, and ominous. The actions of Satan of course identify the worst of changes. Holy images distinguish this by depicting Christ in balanced kinetics and worthy appearances, whereas Satan, Hades, and the devils are out of corporeal balance, sometimes with absurd physiognomies, or chained and devoid of power. Significant examples are in the motifs of the Anastasis, the Temptations of Christ, and the Last Judgment⁵¹. (Figure 3) What we are witnessing is the belief that nothing and no one can threaten the power and equilibrium of God. The loadstar of unthreatened divine order and power in Byzantine aesthetics distinctly differs from the visual methods and attitudes in the earlier non-Christian, pagan era of Hellenism. The Greeks had simply started from different assumptions. Evil powers constituted an actual threat. A great example is the sculpture of *Laokoon*, the priest of the Apollo temple at Troy and his two sons being attacked and killed by two large sea snakes. They fight vigorously and desperately for their lives, but in the end, they die. (Figure 4) To depict Christ, a saint, or a church father in such a realistic physical fight would have been impossible in Byzantium. The mere idea that either Satan or Hades would have such a potent capacity to threaten God, or the saints, is absurd from an

⁴⁸ Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu sancto*, 16.38: The Spirit's power and authority help God's angels to accomplish “the indescribable harmony of the heavenly realm”.

⁴⁹ S. M. HILDEBRAND, *The Trinitarian Theology of Basil of Caesarea. A Synthesis of Greek Thought and Biblical Truth*, Washington, D.C., 2007, p. 174.

⁵⁰ Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Epistula*, CCXXIII.5 (*Against Eustathius of Sebaste*) (DEFERRARI, III, p. 298).

⁵¹ On balance vs. unbalance, kinetics vs. statics, see KARAHAN, *Byzantine Holy Images*, pp. 146-178.



Fig. 2. The Treason of Judas. Çarıklı kilise (Göreme 22). Photo A. KARAHAN



Fig. 3. The Anastasis. Karanlık kilise (Göreme 23). Photo A. KARAHAN

orthodox viewpoint. The Byzantine Satan or Hades constitutes no real threat to God and the saints. His struggle against Christ in the motifs of the Anastasis and the Temptations is futile, a mission impossible⁵². It is interesting to notice the great dichotomy between the powerless Satan in the East and the powerful Satan in the West. Satan and the devils constitute a real threat in the Latin West⁵³. I argue that the remote role of Satan and the devils in Byzantine holy images also is due to the mimetic role of images in the East. The lives of Satan and the devils constitute no model for imitation. Their didactic role is minor. In an orthodox sense, evil identifies ignorance and lack of divine knowledge⁵⁴. For theological clarification, I refer

⁵² Cf. the motif of the Anastasis (mural paintings) at Karanlık kilise and Çarıklı kilise (Middle Byzantine), Göreme, Cappadocia, and the motif of the Temptations (mosaic) at the Chora church (Late Byzantine), Istanbul.

⁵³ Cf. Satan in the motif of the Last Judgment in Capella degli Scrovegni/the Arena chapel, by Giotto, Padua, Italy, or in Cappella dei Re Magi, in Cattedrale di San Petronio, Bologna, Italy. Both are mural paintings.

⁵⁴ For discussion, see A. KARAHAN, *Balans i briljans: bilden av Guds kosmos i Bysans heliga bilder* (Balance in Brilliance: the Image of God's Cosmos in Byzantine Holy Images), article in Swedish, published by The Swedish Byzantine Society, in *Bulletin*, 26 (2008), pp. 47-49.

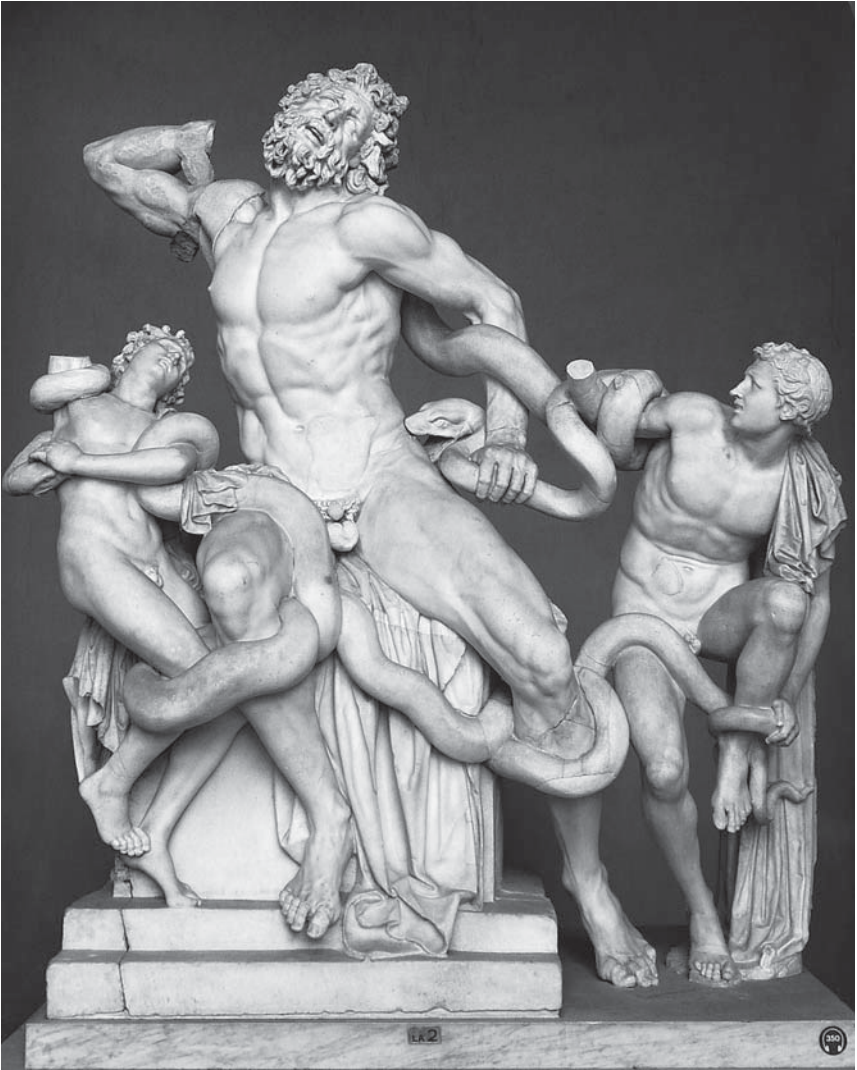


Fig. 4. Laokoon and his two sons. Rhodos school, ca. 50BC.
Vatican Museums, Vatican City. Photo A. KARAHAN

to Basil's statement "Evil does not arise out of necessity, but from lack of thought (ἐξ ἀβουλίας)"⁵⁵.

When exploring latent versus patent kinetics as well as perspectives in Byzantine aesthetics, we should keep in mind that in an orthodox sense only the right kind of change and motion can serve for imitation. In a religious sense, *theologia* concerns the divine nature of God/God's *is*, while *oikonomia* relates to the incarnation and God's activity in the world. Holy images operate within the context of "belonging to the world of sense" (κοσμικός), that which is "set in order" (κοσμέω) by God, that which is created to serve motion towards God. The great difference is of course that God is believed to have created the cosmos out of nothing (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων)⁵⁶, whereas the creator of holy images creates out of created matter. Yet, the result of the process of God's Creation as well as the creators of holy images is images that help the believer contemplate, comprehend, and imitate God. The created is imperative for human beings who want to reach God through contemplation. However, in his text *On the Holy Spirit* Basil emphasizes:

a carnal man's mind is not trained in contemplation, but remains buried in the mud of fleshy lusts, powerless to look up and see the spiritual light of the truth⁵⁷.

I argue that Basil's statement verifies why Byzantine aesthetics refrains from athletic and/or erotic corporeal beauty. Such athletic, carnal, and vigorous beauty of graceful and alluring hair, lifelike eyes, and satin-smooth skin, or extreme realism as we find in the aesthetics of Greek and Roman Antiquity would have drawn the beholders' attention to the beauty of the corruptible. In an orthodox context, too fascinating lifelike connotations are dogmatically wrong, since they prevent the believer from indulging in spiritual contemplation and imitation of that beyond the corruptible. For further support of my hypothesis, I refer to the poem *On the Soul*⁵⁸ where Gregory Nazianzen defines the soul as "étant céleste, a supporté d'être mêlé au terrestre" (μίξιν ἀνέτλη / Οὐρανίη χθονίοιο), et par conséquent s'avère être "une lumière cachée par une caverne" (φάος σπήλυγγι καλυφθέν), et

⁵⁵ Basil of Caesarea, *Quod Deus non est auctor malorum*, PG 31, 345A; Eng. tr. by ROUSSEAU, p. 332.

⁵⁶ On creation out of nothing, see G. MAY, *Creatio Ex Nihilo. The Doctrine of 'Creation out of Nothing' in Early Christian Thought*, Eng. tr. by A. S. WORRALL, London - New York, 2004.

⁵⁷ Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu sancto*, 22.53.

⁵⁸ Gregory Nazianzen, PG 37, 446-447.

“malgré tout” (ἀλλ’ ἔμπης), divine et immortelle”⁵⁹. What we understand from Gregory’s statement is that it is in spite of the flesh that the soul is divine and immortal.

Such modes of thought that Basil and Gregory present are decisive, if we want to comprehend dogmatic prerequisites for Byzantine aesthetics and corporeality. When contemplating a holy image the orthodox believer should focus on the spiritual light. To identify Christ, the Theotokos, and the saints in refined and sophisticated athletic and carnal beauty would fail to produce the desired effect, since it would give impetus to imitation of carnal life, the flesh that hides the spiritual light from the soul. A gorgeous athletic youth with perfected muscular strength and vigor, such as the Classical Greek youths named “the Diskobolos” and the “Riace Warriors” might instead of causing spiritual inspiration cause the beholder to go for physical sports. Moreover, such aesthetics would induce the beholder not only to remember death, but also to imitate death, a *memento mori* that would obstruct the believer’s actions towards God and eternal life.

Holy images indicate proportionate configuration and display figures and shapes, colors and brilliance in such a manner that they offer the believer impetus to go beyond the depicted exposed to destruction. A holy image brings about a sense of serenity, this in line with Basil’s emphasis that the very beginning of the soul’s purgation is tranquility (ἡσυχία)⁶⁰. As already discussed, according to Basil’s second letter, the lives of the saints must be gazed upon as statues, so to speak, that move and act. The believer must make their excellence her/his own by imitation. The tranquility and harmony of holy persons nurtured by closeness to God is a model for imitation, whereas the chaotic imbalance of Satan and the devils, destitute of the true Light because of their uproar against God, is an anti-model. Corporeal balance is a sign of spiritual knowledge, whereas corporeal unbalance indicates the dangers of absence of divine knowledge. Who is the model and who is the anti-model is blatant, even to those of exceedingly restricted acquaintance with the holy drama. Different kinds of inverted perspectives add to the idea of a sublime and serene divine reality, the transfigured world populated by those who are in spiritual harmony with God.

To answer the question imitation of what, we have to understand that the goal of the orthodox believer concerns divine likeness and eternal life. The loadstar is imitation of that which leads to the everlasting incorruptible

⁵⁹ PG 37, 446-447; French tr. by A. RICHARD, *Cosmologie et théologie chez Grégoire de Nazianze (Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité, 169)*, Paris, 2003, pp. 238-239.

⁶⁰ Basil of Caesarea, *Epistula*, II (DEFERRARI, I, pp. 12-13).

reality of God. Imitation of the corruptible does not lead to God. The lifelike and three-dimensional relate to created physical law and things exposed to deterioration. Thus, I argue that too close lifelike aesthetics vis-à-vis the familiar world around us is not suitable on religious grounds. Perfected carnation, corporeality, and muscles, as well as lifelike postures identify too patently the corruptible reality within interval of time and space (διάστημα).

The first act of God in Genesis is speech: “And God said, ‘Let there be light’”. Therefore, in the homilies *On the Hexaemeron* Basil links God’s ‘voice’ (φωνή) with God’s ‘word’ (λόγος), and hence with the Word, his Son and “Co-worker” in the creative act. Basil asks, “Who spoke and who made?” He answers the question with a rhetorical question – “Do you not notice in these words the double Person (τὸ διπλοῦν τῶν προσώπων)”. And Basil continues, “Everywhere in history the teachings of theology are mystically interspersed (Πανταχοῦ τῆ ἱστορία τὸ δόγμα τῆς θεολογίας μυστικῶς συμπαρέσπαρται)”⁶¹. I side with Rousseau, who concludes that to Basil “the nature, the φύσις, of all that came into being was contained ultimately in the divine word”. In the Creation God gave power to the earth⁶². When God in Genesis says: “Let us make man in our image”, Basil interpreted this as the Father turned towards the Son to presage the bestowal of a special honor. The creative act of God moved to a new level, where ‘nature’ (φύσις) is enfolded by the concept of ‘image’ (εἰκόν)⁶³. The honor of being made in God’s image (κατ’ εἰκόνα), controls human potential and development, and defines in particular the scope of human freedom. Basil emphasizes: “(human) nature has within itself, in unwritten form, the spoken word of God, ‘Have dominion’ (as in Gen. 1.28)”. Command over the passions is the most obvious example of that rational power: it is in the mastery of passion that human nature expresses itself most fully, collaborating with the creative power of God⁶⁴. Likeness to God (ὁμοίωσις) is in a similar way acquired by choice; but here Basil introduces another distinction: humans have the power (δύναμις) to acquire likeness, as part of their created nature, but they depend also on ἐνέργεια, their readiness to carry that power into effect. However, as Rousseau has well remarked, Basil already at an early point in *On the Holy Spirit* underscored that “there is no

⁶¹ Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 3.2 and 6.2.

⁶² Cf. ROUSSEAU, *Basil*, pp. 339-342. See also *Hexaemeron*, 8.1.

⁶³ Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 11.2.

⁶⁴ Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 10.6-8 (*On the Origin of Humanity*); Greek text in SMETS and VAN ESBROECK, pp. 178-187; Eng tr. by ROUSSEAU, p. 341. For the quotation, see *Hexaemeron*, 10.8: “ἀνάγραπτον ἡ φύσις ἔχει τὴν θεῖαν φωνήν· ἀρχέτωσαν”.

likeness without knowledge (ὁμοίωσις δὲ, οὐκ ἄνευ γνώσεως)⁶⁵. The power (δύναμις) to achieve likeness is thus a power exercised within the context of redemption, for it is a power of renewal (δύναμιν ... ἀνακαινώσεως), bringing to our souls the great blessing of salvation (μεγάλην ... τὴν σωτηρίαν)⁶⁶. When Basil speaks of “renewal”, it is of course within the context of moral progress. Because, as Rousseau has accurately stated, the knowledge Basil values the most, is the enlightenment inspired by the Spirit’s presence. The fundamental ἐνέργεια at work in human lives is that of the Spirit, enabling each person to “gain insight in the divine mysteries”⁶⁷. Basil says that humankind is made in the image (εἰκόν) of God, but can only become “like” God, achieve likeness (ὁμοίωσις) with God by entering the community of the Church and adopting its moral program⁶⁸. The notion of εἰκόν defines a human being, but the concept of ὁμοίωσις defines Christianity as a social body. Imitation of Christ, the model of the Gospel, and his way of life will lead to redemption⁶⁹.

Heaven and Earth meet in Christ, but saints are the enlightened fundament of the Church community. Through moral and spiritual progress, they have achieved likeness with God, which turn them into models for our imitation of their good works. In holy images as a sign of divine likeness, not only the holy drama, but also saints are recognized through conceptual interaction of that which refers to the earthly and that which refers to the heavenly. To create a painting of the holy drama is to narrate the history of Christ mystically interspersed with the teachings of theology. In a patristic sense, the Greek word ἱστορία refers to knowledge, as well as narrative, fact of history, picture, and representation. To give impetus for the right kind of imitation, holy images indicate interaction between the figurative and concrete, and the more subtle teachings of theology. Flattened corporeality and inverted perspectives, use of colors, forms, and meta-images such as different kinds of light effects enhance the effect of a transfigured narration intended for imitation. Not only God’s twofold identification, but also Basil’s identification of God, the double Person in the act of creation, together with his emphasis that the teachings of theology are mystically interspersed throughout history verify the need of interaction of human and divine in Byzantine aesthetics. Salvation depends on the interaction of

⁶⁵ Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu sancto*, 1.2.

⁶⁶ Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu sancto*, 12.28.

⁶⁷ Basil of Caesarea, *Homily*, 353.1, *On Psalm*, 45, PG 29, 416B-C: “ὥστε ... κινεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνεργούντος αὐτῆ ἁγίου Πνεύματος”, and “ἐνιδεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς μυστηρίοις”.

⁶⁸ Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 10.16.

⁶⁹ Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu sancto*, 15.35.

human and divine, neither of them can be excluded. Belief in the Word taking flesh concerns God's work of salvation, redemption and eternal life. The idea appears with Athanasius and Irenaeus of Lyon and is quoted by fathers of every age⁷⁰. Yet, in the light of Basil, the creation act of the trinitarian God is already a matter of a twofold reality (voice/Father and word/Word/Son) in a triune one-God concept.

DIVINE KNOWLEDGE – THE RIGHT BELIEF

Moral integrity, deification (θεώσις), and salvation relate to spiritual knowledge of the supreme beauty of God. I find patristic support for my statement in *Homily 17, On Psalm 44*, where Basil identifies Christ as “ripe in beauty”⁷¹, by referring to David, who “calls the Lord ripe in beauty” when fixing his gaze on His divinity. With support of Isaiah, Basil underscores that David does not celebrate the beauty of the flesh. “He (Christ) has no form nor comeliness; and we saw him, but he had no form nor beauty. But his form was ignoble, and inferior to that of the children of men” (οὐκ ἔστιν εἶδος αὐτῷ οὐδὲ δόξα· καὶ εἶδομεν αὐτόν, καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος οὐδὲ κάλλος· Ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἄτιμον, καὶ ἐκλείπον παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων)⁷². Basil concludes that it is evident that “the prophet (Isaiah), looking upon His brilliancy (λαμπρότητι) and being filled with the splendor (μαρμαρυγῶν) there, his soul smitten with this beauty, was moved to a divine love of the spiritual beauty, and when this appeared in the human soul all things hitherto loved seemed shameful and abominable. Therefore, even Paul, when he saw His ripe beauty ‘counted all things as dung that he might gain Christ’⁷³”⁷⁴. From Basil's discussion, we can infer that only the Lord is ripe in beauty, because Christ is the Word

⁷⁰ See for example, Athanasius of Alexandria, *De incarnatione*, 54, ed. R. W. THOMSON, *Athanasius. Contra Gentes and De Incarnatione (Oxford Early Christian Texts)*, Oxford, 1971, pp. 268-270; Irenaeus of Lyon, *Adversus haereses*, V, preface, ed. A. ROUSSEAU, L. DOUTRELEAU and Ch. MERCIER, *Irenée de Lyon. Contre les hérésies, Livre V (SC, 153)*, Paris, 1969, pp. 10-14; Gregory Nazianzen, *Poemata dogmatica*, 10.5-9, PG 37, 465; Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio Catechetica*, ed. E. MÜHLENBERG, *Gregorii Nysseni Oratio Catechetica (GNO, III, 4)*, Leiden - New York - Köln, 1996, pp. 63-64.

⁷¹ Basil of Caesarea, *In Psalmos*, 44.4, PG 29, 396, begins the paragraph with a quote from Psalm 44.3 “Thou are ripe in beauty, above the sons of men (Ὠραῖος κάλλει παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων)”.

⁷² Is. 53.2-3. Transl. in L. C. L. BRENTON, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English*, 8th printing, Peabody (MA), 1999 (= 1851), p. 889.

⁷³ Phil. 3.8.

⁷⁴ Basil of Caesarea, *On Psalm*, 44.4, PG 29, 396 (Eng. tr. by WAY, *Exegetic Homilies*, pp. 282-283).

incarnated. Christ's existence identifies the supreme spiritual beauty, spoken of by Basil in terms of brilliance and splendor, because no darkness is in God⁷⁵. In orthodox religious life, beauty concurs with each believer's cultivation of her/his potential of spiritual beauty. Eternal life and ascent to God relate to communication with God, to open up to the splendor of the soul through the right kind of knowledge. Beauty is that which leads to deification (θεώσις), communication with God's *is*, becoming God.

Based on Basil's choice of scriptural sources, his emphasis on the spiritual beauty of Christ opposed to his disregard for the beauty of His flesh, I argue that in a patristic Byzantine aesthetical sense "ripe in beauty" has little or nothing to do with the corporeal beauty of the perfected created exposed to corruption. Beauty in a patristic sense concurs with features capable of spawning impetus to spiritual beauty and spiritual light, and not impetus to fascination of perfected genteel beauty, such as the carnal corporeality of Classical Greek Antiquity or the realism of Classical Roman portraiture. Either of these would have been ideologically incorrect and intolerable.

To move the believer to divine love of spiritual beauty, Byzantine aesthetics identifies a variety of flattened, compressed, and protracted corporeal designs in communion with different kinds of light phenomena and brilliance, set in such perspectives that the heavenly is distinguished from the earthly without reducing the importance of the intelligible. The beauty, power, and supremacy of Christ or a saint's body are not physical, but spiritual. The young athlete worked with the strength and vigor of his body, while the saint has opened up her/his mind to harmonize with God's actions, to regain what was lost at the fall. The specificity of Byzantine corporeality and narration, perspective, form, color combinations, and light effects serve the mind of the orthodox believer for spiritual contemplation beyond the visible. Focus on perfection in a worldly and mundane sense, would have concentrated upon the impermanence and transitoriness of everything created, and thus misguided the believer. I find support for my conclusion in the letter by Basil to his friend Gregory Nazianzen:

The very beginning of the soul's purgation is tranquility (ἡσυχία), in which the tongue is not given to discussing the affairs of men, nor the eyes to contemplating rosy cheeks or comely bodies, nor the ears to lowering the tone of the soul by listening to songs whose sole object is to amuse, or to words spoken by wits and buffoons – a practice which above all things tends to relax the tone of the soul. For when the mind is not dissipated upon extraneous things, nor diffused over the world about us through the senses, it withdraws within itself, and of its own accord ascends to the contemplation of God. Then when

⁷⁵ 1 Jn. 1.5.

it is illuminated without and within by that glory, it becomes forgetful even of its own nature; no longer able to drag the soul down to thought of sustenance or to concern for the body's covering, but enjoying leisure from earthly cares, it transfers all its interest to the acquisition of the eternal goods⁷⁶.

Basil's letter is explicit when referring to the beauty of mundane carnal corporeality; neither rosy cheeks nor comely bodies will be of help for those who want to purify and reach the eternal goods. To illuminate the mind, humans need to forget human nature. Songs or words that can serve the eternal goods will help the believer to ascend to contemplation of God. What is good and beautiful relates to that which leads from the corruptible mundane to the eternal divine, that is upwards, from death to salvation, from the deteriorating body to the eternally resurrected body. Extraneous things and the world around us must not distract our attention or disrupt our spiritual tranquility. The cover of the body must not prevent the believer from reaching salvation.

In light of such religious ideas, I argue, holy images identify insubstantial corporeality and ethereal tectonic bodies. What the believer beholds is a historical event interacting with the divine that is an event both within and beyond the temporal, between two events (διάστημα), both within and beyond time and space.

On the nature of heavens, Basil writes in his first homily *On the Hexameron*:

Let us glorify the Master Craftsman for all that has been done wisely and skillfully; and from the beauty of the visible things let us form an idea of Him who is more than beautiful (ὑπέρκalon); and from the greatness of these perceptible and circumscribed bodies let us conceive of Him who is infinite and immense and who surpasses all understanding in the plenitude of His power. For, even if we are ignorant of things made, yet, at least, that which in general comes under our observation is so wonderful that even the most acute mind is shown to be at loss as regards the least of the things in the world, either in the ability to explain it worthily (κατ' ἀξίαν ἐπεξελεθειν) or to render due praise to the Creator⁷⁷.

If Basil's thought is transferred into the context of Byzantine aesthetics, it is possible to conclude that beauty in this milieu concurs with aesthetics that serves the divine purpose. The image is beautiful if it renders due

⁷⁶ Basil of Caesarea, *Epistula*, II (DEFERRARI, I, pp. 12-15). Cf. the same letter, when talking on clothing for men, Basil states "let neither brilliancy of colour be sought, nor delicacy and softness of material; for seeking after bright colours in clothing is on a parity with women's practice of beautifying themselves by tinting their cheeks and dyeing their hair with artificial luster" (DEFERRARI, I, pp. 20-21).

⁷⁷ Basil of Caesarea, *Hexameron*, 1.11.

praise to God and worthily explains the holy drama⁷⁸. “Worthily” in an orthodox sense relates to divine knowledge explained in the right (ὀρθοδόξως) manner with the right teaching about God (θεολογία). What makes the image orthodox and thus imperative is the right kind of visible beauty, the right kind of revelation of the holy drama. A painting or mosaic is holy because it follows the orthodox tradition. Compare the earlier quote from Basil and his discussion on Paul, who when seeing God’s ripe beauty counted all the things that he had seen and experienced before as dung⁷⁹. Neither Paul nor Basil advocates that the created is ugly, trivial, or negligible. What Basil identifies as beauty (κάλλος), however, is that which explains worthily and renders due praise to the Creator, whose beauty surpasses all understanding. What is beautiful is that which lets us form an idea of the divine, which is more than beautiful. At the heart of Byzantine aesthetics lies this apophatic, paradoxical patristic model of explaining beauty⁸⁰. Beauty is identified in divine knowledge, the Knowledge that leads to God.

Charles Barber has pronounced that Greek theologians in the course of almost 180 years of debate have raised the status of the icon from a work of art to that of theology. He has highlighted the question of “the truthfulness of visual representation” and drawn the conclusion that “truth, rather than beauty, was the issue that would define the legitimacy or the illegitimacy of the Christian image, determining whether it should be thought of as an icon or an idol”⁸¹. I argue that by such a statement, Barber has not taken into consideration that in the Eastern Orthodox Church neither truth nor beauty is autonomous. Truth and beauty are in active communion, since faith stipulates that God is Beauty and God is Truth and vice versa. To hold the right belief, to be orthodox (ὀρθοδοξέω) equates with the beauty of the divine wisdom, that which is identified within God’s eternal, uncircumscribable, and incomprehensible *is*. From an orthodox viewpoint, beauty in an icon is that which is true to God, ‘of right belief’ (ὀρθόδοξος). In Byzantine aesthetics, beauty and true are thus as inseparable as human and divine.

⁷⁸ On wisdom in words alone (λογοσοφία), see Maximos the Confessor, *Ambigua ad Ioannem*, PG 91, 1124A. A recent publication on Maximos’ doctrine of creation and the logoi of God instituting an ordered cosmos with humankind as the centre of the created world is T. T. TOLLEFSEN, *The Christocentric Cosmology of St Maximus the Confessor (Oxford Early Christian Studies)*, Oxford, 2008.

⁷⁹ Phil. 3.8.

⁸⁰ The term ἀποφατικός means ‘negative’. Apophatic theology applies to theological knowledge of God obtained by way of negation. The Divine is ineffable and human beings cannot define God. God is supra mundane, beyond words, categorization, and comprehension, beyond time and space. Consequently, all descriptions of God are false. All that human beings can know about God is that God *is*.

⁸¹ C. BARBER, *Figure and Likeness. On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm*, Princeton - Oxford, 2002, p. 138.

Basil's homilies *On the Hexaemeron* is a complete study of the salvation not only of the individual but also of the entire human community⁸². Basil views the economy of salvation from the Old Testament to the New, in terms of God gradually leading his people from darkness to light⁸³. Yet, his chief purpose was to present a complete cosmology. His speculations and allusions to older theories on the origin, structure, and function of the visible world are well explored in modern editions⁸⁴. Of a greater importance, however, as rightly pointed out by Rousseau, is Basil's account of humanity's place in that world, and of humanity's destiny. Basil's central theme in that account, most obviously indebted to both Plato and Origen "was that the genuine beauty and fascinating intricacy of creation found its meaning and fulfillment in a return to a world that was invisible and eternal"⁸⁵. Each individual human being, Basil stated, is born with a potential for a cycle of return. In one of his *Homilies on Psalms*, he stresses God's providential inspiration ("the bread that comes down from heaven") that creates an "inner voice (νοητὸν στόμα τοῦ ἔνδον ἀνθρώπου), which pours forth unending praise in return"⁸⁶. In light of Basil, we understand that genuine beauty relates to the incomprehensible Godhead, God's supra mundane *is*.

In the context of Byzantine aesthetics, beauty refers to such aesthetic aspects and features that will help the believer communicate with and return to God. The beauty of a created material image lies in its potential to produce and help the believer to divine knowledge and mental images of God's existence⁸⁷. Beauty lies in an aesthetic approach that serves the right kind of communication between the believer and God. Features that might divert the believer's attention from God and the holy drama identify non-beauty. Beauty in created holy images is that which serves salvation and rebirth, that which paves the way for the journey from darkness (lack of knowledge) to light (divine knowledge). Beauty is that which nurtures spiritual advance towards God and return to human existence before the fall, when humankind was not autonomous. Beauty in an aesthetic sense lies in the right way of achieving visibility interacting with incomprehensibility, that is, in the right kind of communion between human and divine. A holy image, I argue, constitutes a conceptual apparatus that receives meaning

⁸² ROUSSEAU, *Basil*, p. 321.

⁸³ HILDEBRAND, *Trinitarian Theology*, pp. 174-175.

⁸⁴ For references to the older theories, see the edition of the *Homilies in Hexaemeron* by S. GIET (see above, n. 5).

⁸⁵ ROUSSEAU, *Basil*, p. 320. Rousseau dates Basil's homilies *On the Hexaemeron* to 377-378. For further reading, see ROUSSEAU, *Basil*, pp. 360-363.

⁸⁶ *PG* 29, 353BC.

⁸⁷ On Byzantine aesthetics and mental images, see KARAHAN, *Transition and Mediation*, §§ on "Crucial Arguments" and "Byzantine Aesthetics and Dogmatic Prerequisites" (forthcoming). On mental images, see LOUTH, *Cappadocians*, p. 277.

from its role in demarcating images, names, and processes that can serve spiritual contemplation of God and the saints. Holy persons in contact with their inner voices identify those who have developed their cycles of return. Their sense of divine knowledge provoked by examination of the external world has affected their realm of individual deification. Holy persons are beautiful because they identify knowledge of the right belief. Devices such as corporeal flatness, golden halos as well as gold penetrating their bodies and costumes, lack of spatial identification and corporeal credibility, just to mention a few artifices, associate them with the divine. Depicted beyond physical law and three-dimensional perspective, holy persons identify the beauty of spiritual splendor, readiness (ἐνέργεια) and power (δύναμις) to acquire the beauty of divine knowledge through the right belief.

THE PURPOSE OF THE CREATED VISIBLE

Regarding the observable world, Basil emphasizes, “The Lord has placed within the smallest living creature the visible traces of his own great wisdom”⁸⁸. The world is:

a training place for rational souls (ψυχῶν λογικῶν) for attaining the knowledge of God, because through the visible and perceptible (διὰ τῶν ὁρωμένων καὶ αἰσθητῶν) objects it provides guidance to the mind for the contemplation of the invisible as the Apostle says: ‘Since the creation of the world his invisible attributes are clearly seen ... being understood through the things that are made⁸⁹ (ὅτι τὰ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθορᾶται)’⁹⁰.

Basil’s statement substantiates that it is not a question of worshipping matter. Knowledge of God can be attained through (διὰ) the visible and perceptible. Within the created visible lies possible impetus for attaining divine knowledge and thus salvation. When John Damascene much later formulates his image theology, Basil’s statement constitutes a leading theme – it is not a question of worshipping matter, since if destroyed, the image can even be thrown into the fire⁹¹. Holy images of Christ, the Theotokos,

⁸⁸ Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 7. 5.

⁸⁹ Rom. 1. 20.

⁹⁰ Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 1.6. Basil’s terminology is not precise regarding σὰρξ (flesh) and σῶμα (body), or regarding νοῦς (mind) and ψυχή (soul). In her great book on the cosmology and theology of Gregory Nazianzen, Richard underlines that neither did Gregory Nazianzen develop an established system for categorizing these phenomena. RICHARD, *Cosmologie*, p. 268.

⁹¹ Cf. John Damascene, *Contra imaginum calumniatores*, II.19.

and the saints serve for contemplation of God. However, the objects upon which images of God and the saints are painted are not God.

Basil, of course, did not refer to holy images in the religious life of the Church. Yet, his standpoint is clear. Perception with the senses (αἰσθητῶς) through the mind will help the believer, who wants to attain knowledge of God. Inherent in visible and perceptible objects are God's invisible attributes, such as power, uncircumscription, light, and indivisibility. To contemplate the created material beyond its circumscribed materiality will lead the believer towards knowledge that God *is*. However, it can never lead to knowledge of what God is. Since neither human vision nor comprehension can fathom the entirety of God. In fact, any identification of God within human comprehension would suggest that God is circumscribed within the created exposed to corruption.

Towards the end of his third homily *On the Hexaemeron*, Basil repeats his standpoint from his first homily by requesting his community to review the sermon:

in order that from visible objects you may comprehend the invisible Being, and from the greatness and beauty of creatures (ἐκ μεγέθους καὶ καλλονῆς τῶν κτισμάτων) you may conceive the proper idea (πρέπουσαν δόξαν) concerning our Creator. 'For since the creation of the world his invisible attributes are clearly seen – his everlasting power (ἀίδιος ... δύναμις) also and divinity'⁹². Therefore, in the earth, in the air, and in the heavens, in water, in night and in day, and in all things visible, clear reminders (ὑπομνήματα) of the Benefactor grip us⁹³.

As earlier recognized in Basil's sixth homily *On the Hexaemeron*, human vision is not enough. It is too small for perceiving the greatness of God. The created visible can remind the believer of God, not encompass the divine in its entirety. If we transfer this mode of thought into Byzantine aesthetics, I find support for an aesthetic approach that assists the believer in recognizing and comprehending the invisible attributes. In the context of holy images, however, it is a question of Christology (the God-Man) as well as cosmology (the universe as an ordered whole).

A created holy image indicates the transfigured world and the incomprehensible beauty of the Word. It concerns the economy of salvation as well as the grace of God in the holy drama. The beauty of a created holy image is what reminds the believer of God's invisible attributes, which relates to the orthodox fact that God *is*. Byzantine aesthetics imply this belief through "meta-images", a kind of non-categorizations, non-manifestations of that

⁹² Rom. 1.20.

⁹³ Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 3.10.

which is beyond human comprehension. I will come back to my notion of meta-image in the next paragraph. Imbued with ethereal and apophatic attributes such as brilliance and different kinds of light effects, set in trampled perspectives, the portraits of Christ and the saints, as well as narration of the holy drama, remind the believer that God is both within and beyond human comprehension and visibility. In that way, the transfigured κόσμος ('universe', 'order') of the image constitutes a locus for contemplation of God, who is both incomprehensible and comprehensible. The drama of the suffering in the flesh and the death on the cross of Christ (Passion) interact with divine grace to save humankind.

In his first homily *On the Hexaemeron* Basil refers to "the creative skills", when talking of the action that has led to architecture, carpentry, metalwork, and weaving, and of many such arts. He underscores that even though the action ceases, the work remains. The artisan/the architect are not present, but the artistic process of thoughts can still be admired in the artisan's work of art. Basil stresses that "the world is a work of art (ὁ κόσμος τεχνικόν), set before all for contemplation, so that the wisdom of Him who created it should be known." Basil emphasizes how Moses used no other wording than "In the beginning He created (Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν)." He did not say, "He produced (ἐνήργησεν)," nor "He fashioned (ὑπέστησεν)," but "he created (ἐποίησεν)"⁹⁴. I compare Basil's verbal distinction with John Damascene's statement – "create an image of Christ" (ποιεῖ Χριστοῦ τὸ εἰκόνημα)⁹⁵. Obviously, the Greek verb ποιέω, 'to create' is used to describe the actions of God's creation as well as the action of creating a holy image of Christ (and the holy drama)⁹⁶. Utilization of the same verb indicates a certain analogy. The outcome of the former as well as of the latter is loci and phenomena intended for contemplation of God. The great difference is that the uncreated transcendent God creates 'out of nothing' (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων), while the created artist creates out of matter created by God. The created artist organizes what was disturbed at the fall; that is out of chaos the artist re-creates a balanced divine cosmos.

On the creation of the lights of the heavens, Basil writes:

If, at any time in the clear cool air of the night, while gazing intently at the indescribable beauty of the stars, you conceived an idea (ἔννοια) of the Creator of the universe – who He is who has dotted the heavens with such flowers, and why the usefulness is greater than the pleasure in visible things – or again, if at times you observed with sober reflection the wonders of the day and through visible things you inferred the invisible Creator⁹⁷.

⁹⁴ Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 1.7.

⁹⁵ John Damascene, *Contra imaginum calumniatores*, I.19.

⁹⁶ The verb ποιέω is also translated 'to make'.

⁹⁷ Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 6.1. Cf. the significance of the star-studded pallium of the Byzantine emperor.

Basil's statement vindicates that the intelligible and visible is a divine gift. It serves to give an idea (ἔννοια) of God, who can only be known in terms of mental and spiritual perception or at the best in the experience of deification (θέωσις). The vital importance of the created is found in its spiritual usefulness. The visibility of created matter should serve comprehension of the incomprehensible invisibility of God's uncreated *is*. However, the phenomenal universe pertains to the forces of nature and the properties of bodies and bodily faculties. Thus, I argue that diversions and pastimes, which only mesmerize, intrigue, and affect in a transient, temporal, and earthly sense are of little significance for Byzantine aesthetics. The gist of beauty in an orthodox sense is an experience of the divine through and beyond the created visible. The believer should not contemplate the created material itself, but whom He is who has created the beauty of the created cosmos. It is significant that Basil exemplifies with the indescribable beauty of the stars, since light and brilliance constitute the principal metaphor for God, not only in the thought of Basil, but of many fathers⁹⁸. Given that God's *is* is considered to be invisible, what better meta-image could there be than the meta-image of the insubstantiality of ethereal light. In addition, it is by way of the created light that we perceive the created. The path towards the Light goes through the light. In his sixth homily *On the Hexaemeron*, Basil asks rhetorically:

if visible things are so beautiful, what will be the invisible? If the grandeur of the heavens transcends the measure of the human intellect, what mind will be able to explore the nature of the everlasting? If the sun, subject to destruction (φθορῆ), is so beautiful (καλός), so great, so swift in its motion, presenting such orderly cycles (περιόδου), possessing a magnitude so commensurate with the universe that it does not exceed its due proportions to the universe; if by the beauty of its nature it is as conspicuous in creation as a radiant eye; if the contemplation of it is incapable of satisfying us, what will be the beauty of the Sun of justice? If it is a loss to a blind man to be unable to look upon this, how great a loss is it to a sinner to be deprived of the true Light (ἀληθινοῦ φωτός)⁹⁹?

Contemplation of the created should be performed in such a way that the believer reaches experience of the true Light. I argue that to help the believer, Byzantine aesthetics identify communion between created visibility and spiritual invisibility, in line with the twofold identification of God. Albeit, Christ is recognized as generated, not created. The snag is, however, that the nature of the eternal divine is believed not only to transcend deterioration, but also human comprehension. In order not to trespass, either the

⁹⁸ Cf. for example Gregory Nazianzen, who speaks of created light as symbol of God who is only light of heavenly sphere, *Oratio*, 44.3, PG 36, 609C.

⁹⁹ Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 6.1.

belief in the incomprehensible divine, or the belief in the God-Man, sublime meta-images, a kind of non-images interact with narration of the holy drama and portraits of saints. The result is an interaction of apophatic and cataphatic theology that teaches about God, who is both beyond and within comprehension¹⁰⁰.

We know that Basil did not refer to created material images; yet, as already observed, his theological language and eulogizing of the created visible concur with the later incontestable role of holy images in Byzantine religious life. For a fact, Basil insists that contemplation of the created visible will render the attentive beholder a sense of God, because human beings are born with a potential to reach an idea of God through the visible. I refer to a paragraph on the creation of the firmament, in his third homily *On the Hexaemeron*, where Basil discusses what is beautiful in the eyes of God through a parallel of the beauty of relationship within a statue. God in creation, but also the artist is aware of the final aim of the diverse processes of creation:

‘And God saw that it was good’¹⁰¹. It is not to the eyes of God that things made by Him afford pleasure, nor is His approbation of beautiful objects such as it is with us; but, beauty is that which is brought to perfection according to the principle of art and which contributes to the usefulness of its end (καλὸν τὸ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς τέχνης ἐκτελεσθέν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τέλους εὐχρηστίαν συντεῖνον). He, therefore, who proposed to Himself a clear aim (σκοπὸν) for His works, having recourse to His own artistic principles, approved them individually as fulfilling His aim. In fact, a hand by itself or an eye alone or any of the members of a statue, lying about separately, would not appear beautiful to one chancing upon them; but, set in their proper place, they exhibit beauty of relationship, scarcely evident formerly, but now easily recognized by the uncultured man. Yet, the artist, even before the combination of the parts knows the beauty of each and approves them individually, directing his judgment to the final aim. God is described on the present occasion as such an artistic Commander of each of His works, but He will render becoming praise also to the whole completed world¹⁰².

¹⁰⁰ Cataphatic theology (καταφατικός, ‘affirmative’) refers to the positive sayings about God’s actions, each acknowledged as a divine manifestation (θεοφάνεια) of God in creation. The opposite, apophatic theology is a theology of negation that speaks of God in terms of negative paradoxes. I denominate them “non-identifications”; God is uncircumscribed and incomprehensible, beyond words, categorizations, and human comprehension.

¹⁰¹ Gen. 1.8.

¹⁰² Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 3.10. On Basil’s idea of beauty vs. Cicero’s Stoic conception of beauty, and on Basil’s discussion on a statue’s symmetry, color, proportions, see Y. COURTONNE, *Saint Basile et l’hellénisme: étude sur la rencontre de la pensée chrétienne avec la sagesse antique dans l’Hexaméron de Basile le Grand*, Paris, 1934, pp. 131-132. Cf. also RICHARD, *Cosmologie*, pp. 35-36, who points to how beauty in Gregory Nazianzen refers to admiration of the perfection of the universe, which can guide humankind towards God. The greatness of the world is a divine sign, a silent proclamation of God’s greatness and

From Basil's mode of thought, we can conclude that the purpose of the visible is to be beautiful in the eyes of God. Beautiful is that which provides orderly motion towards God, "which contributes to the usefulness of its end". Beautiful is that which serves the divine good. Beautiful in the eyes of God is not what deceives the human eye, but what serves the salvation of humankind¹⁰³.

In an orthodox sense, the economy of salvation proceeds from God and encompasses all God's actions from the creation to the salvation in Christ; the economy defines God's actions and gifts to humankind¹⁰⁴. The works of God in the Creation are beautiful because they relate to God; they give a foretaste of the eternal existence to come, if contemplated in the right manner. Likewise, I argue that the idea of beauty and good in a created Byzantine holy image relate to its potential to give a foretaste of God. Beauty and good relate to aesthetic approaches that can exhibit the beauty of relationship between the created and the incomprehensible uncreated. The idea of beauty with reference to created form, color, light, and space relates to its latent capacity to give impetus for contemplation of the Beauty of God's uncreated supra-mundane invisibility. The purpose of a created holy image relates to the Beauty of God and that which is beautiful in the eyes of God. The former identifies in the grace of God and the Passion, the twofold identification of the God-Man that grants salvation to every believer. The latter identifies in that which leads humankind back to life in God. To serve its purpose, Byzantine aesthetics has to reveal the incomprehensible as well as the comprehensible, since that is the dogmatic foundation of the belief in the salvation of humankind. To vindicate my hypothesis, I will devote the next two paragraphs to a discussion on the crucial role of patterned borders, light and brilliance for semantic indication of divine uncircumscription and the created world as a scene of divine activity.

magnificent quality (*Oratio*, 6.14, in *SC*, 405, ed. M.-A. CALVET-SÉBASTI, Paris, 1995, p. 158; *Poèmes*, I. I., 5.7-8, in *PG* 37, 426; *Oratio*, 28.3, in *SC*, 250, ed. P. GALLAY avec la collaboration de M. JOURJON, Paris, 1978, p. 106). Richard quotes Gregory Nazianzen: "la 'beauté' du monde, fruit de son ordre et de sa cohésion... ses éléments coexistent harmonieusement (*Oratio*, 6.14, in *SC*, 405, p. 158)... à travers l'harmonie et l'ordre des corps célestes (*Oratio*, 7.7, in *SC*, 405, p. 194)... à travers la beauté et la belle disposition des choses visibles (*Oratio*, 28.13, in *SC*, 250, p. 128)... La disposition harmonieuse du tout est le fruit de l'ordre imposé par le Logos" (*Oratio*, 32.7, in *SC*, 318, ed. C. MORESCHINI et trad. P. GALLAY, Paris 1985, p. 98). Cf. Gregory Nazianzen on *beautiful*, in *SC*, 405, pp. 150-154.

¹⁰³ Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 3.10 and also 2.7. On dramatic kinetics in Late Byzantine aesthetics and Basil's idea of good motion, see KARAHAN, *Byzantine Holy Images*, pp. 171-174.

¹⁰⁴ On interaction of narration of the holy drama, economical doctrine of the Trinity, and theological doctrine of the Trinity in the picture program of the Chora church, see KARAHAN, *Byzantine Holy Images*, pp. 178-184.

PATTERNED BORDERS

As a paradigm of social perfection, Basil writes, the Church built upon a unity of thought, mirrors nature itself¹⁰⁵. He emphasizes that Christian believers should be engrafted by faith in the tradition of the Church, as one single vine with “desires always heavenward”, to “reach the upmost heights of the loftiest teachings” and to “imitate the eternal verdure” of the vine and emulate its fruitfulness¹⁰⁶. The vine intelligently observed by eyes is enough to remind us of our nature:

the parable of the Lord, when He proclaims Himself the vine and His Father the vine-dresser, and calls each one of us, engrafted by faith on the Church, the branches¹⁰⁷ ... He (the Lord) constantly compares the souls of men to vines. ‘My beloved had a vineyard’ He says, ‘on a hill in a fruitful place’¹⁰⁸. And, ‘I planted a vineyard, and put a hedge about it’¹⁰⁹. Evidently, He calls the human souls the vineyard, about which He has put as a hedge the security arising from His commandments and the custody of His angels. ‘The angel of the Lord shall encamp round about them that fear Him’¹¹⁰. And then He drove in props, as it were, for us, ‘placing in the Church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers’¹¹¹. And leading our thoughts upward by the examples of the blessed men of old ... He wishes us also to cling to our neighbors with embraces of charity like tendrils of vine, and to rest upon them, so that, keeping our desires always heavenward, we may, like certain climbing vines, reach the upmost heights of the loftiest teachings’¹¹².

I argue that the vine as a metaphor for God, the faithful, and the Christian *oikoumene*, the world as the scene of Christ’s activity and of the celebration of the Christian sacraments had an immense impact on Byzantine aesthetics and the picture programs of the churches. Yet, when we study the image programs of the churches, we might not even recognize the idea of the trailing plant that supports and assists the believer to climb heavenward. In their anthropomorphous visibility and comprehensibility, the most obvious protagonists are instead Christ, the Theotokos, and the saints.

In spite of the less obvious role in Byzantine picture programs, the image of the vine modified and turned into borders and stylized patterns, plays no subordinate theological role. Spirally coiling tendrils in the shape of borders of leaves, flowers, and fruits as well as the borders of geometric designs, or

¹⁰⁵ Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 4.7.

¹⁰⁶ Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 5.6.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Jn. 15.1-5.

¹⁰⁸ Is. 5.1.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Matt. 21.33.

¹¹⁰ Ps. 33.8.

¹¹¹ 1 Cor. 12.28.

¹¹² Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 5.6.

borders simply colored in white, blue, and red, are theoretically patterned formulas without beginning or end. These borders do not frame the motifs within closed forms, since that would have identified the divine drama within space and time and categorized God within the laws of circumscription. They identify the hedge of security arising from God's commandments and the custody of God's angels. Like subtle indications, they attach the comprehensible to the incomprehensible, the visible to the divine. They climb the walls and the cupolas, encircle the tondi, and unite the motifs of the holy drama¹¹³. They identify the idea of the potential for each believer to reach the uncircumscribed divine and the paradise to come. The identification of the divine is as it should be in line with its incomprehensibility and uncircumscription, less patent, impossible to fathom in its entirety. Significant examples are in the Early Byzantine church of San Vitale (mosaics) in Ravenna, Italy, as well as in the Middle Byzantine Tokalı kilise and the three so-called column churches Elmalı kilise, Karanlık kilise, and Çarıklı kilise (mural paintings), all four in Cappadocia, as well as in the Late Byzantine Chora church (mosaics and mural paintings), in Istanbul, Turkey. (Figure 5)

Another great example is the reconstructed apse of the church of San Michele in Africisco (ca. 545-546), executed in mosaics, formerly in Ravenna, now in the Museum für Byzantinische Kunst (Inv. no. 6642), Bode Museum, Berlin¹¹⁴. (Figure 6) In the apse, flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel a youthful Christ stands vigorously in front of a golden setting in the garden of Paradise. The book in the hands of Christ shows a passage of the Latin text: "He who has seen me has seen the Father¹¹⁵" and "I and the Father are one¹¹⁶". Apart from the obvious that this is an image of God incarnated, we also have a meta-image of the triune God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. In an apophatic sense, the Trinity is signified through interaction of golden brilliance and the two names. For support of my hypothesis, I refer for example to Dionysius the Areopagite, who speaks of light (φῶς) as one of many names given by humankind to God, who is nameless¹¹⁷.

¹¹³ *Tondo*, 'circular painting', 'sculptured medallion'.

¹¹⁴ A watercolor by Enrico Pazzi of 1842-1843, in the Bode Museum, shows the mosaic still *in situ*. The mosaic was acquired in 1843-1844 for King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia, and donated to the museum in 1903 by the Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany.

¹¹⁵ Jn. 14.9.

¹¹⁶ Jn. 10.30.

¹¹⁷ Dionysius the Areopagite, *De coelesti hierarchia*, 13.3, ed. G. HEIL (†) and A. M. RITTER, *Corpus Dionysiacum*, II (PTS, 36), Berlin - New York, 1991, pp. 45-46.



Fig. 5. Karanlık kilise (Göreme 23), narthex to the south. Photo A. KARAHAN



Fig. 6. Christ in the Garden of Paradise. Former apse mosaic at the church of San Michele in Africisco, Ravenna, Italy, now at Museum für Byzantinische Kunst (Inv. no. 6642), Bode Museum, Berlin. Photo A. KARAHAN

The apex of the arch is devoted to the Lamb of God, encircled by an aureole colored in white, blue, and red. The intrados is devoted to a gold and green colored foliate border in the shape of a chain of ovals, an indication of the uncircumscribed one-God concept and the faithful. The border coils spirally like an ornamented verdant tendril on a blue colored backdrop, the blue signifying the Heavens. On both sides appear in each oval (originally) six fluttering white doves (today only five), symbols of the apostles, who have reached the loftiest teachings and thus are fundamental branches in the vineyard of saved human souls. “La vigne est l’image de l’âme”, as the French translation stipulates¹¹⁸. The Lamb of God in the apex, and the apostles below encircled by verdure that glimmers of gold emphasize the tendrils of vine, the faithful, who will experience salvation through the passion of Christ. At the point where the coiling foliage merges to give rise to a new oval, from each side is intersected a white colored (divine) fleur-de-lis (the Trinity) with a circle (uncircumscribed eternity) colored in red (the Cross Death) on top of the middle leaf. If contemplated beyond the patently visible, the border identifies the divine mystery and the grace of God through different kinds of paradoxes.

The notion I use for such artistic devices is “meta-image”, a kind of apophaticism that is non-identification/non-categorization of the divine. Because the divine is not in the visibility itself of the borders of foliage, flowers, and fruits or geometric abstractions, neither in colors, brilliance, gold, or precious stones. The meta-image is a form of inter-imagery revelation/implication of the incomprehensible divine. The meta-image acts in communion with narration, props, and holy persons. To use a patristic mode of thought, I refer to John Damascene’s statement that “God does not show forth His nature but the things that relate to His nature” (τὰ περὶ τὴν φύσιν)¹¹⁹. If contemplated beyond its visibility, the meta-image stimulates divine impetus. The potential lies in the characteristics of the meta-image, if contemplated it will help the believer to conjure up internal visions of the uncircumscribed, supra mundane divine.

Another kind of borders, with similar theological connotations are those devoted to portraits of saints and angels inscribed in tondi, linked together to signify continuums of divine growth and existence. For pictorial examples, I refer to the image programs of the Monastery church of St. Catherine in Sinai, Egypt, the church of San Vitale in Ravenna, and the two Cappadocian churches, Haçlı kilise, at Güllü Dere and El Nazar kilise, at Göreme. (Figure 7)

¹¹⁸ French tr. by GIET, p. 305.

¹¹⁹ John Damascene, *Expositio fidei*, 1.4.



Fig. 7. The Ascension. El Nazar kilise (Göreme 1). Photo A. KARAHAN

In a theoretical sense, patterned borders indicate eternal uncircumscription, because they have neither closed figurative nor non-figurative form. As such, I argue they signify divine presence, action, and growth. In a united apophatic and cataphatic sense, patterned borders in communion with portraits of saints and narration of the holy drama are orthodox semantics for belief in the God-Man. Interaction of the divine continuum, implied through subtle and ethereal meta-images, such as borders, light, gold, and brilliance and the more proper physical visibility of portraits and narration identify theological didactics on the *μυστήριον*, the revelation of divine operation and divine presence, the secret revealed by God. The believer who carefully contemplates the holy image will experience a divine manifestation of God's creation and presence in the image of God and the holy drama.

GEMS, GOLD, SILVER, AND PEARLS

The gem-border is another established signum of Byzantine aesthetics, obvious not only to those who methodically explore the Byzantine world of holy images, but also to any amateur in the history of Byzantine art. (Figure 5) Gem-borders are depicted as part of the pictorial programs on walls and vaults, in apses and on props such as thrones, footstools,

cushions, baptismal fonts, and garments. Moreover, as we can observe in the church of San Vitale, Ravenna, they are also presented in the form of marble revetments patterned to imitate gem-borders. Gems appear also on such motifs as the three-armed cross-nimbus and the *crux gemmata*, as well on other cross motifs. I argue that in their capacity as identifications of the uncircumscribed and incomprehensible divine, gem-borders as part of the holy drama emphasize the twofold identification of God and the communion of human and divine in the holy drama. Thus, connecting and uniting the visibility and comprehensibility of the holy drama to the invisibility and incomprehensibility of God's triune *is*.

I argue that not only gems, but also silver, gold, and white pearls are meta-images that signify not only the divinity and the divine power of the God-Man, but also the nameless, incomprehensible, and supra-mundane triune God. Since orthodox theology identifies the image of God, Jesus Christ as Light from Light (φῶς ἐκ φωτός), and Basil speaks of Christ in terms of the true light (φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν)¹²⁰, light and brilliance in the context of holy images indicate the idea that the three persons of God are uncircumscribed and 'of the same substance' (ὁμοούσιος). The image of the invisible God and the supra-mundane Trinity is a one-God concept upon which orthodox tradition is built. I argue that light and brilliance were ethereal enough not to be taken for a materialization or categorization of God who is beyond circumscription and human comprehension.

The abounding use of gems, silver, gold, and pearls is not due to the pecuniary value of such materials, but to their capacity of instigating light and brilliance, which as we know is the most common metaphor for God and the divine. In support of my hypothesis, I refer to Basil's *Homily 7*, 1-7, where he emphasizes the transitoriness of worldly belongings and the futility of craving for precious stones. Basil enumerates emerald, hyacinth, chrysolite, beryl, achate, amethyst, and jaspis, as well as silver, gold, and pearls, and categorizes them as stone (λίθος). He refers to gold and silver as soil/dust (χούνη) and distinguishes them from the true brightness of the kingdom of heaven. The beauty of the created is nil in comparison to the true beauty of the uncreated. What Basil discusses in his homily is the futility of striving for earthly belongings. Yet, taken into an aesthetic context of religious didactics, the beauty of worldly riches serves for contemplation of the Beauty of God the Light. Compare how Basil in *On the Holy Spirit* quotes the Scriptures: "The first man was from the earth, a man of dust; the second man is from heaven"¹²¹. In one of his letters, he also stresses:

¹²⁰ Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu sancto*, 47.

¹²¹ *Ibidem*.

the Son was light from light (φῶς ἐκ φωτός), and was born, though not created, from the substance of the Father (ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς), they then brought in also the doctrine of “likeness of substance,” (ὁμοούσιον) thus intimating that whatever idea of light is attributed to the Father, this will equally apply to the Son also. For true light in relation to true light, by the very conception we have of light, will have no variation¹²².

The theological language of Basil confirms the vital impact of light and brilliance in Byzantine aesthetics. Features such as light and brilliance not only instruct and edify that the protagonist is God, the true Light, but also identify that God is present here and now. The believer who contemplates the effects of light and brilliance in a holy image will be given knowledge of the spiritual beauty of God thereby become illumined. Although Basil does not refer to meta-images such as brilliance and light, I find support for my hypothesis in Basil’s treatise *On the Holy Spirit*:

If we are illumined by divine power, and fix our eyes on the beauty of the image of the invisible God, and through the image are led up to the indescribable beauty of its source, it is because we have been inseparably joined to the Spirit of knowledge¹²³.

I also refer to Athanasius of Alexandria, who emphasizes that the divine light manifested in the theophanies in spiritual life, is help given by the Word to those who pray¹²⁴. The mode of thought of both Athanasios and Basil recognize some kind of didactic analogy between God/the Word and the metaphor of light, in spite of its self-evident insufficiency to encompass God. Likewise, meta-images such as gold, silver, pearls, and gems, light and brilliance are insufficient; however, they are tools that the believer can use for approaching God. Inserted into the narration of the holy drama and the portraits of saints, they help those who pray to reach spiritual knowledge of the source of the indescribable beauty. Interaction of narration and meta-images indicates that the incomprehensible and uncircumscribed divine coexists and interacts with God’s humanity. This communion of divine and human constitutes the core element in salvation of humankind. Significant pictorial examples are the borders of saints, in the intrados of El Nazar kilise (Göreme 1) and the church of San Vitale, as well as on the barrel vault of the Old Tokalı kilise (Göreme 7)¹²⁵. Portraits of saints (lives

¹²² Basil of Caesarea, *Epistula*, LII (Letter to the Canonicae) (DEFERRARI, I, pp. 330-333).

¹²³ Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu sancto*, 47.

¹²⁴ Cf. Athanasius of Alexandria, *Orationes tres adversus Arianos*, 1.63, ed. K. METZLER and K. SAVVIDIS, *Athanasius Werke*, I, 1, *Die dogmatischen Schriften*, 2, *Orationes I et II contra Arianos*, Berlin - New York, 1998, pp. 173-174.

¹²⁵ El Nazar kilise, mid-tenth century, Göreme, Cappadocia, Turkey, the church of San Vitale, mid-sixth century, Ravenna, Italy, and the Old Tokalı kilise, first quarter of the tenth century, Göreme.

lived in likeness with God) depicted in tondi (the circular form indicating the eternal divine) are linked in the form of an unlimited (uncircumscription) necklace of pearls (pure life/divine light). The communion of the circular form of the tondi, its blue colored background, and the saints' anthropomorphic portraits signify the saints as human links between Heaven and Earth. Created in the image of God, humankind is even closer to God than angels are¹²⁶. When God created the human being, God aggregated in one and the same being the separate elements of visible and invisible, temporal and immortal, terrestrial and celestial¹²⁷. Saints of which the Theotokos is the highest representative have knowledge of this twofold reality. Solely the God-Man, however, is uncreated, truly God and truly human, as stipulated at the Council of Chalcedon 451.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I argue that to merit the epithet "holy", religious images in Byzantium had to identify God not only as anthropomorphic, but also as divine, incomprehensible, uncircumscribed, and eternal. Disregard of God's divinity would have been to recognize the non-orthodox idea that Christ is not fully God, as did for example the "heretic" Arians. To leave out either the human or the divine nature of God would be to imply that God is divisible that is introduce an idea of polytheism. My statement might strike anyone acquainted with patristicism as utterly ignorant and absurd, since, the immaterial divine is recognized as uncircumscribed and incomprehensible, beyond categorization and visualization. Nowhere in patristicism or in the Scriptures is any kind of materialization of God's divinity verified or accepted. However, there are myriads of patristic writings on the subject, because the essence of Trinitarian theology, Christology, and soteriology is belief in God as divine. It is a one-God concept, where salvation of humankind is entirely dependent on divine interaction in the created world. God taking flesh is prerequisite for the salvation of humankind. Salvation is granted through God's twofold identification residing in the interaction of divine grace and suffering flesh. Annunciation and Incarnation (divine and human), Passion (human) and Salvation (divine) are in conceptual causality. God is always divine, identified in the Trinity or in the anthropomorphic

¹²⁶ Cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio*, 38.9, in *SC*, 358, ed. C. MORESCHINI and trad. P. GALLAY, Paris, 1990, p. 120.

¹²⁷ Cf. how Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio*, 2.75, ed. J. BERNARDI, in *SC*, 247, Paris, 1978, p. 188, comments upon God's creation of visible versus invisible; when God created the human being dust ($\chi\omicron\upsilon\nu$) was mixed with the soul ($\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$) to a being both visible and invisible.

image of the invisible God. Consequently, out of ideological necessity a holy image must answer to patristic definitions on Trinitarian theology, Christology, and soteriology. If the image falls short of corroborating ‘right opinion’, ‘sound doctrine’ (ὀρθοδοξία), contemplation and imitation of the image will fail to produce the desired effect of resurrection and salvation.

As discussed above, Basil’s text *On the Holy Spirit* maintains that causality prevails between dogma and the public proclamation (κήρυγμα). Although Basil does not refer to holy images, I emphasize that his statement confirms that Byzantine aesthetics is not an autonomous issue. To respond to orthodox perception by means of the senses (αἰσθητικῶς) it had to concur with ‘orthodox’, ‘right belief’ (ὀρθόδοξος). The right kind of mimesis requires the right kind of identifications of axiomatic orthodox postulates. Sense of form, combination of shapes and colors, narration and holy persons have to answer to what is beautiful in the eyes of God. Thus, in the context of Byzantine aesthetics beauty refers to aesthetic approaches that help believers contemplate God, who is visible and comprehensible as well as nameless and incomprehensible. From a Byzantine religious perspective, beauty does not refer to the perishable, but to the imperishable, not to physical strength and vigor, but to spiritual strength, yearning, endurance, and purity. Beauty refers to actions that lead to communion with God. Beauty indicates command of and harmony with the will of God. Beauty relates to a believer’s restoration of the natural image, a return to God. It identifies in the interface of potential and action. Beauty concerns deification (θέωσις), communion with God. Enlightenment and knowledge versus ignorance distinguish life from death. Divine knowledge is beauty, whereas lack of divine knowledge is absence of beauty.

A holy image of Christ is a tool for contemplation in an ‘orthodox manner’, ‘with right belief’ (ὀρθοδόξως). Moreover, it is a visible proof of God’s incarnation, according to Orthodox tradition as advocated by John Damascene. To deny and rebuff images of God’s humanity is to nullify not only the incarnation, but also the salvation of humankind. Yet, the triune God and the image of the invisible God is a one-God concept. Coexistence and interaction of human and divine in God constitute an orthodox axiom. I argue that this axiom also demands extraordinary religious tools when transferred into the didactics of holy images. However, the peril of ending up in heresy is imminent. Therefore, the didactics has to be in line with how Orthodox tradition conceives of God. For an improved, more accurate, understanding of Byzantine aesthetics and the dilemma of didactics on God’s twofold identification, we need to consider the vital impact of apophatic theology in the Orthodox tradition. Non-identifications and non-categorizations, that is knowledge of God by way of negation (ἀποφατικός),

are vital in the modes of thought of many fathers, but especially the three Cappadocian fathers, and Dionysios the Areopagite, Maximos the Confessor, and John Damascene. Comprehension of God's transcendent supra mundane divinity is said to be unattainable for human beings. Yet, lengthy discussions by the Cappadocians verify that comprehension of the incomprehensibility of God is indispensable for the believer who wants to attain the right kind of knowledge of God. It is the impact of such apophatic thinking that both enabled apophatic indications of the divine and paved the way for the specificity of Byzantine aesthetics. In analogy with non-identifications, non-definitions, and non-categorizations of God's divinity in apophatic theology, Byzantine aesthetics used paradoxes and non-identifications to teach about God's incomprehensible uncircumscription. In line with the Scriptures and patristicism, light and brilliance produce signs (σημεῖα) for recognizing the belief in the reality of the supra mundane existence of God, God's *is*. Light and brilliance in holy images signify the uncreated Light and not the created lights of the sun, the moon, and the stars¹²⁸. Such apophatic non-identifications help to meta-represent the supra mundane incomprehensible divine. My notion for such kind of apophatic, didactic indications of the divine is meta-image, a kind of non-identification or non-categorization.

Brilliance and light, gold, silver, gems, pearls and white color, but also circles and patterned borders non-identify, or non-manifest the incomprehensible uncircumscription of the true Light, in a similar manner that apophatic theology non-defines and non-categorizes the divine beyond words, affirmations, and circumscription. A meta-image provides impetus for contemplation of the true Light, God's *is*. It is a non-representation of divine interaction in the holy drama. Narration of the holy drama set in communion with meta-images and different inverted, compressed perspectives, flattened and balanced corporeality, and sometimes even hovering bodies verifies the interaction of human comprehensibility and divine incomprehensibility in the holy drama. The historical event of the God-Man is identified as an event with connotations beyond time and space, a divine reality where divine and physical laws coexist and interact. Potential resurrection and salvation prevail in the interface of human and divine, in God's twofold identification.

¹²⁸ Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron*, 6.4, On the Creation of the Lights of Heaven, the sun, the stars, and the moon. Basil declares, the Lord has foretold that the signs of the dissolution of the universe will appear in the sun, the moon, and the stars. "The sun shall be turned into blood, and the moon will not give her light" (Cf. Joel 2.31, and Mt. 24.29). From this we can conclude that everything created is exposed to corruption, only the uncreated Light of God is eternal.

In the first chapter of his *Great Catechetical Oration*, Gregory of Nyssa stresses that the word of God differs from the word of humans. He stresses that “human nature is corruptible and weak, therefore its life is transient, its power unreal, and its reason (or word) unstable.” Such limitations are extraneous to the “transcendent substance” that is God, since “just as our nature is perishable and has a perishable word (or reason), so that nature which is incorruptible and abides eternally has an eternal and subsisting word”¹²⁹. God created human nature and God took flesh. From this belief, we understand that human nature does not relate to something vile or revolting. Yet, human nature and human word are exposed to deterioration and that quality is no model for imitation. Models for imitation are the God-Man and those who through purification of their souls have restored their image of God and returned to the natural beauty. Saints in communion with God’s invisible *is*, are inextricably linked to the imperishable Word. A saint is a spirit-bearing soul illumined by God, and as such, the saint can illumine the believer who contemplates and imitates her/him. The actions of the saints are divine knowledge that helps the believer reach deification (θεωσις). Gregory Nazianzen refers to a splendor in the soul (ἐπιφάνεια) that appears to the believer who imitates the saints¹³⁰. Whereas Basil, as quoted above, calls attention to that “the lives of saintly men” are “living images” of God’s government, and should serve “for our imitation of their good works”¹³¹. Saints are models because their choices and actions lead back to God.

Byzantine aesthetics recognizes didactically the beauty of the non-deteriorating divine through meta-images. Brilliance, gold, silver, gems, pearls, borders, circles, and radiant light dazzling through perforated walls, domes, and tripartite windows are apophatic tools that help the believer contemplate God’s divine presence. At celebration of the liturgy, the tectonic body of the church and its architectonic interior of spatial immateriality interact with narration, portraits of the saints, and meta-images. Spiritualized carnation, flattened corporeality, inverted perspectives, and flickering candlelight add to recognition of the beauty of spiritual knowledge. The lack of close adherence to and faithful representation of nature or human reality provoke a sense of the operation taking place within, as well as beyond, time and space, within natural, as well as beyond, supra mundane laws. In support, I refer to Basil’s discussion in his text *On the Holy Spirit*:

The Spirit does not take up His abode in someone’s life through a physical approach; how could a corporeal being approach the Bodiless one? Instead,

¹²⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio Catechetica*, p. 9, ll. 1-3 and 8-11.

¹³⁰ Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio*, 7.14, in *SC*, 405, p. 214.

¹³¹ Basil of Caesarea, *Epistula*, II (DEFERRARI, I, pp. 14-15).

the Spirit comes to us when we withdraw ourselves from evil passions, which have crept into the soul through its friendship with the flesh (πρὸς τὴν σάρκα φιλίας), alienating us from a close relationship with God. Only when a man has been cleansed from the shame of his evil (ὁ ἀνεμάξατο διὰ τῆς κακίας), and has returned to his natural beauty (φύσεως κάλλος), and the original form (ἀρχαίαν μορφήν) of the Royal Image has been restored in him, is it possible for him to approach the Paraclete (the Holy Spirit as advocate or counselor). Then, like the sun, He will show you in Himself the image of the invisible (τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀοράτου), and with purified eyes you will see in this blessed image the unspeakable beauty of its prototype (ἀρχετύπου κάλλος). When a sunbeam falls on a transparent substance, the substance itself becomes brilliant, and radiates light from itself. So too Spirit-bearing souls, illumined by Him, finally become spiritual themselves, and their grace is sent forth to others. From this comes knowledge of the future, understanding of mysteries, apprehension of hidden things, distribution of wonderful gifts, heavenly citizenship, a place in the choir of angels, endless joy in the presence of God, becoming like God, and the highest of all desires, becoming God¹³².

The beauty of the soul consists of it being created in the image of God, and in the symmetry of its virtues¹³³. Beauty refers to the restored image of God in the believer. The unspeakable beauty of the invisible God shows forth like the sun in the illumined believer who experiences deification. Beauty in an orthodox sense reflects divine order, light, and uncircumscription, not chaos, spiritual darkness, and corruptible anthropomorphous perfection.

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SUMMARY

The quintessence of Byzantine faith is the twofold identification of the God-Man. Yet, the image of God Jesus Christ and the transcendent Trinity is a one-God concept. Inevitably, I argue Byzantine aesthetics had to recognize God as both anthropomorphous and divine. Since, omission of God's divinity would verify God as divisible. In line with apophatic theology, Byzantine aesthetics used non-categorizations and non-identifications, what I denominate meta-images, to teach about God's divinity and that God *is*. Since "holy" equals right (ὀρθοδόξως) manner and right teaching about God (θεολογία), anything else would have been heresy. The desired effect of salvation would come to naught if the image did not concur with 'right opinion' (ὀρθοδοξία). Contemplation and imitation as well as communion with God depend on aesthetics 'of right belief' (ὀρθόδοξος). God is Beauty and

¹³² Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu sancto*, 9.23.

¹³³ Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae in Psalmos*, 29.5, PG 29, 317.

God is Truth, and vice versa. In context of aesthetics, the idea of beauty refers to potential impetus to restore the natural image in the believer. Beauty identifies in deification (θεώσις), spiritual knowledge of the supreme beauty of God. Beauty does not refer to the perishable, but to the imperishable, not to physical strength and vigor, but to spiritual strength, yearning, and purity. Aesthetic approaches that help believers go beyond physical law to divine law, beyond the corporeal mundane to spiritual knowledge are good and beautiful. Interaction of narration, flattened corporeality, inverted perspectives, and meta-images such as light, brilliance, and patterned borders identifies the twofold reality of God and the historical event within and beyond time and space. This interaction of Incarnation (human visibility/suffering in the flesh) and Grace (divine incomprehensibility) refers to the Beauty of God, the prerequisite for salvation of humankind.

THE LAST ROMAN EMPEROR *TOPOS* IN THE BYZANTINE APOCALYPTIC TRADITION

The Arab conquest of the seventh century and continued Arab rule over the Near East gave rise to a wave of apocalyptic writings across confessional and denominational borders. In the context of this apocalyptic *Zeitgeist*, Christian circles promoted a new ideological figure which became one of the most influential literary *topoi* in medieval history, namely, the Last Roman Emperor. This Last Roman Emperor was said to be coming at a moment of great distress and to liberate Christians from the yoke of the Arabs, pacify the world, and establish the *pax Christiana* that would endure until the emperor's abdication at the end of times.

The Last Roman Emperor *topos* is first attested in a late seventh-century Syriac composition that is known today as the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*. Within years of its composition it was adapted into at least two Syriac apocalyptic narratives and was subsequently translated first into Greek and then into Latin,¹ Old Church Slavonic, Armenian and Coptic.² Throughout the medieval period, the impact of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* and its apocalyptic *topoi* was tremendous, inspiring both the famed legends surrounding Frederick II of Hohenstaufen³ and the idiosyncratic policies of Isaac II Angelos.⁴ At times it also determined public

¹ W. J. AERTS and G. A. A. KORTEKAAS (eds.), *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius: Die ältesten griechischen und lateinischen Übersetzungen* (CSCO, 569), Leuven, 1998. Cf. O. PRINZ, *Eine frühe abendländische Aktualisierung der lateinischen Übersetzung des Pseudo-Methodios*, in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 41 (1985), p. 22. Prinz provides here the oldest version of the second Latin recension, which he tentatively dates to the year 732.

² F. J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translations of Pseudo-Methodius of Olympus' Apokalypsis*, in *Turnovka Knizhovna Škola*, 4 (1985), pp. 143-173. Currently Aram Topchyan is preparing the much awaited critical edition of the Armenian *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*. F. J. MARTINEZ, *The King of Rūm and the King of Ethiopia in Medieval Apocalyptic Texts from Egypt*, in W. GODLEWSKI (ed.), *Coptic Studies: Acts of the Third International Congress of Coptic Studies, Warsaw, 20-25 August, 1984*, Warsaw, 1990, pp. 247-259 (esp. p. 254, n. 37).

³ See S. FRANK, *Frederich II as the Last Emperor*, in *German History*, 19, no. 3 (2001), pp. 321-339.

⁴ See Niketas Choniates' account of Isaac II, who believed in the Pseudo-Methodian prophecy and ordered the Xylokerkos gate in Constantinople to be walled up in order to prevent crusading Germans from entering the city, see J. L. VAN DIETEN (ed.), *Nicetae Choniatae Historia* (CFHB, 11, vol. 1), Berlin - New York, 1975, p. 404 (lines 6-7). See further C. MANGO, *Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome*, London, 1980, p. 212 and especially

behavior, such as on May 29, 1453 when the Constantinopolitans sought their final rescue at the column of Constantine.⁵ Out of this long-standing and wide-ranging tradition the present article treats the notion of the Last Roman Emperor in the earlier Byzantine apocalyptic tradition. My primary concern lies with the reconstruction and mapping of the Last Roman Emperor motif, starting with the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* in the late seventh century and going down to the (possibly) thirteenth-century *Last Daniel*. The overall purpose of this study is to better appreciate the complexity of this apocalyptic motif, whose ubiquitous influence is frequently noted but rarely looked at in detail.⁶

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

Generally, apocalyptic literature is expressive and symbolic in character rather than referential and factual.⁷ Further, apocalyptic language is evocative, elusive and often equivocal in meaning. A purely referential or historical understanding would not do justice to the literary nature of apocalyptic writing. Consequently, I consider the Last Emperor motif to be, first and foremost, a literary design which can be subjected to topical analysis. More to the point, the idea is to appreciate apocalyptic texts and their *topoi* as generic literary devices that interpret history by positing it within an eschatological framework. In so doing, apocalyptic texts write the history of the future and thereby construct a theology of history that bestows meaning upon the present.

Traditionally, apocalyptic texts have been appreciated as historical sources. Notwithstanding the difficulty of dating and the use of obscure and vague language, apocalypses have been studied in order to gain new historical information.⁸ Without denying the historical value of apocalypses,

P. MAGDALINO, *Isaac II, Saladin and Venice*, in J. SHEPARD (ed.), *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe: Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia*, Aldershot, 2007, pp. 93-106 (esp. pp. 96-100).

⁵ V. GRECU (ed.), *Ducas. Istoria Turco-Bizantina (1341-1462)*, Bucharest, 1958, pp. 363-365 (book 39, chap. 17f). Cf. E. DARKÓ, *Laonici Chalcocondylae Historiarum Demonstrationes*, vol. 2, part 2, Budapest, 1927, p. 161.

⁶ H. MÖHRING, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit: Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung*, Stuttgart, 2000, provides an exception. However, Möhring's monograph focuses on the Latin West and has little to say about the development of the Last Roman Emperor motif in the Christian East.

⁷ See J. J. COLLINS, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, Second Edition, Grand Rapids, MI, 1998, pp. 14-17.

⁸ See P. ALEXANDER, *Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources*, in *American Historical Review*, 73 (1978), pp. 997-1018 (esp. pp. 1010-1017) and IDEM, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, ed. D. de F. ABRAHAMSE, Berkeley, 1985, pp. 62-72. Cf. W. E. KAEGI, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 5-8. The appreciation of

I concentrate on the adaptation, modification, and appropriation of *topoi*, which came from a shared pool of apocalyptic themes. This pool was trans-confessional, involved various genres (apocalyptic and oracular literature, oral prophecies, liturgies, etc.), and drew its material from biblical and para-scriptural substrates. The present inquiry is devoted to the identification and mapping of the para-scriptural substrate of the Last Roman Emperor motif in the earlier Byzantine apocalyptic tradition.⁹

A brief note on the terminology seems necessary. I will distinguish between two major motifs: the Last Roman Emperor and the Victorious Emperor. As will become clear, the initially unitary *topos* of a Last Roman Emperor became dissociated and fragmented into separate figures, most notably into the two related figures of the Victorious Emperor who carries out successful military campaigns and into the Last Roman Emperor who, first and foremost, abdicates at the end of time. Further, it is proper to distinguish between apocalypticism and eschatology. In fact, apocalypticism should be regarded as a subcategory of eschatology.¹⁰ Yet, in the present study I will use these terms synonymously. Since I deal exclusively with apocalyptic sources, the analyzed *topoi* are *per definitionem* also eschatological.

My analysis will be assisted by three methodological principles. First, I use the principle of *ultimum vaticinium ex eventu* for the approximate dating of the sources. This principle refers to a rule that Paul Alexander laid down years ago and according to which “every apocalypse must have been written not long after the latest event to which it alludes.”¹¹ In other words, the last *vaticinium ex eventu*, which an apocalypse provides, indicates the estimated date of composition. The problem, of course, remains how to identify genuine *vaticinia*. As a rule of thumb I would advance – in accordance with Lorenzo DiTommaso’s observation¹² – a second principle that might be called the principle of particularity, which proposes that historical descriptions tend to be more detailed than prophetic narratives. Thus, if a *topos* is particularly rich in detail, then one has good reason to assume that

apocalyptic narratives as historical sources has spread also into *ḥadīth* studies, see M. COOK, *Eschatology and the Dating of Traditions*, in *Princeton Papers in Near Eastern Studies*, 1 (1992), pp. 23-47.

⁹ In this approach I agree with J. C. REEVES, *Trajectories in Near Eastern Apocalyptic: A Postrabbinic Jewish Apocalypse Reader*, Atlanta, 2005, p. 22.

¹⁰ B. MCGINN, *Visions of the End. Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1979, pp. 3-4.

¹¹ ALEXANDER, *Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources*, p. 999. See also P. MAGDALINO, *The History of the Future and its Uses : Prophecy, Policy and Propaganda*, in R. BEATON and C. ROUECHÉ (eds.), *The making of Byzantine history. Studies dedicated to Donald M. Nicol*, Aldershot, 1993, p. 29.

¹² See L. DITOMMASO, *The Book of Daniel and the Apocryphal Daniel Literature*, Leiden, 2005, pp. 107, 138.

it had a historical background. Third, I will make use of what I call the principle of *lectio brevior*, which I define as follows: a complex, unitary motif antedates an assembly of multiple *topoi* which portray an obvious resemblance to the complex motif. Here, I presuppose that complex literary motifs have a tendency to fragment.

The source material that I examine in the following consists of the original Syriac *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, two Syriac apocalypses that are closely related to it, its first Greek redaction, five apocalypses from the *Visions of Daniel* group and the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse*.¹³ This selection is determined in part by historical considerations and in part by the availability of the sources. Concerning the *Visions of Daniel* group, Lorenzo DiTommaso lists altogether thirteen Greek apocryphal Daniel apocalypses, eleven of which he considers to originate in or after the seventh century.¹⁴ Thus, eleven versions potentially contain material derived from Pseudo-Methodius. Three of these are still not edited. The five texts I have chosen are: the *Diegesis Danielis*, the *Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse*, *Daniel καὶ ἔσται*, the *Seven-Hilled Daniel*, and *Last Daniel*. Two of these, namely, the *Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse* and *Daniel καὶ ἔσται*, have been scrutinized by Alexander. His great care in dating these texts will be instrumental in proposing a hypothetical timeline, which tentatively advances a relative chronology of the sources. In order to guide the reader smoothly through the, at times, confusing textual situation, I will use as reference guides DiTommaso's monograph on the apocryphal Daniel literature¹⁵ and David Thomas' bibliographical compilation.¹⁶ Whenever given, I follow the respective stichometry of the editors.¹⁷

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Apocalypse</i>	[if followed by Roman numerals the reference is to the Syriac]
(Syriac)	G. J. REININK (ed.), <i>Die Syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius</i> (CSCO, 540), Leuven, 1993.

¹³ Given the confinements of this article neither will I deal with the apocryphal Johannine tradition, nor with the *Oracles of Leo the Wise*.

¹⁴ DiTOMMASO, *The Book of Daniel*, pp. 96-97.

¹⁵ See *supra* n. 12.

¹⁶ D. THOMAS, B. ROGGEMA (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, I, 600-900 (*History of Christian-Muslim Relations*, 11), Leiden - Boston, 2009. Henceforth referred to as *BibHist*.

¹⁷ In the case of the *Visions of Daniel* I indicate a chapter number with the symbol §. For the *Edessene Apocalypse* and the *Gospels of the Twelve Apostles*, I refer to the page number(s).

- [if followed by Arabic numerals the reference is to the Greek]
 (Greek) W. J. AERTS and G. A. A. KORTEKAAS (eds.), *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius: Die ältesten griechischen und lateinischen Übersetzungen* (CSCO, 569), Leuven, 1998.
- Edessene Apocalypse* F. J. MARTINEZ, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the Early Muslim Period: Pseudo-Methodius and Pseudo-Athanasius*, Ph.D. dissertation. Washington, DC, 1985, pp. 222-288.
- Twelve Apostles* J. R. HARRIS, *The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, Together with the Apocalypses of Each One of Them*, Cambridge, 1900.
- Diegesis Danielis* K. BERGER, *Die griechische Daniel-Diegesis*, Leiden, 1976, pp. 12-23.
- Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse* H. SCHMOLDT, *Die Schrift "Vom jungen Daniel" und "Daniels letzte Vision"*, Ph.D. dissertation, Hamburg, 1972, pp. 220-236.
- Daniel καὶ ἔσται* *Ibidem*, pp. 202-218.
- Seven-Hilled Daniel* *Ibidem*, pp. 190-198.
- Last Daniel* *Ibidem*, pp. 122-144.
- Andreas Salos Apocalypse* L. RYDÉN, *The Andreas Salos Apocalypse. Greek Text, Translation, and Commentary*, in *DOP*, 28 (1974), pp. 201-214.

I. THE SYRIAC APOCALYPSE OF PSEUDO-METHODIUS

The Syriac *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* presents the first unambiguous testimony to the concept of the Last Roman Emperor.¹⁸ It was composed, in all likelihood, around the year 691.¹⁹ The pseudonymous writer

¹⁸ It is still debated whether the Last Roman Emperor *topos* originated with Pseudo-Methodius, or whether it can be traced back to prototypes in the Sibylline literature, or derived from Messianic thought. For a brief overview of this debate, see MÖHRING, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit*, pp. 39-42, 49. See further H. SUERMANN, *Der byzantinische Endkaiser bei Pseudo-Methodios*, in *Oriens Christianus*, 71 (1987), pp. 140-155 and more recently L. GREISIGER, *Messias, Endkaiser, Antichrist. Politische Apokalyphtik unter Juden und Christen des Nahen Ostens am Vorabend der arabischen Eroberung*, Ph.D. dissertation, Halle-Wittenberg, 2011, pp. 169-178.

¹⁹ See G. J. REININK (tr.), *Die Syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius* (CSCO, 541), Leuven, 1993, p. XVIII. Reinink agrees here with S. BROCK, *Syriac Views on Emergent Islam*, in G. H. A. JUYNBOLL (ed.), *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society*, Carbondale, 1982, p. 19, who is placing the date of composition in the year 690 or 691. On the issue of dating, see further in F. J. MARTINEZ, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the Early Muslim Period: Pseudo-Methodius and Pseudo-Athanasius*, Ph.D. dissertation, Washington, DC, 1985, pp. 28-32 and MÖHRING, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit*, pp. 75-82. For a general overview, see GREISIGER, *The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius (Syriac)*, in *BibHist*, pp. 163-171.

constructs an elaborate apocalyptic vision which follows a historical narrative that accounts for all of world history starting with creation and leading up to the late 680s CE. The historical section of this apocalypse ends with the description of the cataclysmic events of the *Second Fitna*, the “rage and raving” of the battling parties,²⁰ the plague and famine of the years 686/687 CE,²¹ as well as ‘Abd al-Malik’s oppressive taxation policy.²² At the climax of this dramatic account Pseudo-Methodius introduces a heroic literary figure who is presented as the typological equivalent of the Old Testament judge Gideon, Emperor Jovian and Alexander the Great. In essence, just as Gideon freed the Hebrews from the Midianite oppression in the fifth millennium, so will the Last Emperor defeat the descendants of the Midianites, i.e., the Ishmaelites, at the end of time.²³ Furthermore, just as Emperor Jovian (r. 363-364) restored Christianity after his predecessor, Julian (r. 361-363), had tried to reinstate pagan cults, so will the Last Roman Emperor, too, restore Christian worship and practice to the faithful.²⁴ Moreover, owing to a para-historical genealogy introduced by Pseudo-Methodius²⁵ the Roman emperor is portrayed as a blood relative of Alexander the Great, thus proving that the Roman, i.e., Byzantine Empire is the last of the four Danielic kingdoms, which (in the Syriac tradition) was understood to be the kingdom of the Greeks, i.e., Byzantium. In short, Pseudo-Methodius constructs an elaborate typological scheme, in which the Roman emperor is presented as the sole legitimate representative of Christ on earth, who is the

²⁰ *Apocalypse* V.5. See REININK, *Die Syrische Apokalypse* (CSCO, 541), p. XIII.

²¹ For another contemporary account of these events, see further S. BROCK, *North Mesopotamia in the Late Seventh Century: Book XV of John Bar Penkâyē’s Riš Mellē*, in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 9 (1987), pp. 51-74 (at pp. 68-71).

²² See BROCK, *Syriac Views*, p. 19 and G. J. REININK, *Pseudo-Methodius: A Concept of History in Response to the Rise of Islam: Problems in the Literary Source Material*, in A. CAMERON, L. I. CONRAD (eds.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, I, *Problems in the Literary Sources* (*Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam*, 1), Princeton, 1992, p. 181. See further D. C. DENNETT, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam*, Cambridge, 1950, pp. 46-47.

²³ See *Apocalypse* V.5 and XIII.11-13. Cf. *Judg* 6:1-8:35.

²⁴ See G. J. REININK, *The Romance of Julian the Apostate as a Source for the Seventh-Century Syriac Apocalypses*, in P. CANIVET, J.-P. REY-COQUAIS (eds.), *La Syrie de Byzance à l’Islam, VII^e-VIII^e siècles*, Damascus, 1992, pp. 75-86, and IDEM, *A Concept of History*, pp. 170-174.

²⁵ This idiosyncratic genealogy develops how the Roman emperor is related to Alexander the Great through a “Kushite,” i.e., Ethiopian (or Nubian) princess (*Apocalypse* VIII.1-3 and IX.1-8). See REININK, *Die Syrische Apokalypse* (CSCO, 541), pp. XXV-XXVII and L. GREISIGER and S. G. VASHALOMIDZE (eds.), *Der Christliche Orient und seine Umwelt. Gesammelte Studien zu Ehren Jürgen Tubachs anlässlich seines 60. Geburtstags*, Wiesbaden, 2007, pp. 205-209.

heir to Alexander the Great's political-geographical realm and whose rule is, at the same time, divinely sanctioned.²⁶

While developing this typological framework, Pseudo-Methodius characterizes the career of the Last Roman Emperor. These characterizations, which became an integral part of the subsequent tradition, relate (1) his appearance at a moment of great distress, (2) his successful military campaign against the Arabs, together with his son, (3) the restoration of churches, and (4) the establishment of a time of peace and prosperity. Furthermore, (5) he is said to endure the arrival of Gog and Magog and (6) to move subsequently to Jerusalem where, after ten and a half years, (7) he abdicates at the arrival of the Antichrist.

II. THE *EDESSENE APOCALYPSE*

The Pseudo-Methodian *Apocalypse* was rapidly disseminated and, within years of its composition, was revised into an Edessene adaptation, from which a fragmented version has come down to us with the title and the beginning section missing.²⁷ Concerning the date of composition Francisco Martinez argued for a late thirteenth-century origin, while Gerrit Reinink argued for a late seventh-century date.²⁸ The greatest difficulty of the dating revolves around the peculiar mention of the year 694. The text reads: "When the said (number of) years, that week and a half, has passed, at the end of 694 years, then the king of the Greek will come forth [...]."²⁹ Reinink supposed that the anonymous author calculated the number 694 with the incarnation of Christ in mind. According to the Edessene chronology the year of the Incarnation equals 309 AG. If one adds 694 to this date

²⁶ The divine sanction is implicit in the abdication motif of *Apocalypse* XIV.2-6, which is presented as a typological equivalent of Jovian's coronation, see REININK, *Die Syrische Apokalypse* (CSCO, 541), pp. 70-71, n. XIV,3(1, 4).

²⁷ The text has been translated into German by H. SUERMANN, *Die geschichtstheologische Reaktion auf die einfallenden Muslime in der edessenischen Apokalypik des 7. Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt a.M., 1985, pp. 87-97 and into English by MARTINEZ, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic*, pp. 232-246. For an introductory study of this fragment, see G. J. REININK, *Der edessenische "Pseudo-Methodius"*, in *BZ*, 83 (1990), pp. 31-45. For a comparison of the *Edessene Apocalypse* with the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, see SUERMANN, *Die geschichtstheologische Reaktion*, pp. 162-171. For a general overview, see GREISIGER, *The Edessene Apocalypse*, in *BibHist*, pp. 172-175.

²⁸ For the arguments, see MARTINEZ, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic*, pp. 218-219 and REININK, *Der edessenische "Pseudo-Methodius"*, pp. 34-38.

²⁹ *Edessene Apocalypse* p. 222 (f. 98v.). The translation is taken from A. PALMER and S. BROCK (eds. and trs.), *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*, Liverpool, 1993, p. 245. For alternative translations, see MARTINEZ, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic*, p. 232 (f. 98v.), and SUERMANN, *Die geschichtstheologische Reaktion*, p. 86 (lines 18-20).

one arrives at 1003 AG, which is equivalent to 691/692 CE.³⁰ This date fits well with the thesis about an increase of Syriac apocalypticism in the late seventh century.³¹ Reinink's argument can be supported if one understands the mention of the one and a half year-weeks, i.e., ten and a half years, as an extension of the last year-week (mentioned in Pseudo-Methodius) by an additional three and a half years. Arguably, this increase was necessary because the Last Roman Emperor had yet failed to appear as prophesied by Pseudo-Methodius. Therefore, the 70-year rule of the Ishmaelites was promptly prolonged to a 73.5-year rule in order to keep the belief in an impending imperial restoration alive.³² Thus, one probable date for the *Edessene Apocalypse* is the year 692 CE.³³

As for the content of the *Edessene Apocalypse*, there are two important developments pertaining to the figure of the Last Roman Emperor. First, the typological connection with Constantine the Great, only implicit in the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, is further elaborated. It is said that the Roman emperor moves out in order to defeat the Arabs when a horse, never ridden before, puts its head into a bridle which is made from the nails of the True Cross.³⁴ This imagery is charged with various meanings. First, it emphasizes that the relic of the True Cross and its associated parts are in imperial hands.³⁵ Second, it refers to the legendary *inventio* of the True Cross and the nails of the crucifixion by Constantine's mother, Helena, who

³⁰ REININK, *Der edessenische "Pseudo-Methodius"*, pp. 36-37. He is followed by R. G. HOYLAND, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam*, Princeton, 1997, p. 268, n. 29. Regarding the chronological calendar of Syrian writers, see L. P. BERNHARD, *Die Chronologie der syrischen Handschriften*, Wiesbaden, 1971, esp. pp. 160-175 and, more recently, H. KAUFHOLD, *Zur Datierung nach christlicher Ära in den syrischen Kirchen*, in G. A. KIRAZ (ed.), *Malphono w-Rabo d-Malphone: Studies in Honor of Sebastian P. Brock*, Piscataway, NJ, 2008, pp. 283-337.

³¹ See REININK, *Die Syrische Apokalypse (CSCO, 541)*, pp. XLI-XLII and IDEM, *Early Christian Reactions to the Building of the Dome of the Rock*, in *Xristianskij Vostok*, 2, No. 8 (2001), pp. 230-241. See also H. J. W. DRIEVERS, *Christians, Jews and Muslims in Northern Mesopotamia in Early Islamic Times: the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles and Related Texts*, in CANIVET and REY-COQUAIS, *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam*, pp. 69-74.

³² *Edessene Apocalypse* p. 222 (f. 98r.).

³³ REININK, *Der edessenische "Pseudo-Methodius"*, p. 38, n. 59. See also PALMER and BROCK, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, p. 243. There are more possible dates to consider. See MÖHRING, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit*, pp. 113-117.

³⁴ *Edessene Apocalypse*, pp. 222-223 (ff. 98v.-99r.).

³⁵ Theophanes reports that Heraclius removed the True Cross from Jerusalem when he evacuated from Syria, see C. DE BOOR (ed.), *Theophanis chronographia*, I, Leipzig, 1883, p. 337. Thus, Pseudo-Methodius and others could legitimately claim that the Roman emperor was in possession of the invincible Cross (cf. *Apocalypse* IX.9), which he would use in his abdication (cf. *Apocalypse* XIV.2-3).

had a bridle made of the recovered nails, which she sent to her son.³⁶ Third, it uses the potent imagery of a never-ridden horse, which clearly refers to the colt Christ rode into Jerusalem.³⁷ This allusion is designed to prefigure the imminent *adventus* of the Roman emperor into this very city. Thus, the motif of the bridle adds additional ideological support to the notion that the Roman emperor is divinely favored by connecting him with motifs reminiscent of Constantine the Great.

The other significant development in the *Edessene Apocalypse* is the tentative dissociation of the Last Roman Emperor from the emperor who would liberate the Christian commonwealth from the Arab foe driving them back into the desert. The *Edessene Apocalypse* foretells that a Liberator, or Victorious Emperor, would move out with his son in the year 694 and crush the Ishmaelites before ushering in a 208-year-long period of general prosperity and peace,³⁸ which in turn is followed by the traditional eschatological sequence of the onslaught of the unclean peoples of the North and the appearance of the Antichrist. Only then, after the entire eschatological drama has been played out, will the Last Emperor ascend to Golgotha in order to abdicate and end all earthly power.³⁹ More than 210 years will pass after the Christian reconquest of the Near East. It is unlikely that this Last Emperor is identical with the Victorious Emperor. However, the text does not expressly indicate that these rulers are not to be identified. Be that as it may, by introducing a relatively long interim period between the liberation from the Arab dominion and the arrival of the Antichrist the author negates the immediacy of the ultimate end.⁴⁰

³⁶ Suermann and Reinink point out that this theme originates from the Syriac *Judas Cyriacus Legend*, see SUERMANN, *Die geschichtstheologische Reaktion*, pp. 164-165; REININK, *Der edessenische "Pseudo-Methodius"*, p. 41; IDEM, *The Romance of Julian*, pp. 82-83; IDEM, *Syrische Apocalypse (CSCO, 541)*, p. XLII, n. 53. More precisely, the *topos* of the discovery of the True Cross and the nails belong to the Helena Legend, a tradition that started in the second half of the fourth century. The *Judas Cyriacus Legend* presents a fifth- or sixth-century Syriac version of this legend. See further H. J. W. DRUIVERS, *Helena Augusta. The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross*, Leiden, 1992, pp. 79-180. For the motif of the bridle made of the nails of the crucifixion, see *ibidem*, esp. p. 80, p. 171.

³⁷ Mk 11:2-11, Lk 19:30-41. See REININK, *Der edessenische "Pseudo-Methodius"*, p. 41.

³⁸ It is not entirely clear what the number 208 is supposed to signify. Perhaps this numeric value together with the number 694 and the "two years and eight months" (the period that the unclean peoples of the North are said to rule, see *Edessene Apocalypse* p. 224 (f. 101r.)) is meant to approximate the crucial number 1000.

³⁹ It is noteworthy that the Last Roman Emperor abdicates after the appearance and death of the Antichrist. This reversal implies that the anonymous author does not agree with Pseudo-Methodius in considering the Last Emperor's abdication to be the removal of the *katechōn*, i.e., a necessary precondition for the Antichrist to appear.

⁴⁰ This prolongation of the eschatological narrative might be due to the difficulty of attributing Ethiopian provenance to Justinian II, the emperor who was anticipated to rule in the

III. THE GOSPEL OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES

The *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*, which has been rather unanimously dated to the early eighth-century,⁴¹ retells the story of Christ based on the synoptic Gospels and the beginning of the Acts while supplementing it with three interrelated revelations. These three revelations are attributed to the apostles Simon Kepha (i.e., Peter), James, and John. The apocalypses incorporate numerous elements of Pseudo-Methodius, such as the motif of burdensome tribute,⁴² the fear of widespread apostasy,⁴³ the blasphemous proposition that Christians have no Savior,⁴⁴ and several references to a victorious emperor. In what follows, I will treat the last motif, which strongly resembles the Pseudo-Methodian concept of the Last Roman Emperor.

The apocalypse of Simeon Kepha assigns the tribulations of the Christian world to the Chalcedonian heresy, that is, to those who “divide our Lord.”⁴⁵ The emphasis of this first revelation lies on the fragmented state of the Church which will be overcome at the end of times. Drijvers’ convincingly demonstrated that the second revelation, i.e., the apocalypse of James, presents a series of *vaticinia ex eventu* that narrate the deeds of Constantine the Great such as his war against Licinius in 324 CE and the issuing of the Edict of Milan.⁴⁶ The text ends with the prophecy that a man “from his [i.e., Constantine’s] seed shall rise up in his place,” who will rule the earth in peace at the end of times.⁴⁷ The last revelation, that is, the apocalypse

year 695/696. This difficulty could arise from a literary reading of the para-historical genealogy designed by Pseudo-Methodius. See REININK, *Der edessenische “Pseudo-Methodius”*, p. 42. Cf. P. MAGDALINO, *The Year 1000 in Byzantium*, in IDEM (ed.), *Byzantium in the Year 1000*, Leiden, 2003, p. 253.

⁴¹ James Harris dates the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles* prior to 750 CE, see J. R. HARRIS, *The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, Together with the Apocalypses of Each One of Them*, Cambridge, 1900, p. 22. Drijvers narrows the date further down. He proposes the period around the year 702 CE, that is, after the composition of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* and before ‘Abd al-Malik’s death, see H. J. W. DRIJVERS, *The Gospels of the Twelve Apostles: A Syriac Apocalypse from the Early Islamic Period*, in CAMERON and CONRAD, *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, I, pp. 211, 213, and IDEM, *Christians, Jews and Muslims*, p. 74. Cf. REININK, *Early Christian Reactions*, p. 241. Similarly, Suermann dates it to the year 700 CE, see SUERMANN, *Die geschichtstheologische Reaktion*, p. 191. For a general overview, see L. GREISIGER, *The Gospel of the twelve Apostles*, in *BibHist*, pp. 222-225.

⁴² *Twelve Apostles* p. 37. I refer here to the English translation and not to the Syriac. Cf. *Apocalypse* XI.14, XIII.3-4.

⁴³ *Twelve Apostles* p. 37. Cf. *Apocalypse* XII.3-6.

⁴⁴ *Twelve Apostles* p. 32. Cf. *Apocalypse* XIII.6.4.

⁴⁵ *Twelve Apostles* p. 32.

⁴⁶ *Twelve Apostles* pp. 33-34. See DRIJVERS, *The Gospels of the Twelve Apostles*, pp. 196-199.

⁴⁷ *Twelve Apostles* p. 34.

attributed to John the Evangelist,⁴⁸ describes the Arab conquest and the subsequent hardships that Christians have to endure until divine intervention will cause internal strife among the Arab factions.⁴⁹ Then a “man from the North” will rise, who defeats the Ishmaelites by exploiting their weakened cohesion. He will chase them back into the desert, where the Arabs will be met by a devastating plague.⁵⁰

There is good reason to identify the “man from the North” with the man “from the seed” of Constantine. Provided that the three short apocalypses are concerned with the same future, the prospect of final reunification of the Churches, the reference to an ultimate peaceful ruler descending from Constantine the Great and the notion of a Victorious Emperor who defeats the Arab foe all seem to converge onto the motif of a Constantine *redivivus*.⁵¹ Arguably, the miaphysite author considered the time of Constantine the Great a period in which the Church was still united. Moreover, Constantine was a successful general, who would be the type of character that could successfully engage the Arabs. The imagery of a Roman emperor defeating the Ishmaelites together with the various other motifs taken from Pseudo-Methodius substantiate the interpretation that the Victorious Emperor in the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles* is an adaptation of the Pseudo-Methodian Last Roman Emperor *topos*. It is important to note that the use of this *topos* is reduced to its military function and extended by the notion of Church reunification.⁵² The essential motifs of sudden appearance and abdication are missing without mitigating the divine legitimacy of the emperor.⁵³ In sum, two out of the three apocalyptic narratives contained in the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles* promote a curtailed version of the Last Roman Emperor motif, which is reduced to its military function against the Arabs.

⁴⁸ This apocalypse is attributed to John the Evangelist, who was considered to be also the author of the *Revelation of John*. That is why in the opening scene one finds imagery reminiscent of the *Revelation of John*. See DRIJVERS, *The Gospels of the Twelve Apostles*, pp. 199-200.

⁴⁹ The hope that internal strife would terminate the Arab dominion was born out during the *Second Fitna*. It was promoted, for instance, by John bar Penkāyē in his *Rīš Mellē* or *Summary of World History*, see BROCK, *North Mesopotamia in the Late Seventh Century*, p. 73.

⁵⁰ *Twelve Apostles* pp. 38-39.

⁵¹ See DRIJVERS, *The Gospels of the Twelve Apostles*, p. 201 and IDEM, *Christians, Jews and Muslims*, p. 73. It should be noted that while the *Twelve Apostles* portray the Victorious Emperor as a second Constantine, the Pseudo-Methodian typology of a second Gideon is dropped. The same development can be observed in the *Edessene Apocalypse*.

⁵² Although, the reunification of the Church is not explicitly addressed in Pseudo-Methodius, the Last Roman Emperor is portrayed as the emperor of all Christians regardless of their confessional adherence since Pseudo-Methodius persistently avoids to give any confessional point of reference. Further, the emphasis on his rebuilding of churches (*Apocalypse* XIII.16) suggests that this emperor would establish order and concordance in ecclesiastical affairs.

⁵³ Cf. SUERMANN, *Die geschichtstheologische Reaktion*, pp. 185-186.

IV. THE FIRST GREEK REDACTION OF
THE APOCALYPSE OF PSEUDO-METHODIUS

The first Greek redaction of the Syriac *Apocalypse* is on the whole a faithful translation,⁵⁴ which must have been carried out between 700 and 710 CE.⁵⁵ However, as any translation, this Greek redaction too, adapts the text to a different audience, thus being compelled to use paraphrases and terminological rewording. For instance, the translation systematically replaces the term “of the Greeks” (*d-yawnōyē*) with “of the Romans” (*tōn R[h]ōmaiōn*). In certain cases the translation simplifies the choice of words, such as rendering the term “wooden vehicle” (*rkūbē d-qaysō*) (V.4.13) to read “ship” (ναῦς) ([5] 4,3). When it comes to toponyms or the names of individuals mentioned in the apocalypse, the reader is faced with honest attempts to keep the translations intelligible. To give just one example, in chapter V.6.9, the Codex Vaticanus syriacus 58 reads *mwny* or *Mūnī*, while the Beinecke Syriac 10 reads *mwy* or *Mūyā* providing various possible interpretations,⁵⁶ among which the Greek translator chose the reading reminiscent of the Umayyads, thus he rendered the term to read Οὐμαΐα ([5] 6,2). It becomes clear that some of the names mentioned in the Syriac version were obscure even for the anonymous translator.⁵⁷

It seems significant that the Greek translator considered the close association of the Last Emperor with the term “savior” (*pārūqā*) at the climax of the dramatic account (XIII.6) to be somewhat problematic. He therefore translated it with the rather abstract term ἀνάρρυστις (rescue) in an attempt to reduce the association of the rising Roman Emperor with the Messiah, i.e., Christ. Other important changes are the omission of the preamble, which contains the reference to Mount Sinjār in northern Mesopotamia, the probable place of origin of the Syriac *Apocalypse*, the adjustment of the numerical data correcting the ten year-weeks in the Syriac to read seven

⁵⁴ For comparison of the Syriac and the first Greek redaction, see ALEXANDER, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 51-60; AERTS and KORTEKAAS, *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*, pp. 9-15, W. J. AERTS, *Zu einer neuen Ausgabe der ‘Revelationes’ des Pseudo-Methodius (syrisch-griechisch-lateinisch)*, in W. DIEM and A. FALATURI (eds.), *XXIV. Deutscher Orientalistentag: ausgewählte Vorträge*, Stuttgart, 1990, pp. 124-127, MÖHRING, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit*, pp. 97-100. See further P. UBIERNA, *The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius (Greek)*, in *BibHist*, pp. 245-248.

⁵⁵ See AERTS and KORTEKAAS, *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*, p. 16.

⁵⁶ See REININK, *Syrische Apokalypse (CSCO, 541)*, pp. 13-14, n. V,6(1).

⁵⁷ For example in *Apocalypse* III.1.2 the Syriac has the city name *Tmwnn*, which is derived from the Syriac word for “eight” (*tmānē*). The Greek, however, reads *Thamnōn* which is reminiscent of θάμνος (bush). Thus, the Greek does not reflect the originally intended meaning. See AERTS, *Zu einer neuen Ausgabe der ‘Revelationes’*, p. 125.

year-weeks in the Greek,⁵⁸ and a general expansion of biblical citations designed to provide further clarification.⁵⁹

Most important, though, are three interpolations that can be found in the first Greek recension. First, in [10] 4.1-9 the translator rephrases the Syriac narration of the destruction of the second Jewish temple by providing a text which corresponds almost verbatim with a section of Anastasius of Sinai's *Disputation against the Jews*.⁶⁰ Second, the very last paragraphs of the apocalypse ([14] 11-14) are inflated by the motif of Enoch and Elijah refuting the Antichrist and subsequently being slain by him,⁶¹ as well as by a concise doxology.⁶² Thirdly, and most importantly, in chapter [13] 7-10 one finds a lengthy addition recounting the Arab advance on Constantinople and the ensuing siege, probably the siege of 717/718.

This interpolation is inserted at the dramatic peak of the *Apocalypse*. Following the blasphemous Arab exclamation that Christians have no rescue (ἀνάρρησις), and prior to the awakening of the Roman emperor,⁶³ it tells about three Arab armies that advance through Anatolia and converge onto the imperial capital. They lay siege on Constantinople and penetrate the land walls at the Xylokerkos gate, north of the Golden Gate. The Arabs fight their way through the streets until they reach the Forum of the Ox located along the *Mesē*, the primary thoroughfare through the city. There the Ishmaelites are being beaten back by divine intervention. The Arabs are

⁵⁸ *Apocalypse* [10] 6.4-5: ἐπ' ἀριθμῷ κυκλουμένων ἑβδοματικῶν ἑβδόμῳ χρόνῳ. This correction possibly employed the symbolic number taken from Dan 9:25. Cf. *Apocalypse* V.9, X.6, XIII.2 with [5] 9, [10] 6, [13] 2.

⁵⁹ Compare, for instance, the Syriac chapter X.1 with the Greek version of [10] 1 or compare XII.5 with [12] 5 and XI.6-7 with [11] 6-7.

⁶⁰ Anastasius Sinaita, *Disputatio adversus Iudaeos*, PG 89, 1212B. Michael Kmosko speculates about the possible encounter of Anastasius with Pseudo-Methodius at Saint Catherine's monastery, therefore explaining the textual resemblance with direct personal contact and the shared ideological agenda of promoting the Byzantine *Kaiseridee*, see M. KMOΣKO, *Das Rätsel des Pseudomethodius*, in *Byz*, 6 (1931), pp. 293-295. That being said, it is far from clear which of the two authors borrowed from the other. See further KΛEΓI, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, pp. 231-235.

⁶¹ Enoch and Elijah were traditionally understood to be the two unnamed witnesses mentioned in Rev 11:3-11. See W. BOUSSET, *Der Antichrist in der Überlieferung des Judentums, des neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche*, Göttingen, 1895, pp. 134-139 and more recently E. S. CONSTANTINOU, *Andrew of Caesarea and the Apocalypse in the Ancient Church of the East: Studies and Translation*, Ph.D. dissertation, Quebec, 2008, p. 120, n. 573. The addition of the Enoch and Elijah motif can already be found in the *Edessene Apocalypse* p. 226 (f. 103r.).

⁶² It is noteworthy that while the Syriac *Apocalypse* persistently avoids giving any confessional statement, the first Greek redaction inserts a confessional statement in *Apocalypse* [14] 11.3: ὃν ἐξηγόρασεν τῷ οἰκεῖν αἵματι (whom he (i.e., Christ) redeemed with his own blood). This statement attests a Cyrillian (i.e., Chalcedonian or Miaphysite) confession. I thank Professor István Perczel for calling my attention to this statement.

⁶³ That is, between *Apocalypse* [13] 6 and [13] 11.

being put to flight just before the Last Roman Emperor is about to awake in the subsequent section. In all likelihood, the insertion of Deut 32:30 at the end of this interpolation is intended to redirect the emphasis onto the imminent arrival of the Last Emperor who would irrevocably defeat the Arabs.⁶⁴

Concerning the date of the interpolation, internal evidence points to the siege of 717/718. The text mentions that the siege started during a cold winter, while Theophanes reports that the winter of 716/717 was exceptionally cold causing much hardship for the besieging Arabs.⁶⁵ Thus, a possible *terminus post quem* of the interpolation is the winter of 716/717. Since the breaching of the walls did not happen, this information should be considered a genuine prophecy. In accordance with the principle of *ultimum vaticinium ex eventu*, one can argue that the date of the interpolation predates the outcome of the siege.⁶⁶ Thus, it is plausible to propose an early eighth-century date.⁶⁷ If true, this would mean that the appearance of the Last Roman Emperor became early on associated with the fate of the imperial capital. Furthermore, the interpolation demonstrates how the apocalyptic narrative of Pseudo-Methodius was adopted for the Byzantine audience, whose interest in imperial matters centered on the Queen of Cities.

⁶⁴ Cf. *Diegesis Danielis* §4.8-9. An interesting intertextual parallel can be found in the Jewish apocalypse of Sefer Zerubbabel – a work probably composed in the early 630s – where the same biblical allusion is used in the description of the final apocalyptic battle. See REEVES, *Trajectories in Near Eastern Apocalyptic*, p. 63.

⁶⁵ DE BOOR, *Theophanis chronographia*, p. 396. Cf. H. SCHMOLDT, *Die Schrift "Vom jungen Daniel" und "Daniels letzte Vision,"* Ph.D. dissertation, Hamburg, 1972, p. 173. On the second Arab siege, see further J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Witnesses to a World Crisis. Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century*, Oxford, 2010, pp. 509-510.

⁶⁶ See HOYLAND, *Seeing Islam*, pp. 296-297 and W. BRANDES, *Die Belagerung Konstantinopels 717/718 als apokalyptisches Ereignis. Zu einer Interpolation im griechischen Text der Pseudo-Methodios-Apokalypse*, in K. BELKE, E. KISLINGER, A. KÜLZER, M.A. STASSINOPOULOU (eds.), *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag*, Vienna, 2007, p. 71.

⁶⁷ In contrast, Aerts proposed a later date. He argues that references to later history can be found in the text such as the Arab advance into Thrace in the year 781. See AERTS and KORTEKAAS, *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius: Die ältesten griechischen und lateinischen Übersetzungen (CSCO, 570)*, Leuven, 1998, p. 48, n. [13] 7,1ff and AERTS, *Zu einer neuen Ausgabe der "Revelationes"*, p. 130. Cf. BRANDES, *Die Belagerung Konstantinopels*, p. 83. However, it is possible that the interpolation was further interpolated later on. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 88. Finally, the very anxiety about the possible capture of the city can best be explained if one considers the interpolation to be composed before the outcome of the siege was known.

The Visions of Daniel

Byzantine apocalyptic texts are essentially pseudonymous.⁶⁸ A popular authority under whose name Byzantine apocalyptists chose to write was the prophet Daniel. The canonical *Book of Daniel* provides the scriptural foundation for bridging the intrinsic contradiction between the apocalyptic emphasis on the impermanence and eventual destruction of any earthly order and the state ideology that promoted the image of an invincible and sustaining earthly rulership. Thus, Byzantine apocalyptists readily adopted the Danielic eschatological scheme (Dan 2 and 7), which – following St. Jerome’s authoritative interpretation⁶⁹ – was understood to have foretold that the last of the four earthly kingdoms would be the Roman Empire, which would last until the end of time. Consequently, the Byzantine Empire was considered to be temporally the closest realm to the Kingdom of Heaven.⁷⁰ From the perspective of the eschatological focal point, i.e., the *Parousia*, the Kingdom of Heaven and the Byzantine Empire seemed to converge, which in turn legitimized the latter’s exceptional status in the divine providential scheme. The marked interest in integrating the empire into the historicizing eschatological framework of the *Book of Daniel* explains (to a large extent) why virtually all apocryphal Daniel apocalypses contain numerous *vaticinia ex eventu*.⁷¹ What is more, this focus on apocalyptic historiography, together with the emulation of the Pseudo-Methodian narrative scheme and the prevalent attribution to Daniel⁷² establish the generic quality of the *Visions of Daniel* corpus, five of which will be treated in the following.⁷³

⁶⁸ Pseudonymity is essential because it renders apocalyptic narratives authoritative and thus credible. The authority of a church father such as Methodius, or of a prophet such as Moses, Elijah or Daniel was unquestionable.

⁶⁹ See G. PODSKALSKY, *Byzantinische Reicheschatologie: die Periodisierung der Weltgeschichte in den vier Grossreichen (Daniel 2 u. 7) und der tausendjährigen Friedensreiche (Apok. 20): eine motivgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Munich, 1972, esp. pp. 12-14.

⁷⁰ The underlying idea here is the notion of approaching the divine. Temporal and topographical proximity as well as imitation of sacred behavior were recognized means by which earthly matters could converge onto the divine. Cf. D. M. NICOL, *Byzantine Political Thought*, in J. H. BURNS (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c. 350-c. 1450*, Cambridge, 1988, p. 52 and MAGDALINO, *The History of the Future*, pp. 11-15.

⁷¹ Cf. D. M. OLSTER, *Byzantine Apocalypses*, in J. J. COLLINS, B. MCGINN, S. J. STEIN (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, II, New York, 1998, p. 64.

⁷² Yet, as I will show below, at least one *Vision of Daniel* was attributed to John Chrysostom, while other versions were also attributed to Methodius of Patara – so for instance, the *Diegesis Danielis* and *Last Daniel*.

⁷³ On the generic quality of the *Visions of Daniel*, see DiTOMMASO, *The Book of Daniel*, pp. 195-206.

V. *DIEGESIS DANIELIS*

The *Diegesis Danielis* is an apocalyptic text that has come down to us in two manuscripts.⁷⁴ While the Montpellier manuscript (M) does not attribute the composition to anyone in particular, the Bodleian manuscript (B) attributes it to “our Bishop Methodius.”⁷⁵ Thus, already the title shows how closely this composition was associated with its Pseudo-Methodian source.

The apocalypse opens with an attack of the Ishmaelites on the Byzantine capital. The first chapters narrate the Arab advance through Anatolia and the ensuing siege of the “Seven-Hilled” Constantinople. At a most desperate moment (5.1-2), manuscript B tells about a forlorn prayer to God. Both manuscripts continue in stating that a divine voice will intervene which intimidates the Ishmaelite enemy and wakes up a Roman emperor who was previously thought dead and useless. This awakening emperor’s name is said to start with *kappa* (5.3-7).⁷⁶ Together with his two sons, this Roman emperor will arrive from the east to the capital. They slaughter the Ishmaelites, expel them from the streets of Constantinople and enslave the survivors (5.10-6.6). This victory will usher in a time of great prosperity and peace. Territories are regained, cities and churches rebuilt, and military weapons will become obsolete (6.14-21). The emperor, who is called after a wild animal (M), and his sons will die after 30 prosperous years.

The next three chapters (following Berger’s stichometry) deal with the gradual decay and final destruction of the imperial city. First, a wicked man from the north is said to perpetrate various iniquities (7.1-6). He is followed by either a foreign, tall man from the south (M) or by a foreign, foul woman (B), who will reign over the capital (8.1). Next, the apocalypse warns the Seven-Hilled Babylon, i.e., Constantinople, and predicts its eventual sinking into the sea. The section closes with an enigmatic note that hereafter

⁷⁴ According to Berger the apocalyptic text contained in *Venetus, Marcianus gr.* VII 22 fols. 14-16 provides a third manuscript of the same composition, although shorter. It is noteworthy, that this is the only manuscript that attributes the work to the prophet Daniel. See BERGER, *Daniel Diegese*, pp. 8-9. However, DiTommaso considers it a witness of another Daniel apocalypse, see DiTOMMASO, *The Book of Daniel*, p. 131. For DiTommaso’s overview of the *Diegesis Danielis*, see *ibidem*, pp. 130-141, 356-359. See further P. UBIERNA, *The Greek Apocalypse of Daniel*, in *BibHist*, pp. 414-418.

⁷⁵ The title of the *Montpellier, Cod. Fac. Med.* 405, fols. 105r-115 (M) reads: Διήγησις περὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου τὸ πῶς μέλλει γενέσθαι καὶ περὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος (Narrative about the Days of the Antichrist, How He will come into Being and about the End of Times). *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Codex Canonicianus* 19, fols. 145-152 (B) has the *inscriptio*: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μεθοδίου ἐπισκόπου λόγος περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἡμερῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου (Discourse of our Holy Father Methodius about the Last Days and the Antichrist).

⁷⁶ Manuscript M reads *kappa*, while manuscript B reads *ēta*.

imperial power is transferred from Constantinople to Rome (9.9). The remainder of the text, which makes up almost half of the entire composition, deals with the Antichrist, the fate of the Jews, and the traditional episode of the two witnesses, Enoch and Elijah (here supplemented by the Evangelist John) being slain.

The main concern (of the first half of the composition) lies with the defeat of the besieging Arabs and the ensuing imperial recovery, which is dependent on the Victorious Emperor and his prosperous 30-year reign. After his death the empire succumbs to moral decay, which culminates in the destruction of the imperial capital. Thus, the motif of the Pseudo-Methodian Last Roman Emperor is reduced to its military and governing function. The abdicating function is altogether omitted. Finally, it is unclear what the *translatio imperii* from the destroyed Constantinople to Rome is supposed to suggest⁷⁷ and whether it relates to the removal of the *katechōn*.

Berger identifies the Victorious Emperor who has the name of a beast with Leo III (r. 717-741).⁷⁸ Indeed, Leo the Isaurian does fit the other two characteristics given in the text: he arrived from the Eastern provinces and his baptismal name starts with a *kappa*, i.e., Konon. In addition, Cyril Mango conjectures that originally the Victorious Emperor was intended to be Theodosius III (r. 715-717). He argues on the basis of manuscript M, which reads that the initial letter of the liberator emperor is *ēta* (5.7). The numeric value of this letter is eight, which (if retranslated according to the alphabetical sequence) might refer to the eighth Greek letter, i.e., *theta*, which is the initial of Theodosius.⁷⁹ Furthermore, manuscript M does not call the emperor a wild animal. Thus, Mango argues, manuscript M assigns the role of the Victorious Emperor to Theodosius III, while manuscript B reassigns it to his immediate successor, Leo III.⁸⁰ Be that as it may, the expectations pertaining to the Victorious Emperor did not materialize, thus the last historical fact provided in the apocalypse is the start of a siege of Constantinople, arguably the siege of 717/718. Therefore, similarly to the lengthy interpolation of the first Greek redaction of Pseudo-Methodius, the

⁷⁷ For a possible interpretation, see the early-seventh century commentary on the *Revelation of John* by Andrew of Caesarea (d. 614), where one encounters the consideration that “the ancient honor would again return to her [i.e., Rome].” J. SCHMID (ed.), *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Texts*, I, *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia* (*Münchener Theologische Studien*, 1), Munich, 1955, p. 181.

⁷⁸ BERGER, *Daniel Diegese*, pp. 32-33.

⁷⁹ See C. MANGO, *The Life of Saint Andrew the Fool Reconsidered*, in *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi*, 2 (1982), p. 312. Cf. W. BOUSSET, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eschatologie*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 20 (1900), p. 288, n. 1.

⁸⁰ MANGO, *Saint Andrew the Fool Reconsidered*, p. 312.

Diegesis Danielis can be dated tentatively to the time of the second Arab siege.⁸¹

The characterization of the Victorious Emperor as having been considered “dead and utterly useless” (νεκρὸν ὄντα καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν χρησιμεύοντα) needs to be understood as belonging to the topical repertoire taken from Pseudo-Methodius.⁸² It is furthermore important to note that if Mango’s proposed dating to the winter of 716/717 is correct then this means that the wicked man from the north and the foul and foreign woman (B) are not historical characters.⁸³ Although the temptation is great to identify the foul woman with Empress Irene (r. 797-802), I would caution against this identification for two reasons.⁸⁴ First, I explained above the principle of particularity which proposes that historical reviews are usually more detailed than prophetic visions. The mention of the foul woman does not amount to more than two short sentences which contain little specification about her reign or character.⁸⁵ Thus, the scarcity of information about this figure possibly indicates that this is a mere literary motif. Second, the mention of the foul woman is immediately followed by a characterization of Constantinople that closely follows the description of the Seven-Hilled Babylon in the *Revelation of John*.⁸⁶ The choice of words, the colors and ornaments clearly reflect the imagery used by John of Patmos. Therefore, I argue that the brief mention of the foul woman in chapter eight of the *Diegesis Danielis* introduces the theme of Babylon as the great harlot. The foul woman might easily be a personification of the sinfulness of the imperial capital, just as the *Revelation of John* uses the harlot metaphor in reference to Babylon

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 313, HOYLAND, *Seeing Islam*, pp. 298-299, BRANDES, *Die Belagerung Konstantinopels*, p. 86. Pace Berger, who reads the obscure note about the *translatio imperii* from Constantinople to Rome as a *vaticinium ex eventu* referring to Charlemagne’s coronation in the year 800. BERGER, *Daniel Diegese*, pp. 33-37.

⁸² See the verbatim correspondence between *Diegesis Danielis* §5.5 and *Apocalypse* [13] 11. This borrowing, already observed by HOYLAND, *Seeing Islam*, p. 299, n. 127, rectifies Mango’s puzzlement (MANGO, *Saint Andrew the Fool Reconsidered*, p. 312) of how these epithets could have been attributed to Leo III. The same observation also explains why the Victorious Emperor appears together with his two sons, although Leo III had only one son. Cf. *Diegesis Danielis* §5.10 with *Apocalypse* [13] 11.

⁸³ Cf. MANGO, *Saint Andrew the Fool Reconsidered*, p. 311.

⁸⁴ Apart from BERGER, *Daniel Diegese*, pp. 6, 36 DiTOMMASO, *The Book of Daniel*, pp. 138-139, G. T. ZERVOS in J. H. CHARLESWORTH (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, I, New York, 1983, p. 756 and (although more cautiously) OLSTER, *Byzantine Apocalypses*, p. 65 consider the foul woman to be Irene.

⁸⁵ *Diegesis Danielis* §8.1-2(B): καὶ ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσει γυνὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑπτάλοφον μιὰρὰ καὶ ἀλλόφυλος, καὶ συγκαθίσεται ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν τοῦ νότου τῆς Ἑπτάλοφου. For a speculative interpretation of the characteristics μιὰρὰ καὶ ἀλλόφυλος as referring to Irene, see DiTOMMASO, *The Book of Daniel*, p. 139.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Daniel Diegesis* §9.1-3 with Rev 17:3-4, 17:9, 18:10 and 18:19 and *Diegesis Diegesis* §8.2(B) with Rev 17:3.

(i.e., Rome).⁸⁷ Consequently, the woman's figure should not be read as a historical person but as a literary motif.⁸⁸ The same case can be made concerning the respective passages in *Last Daniel*⁸⁹ and in the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse*.⁹⁰

VI. PSEUDO-CHRYSOSTOMOS APOCALYPSE

The *Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse* counts among the *Visions of Daniel* because its title explicitly refers to the authority of Daniel⁹¹ and because it presents a close adaptation of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*. DiTommaso might be correct in conjecturing that originally this apocalypse circulated under the name of Methodius before being later revised and re-attributed to John Chrysostom.⁹²

Alexander discerned four parts in the text. The first section (§§1-3) reproduces various Pseudo-Methodian accounts concerning Alexander the Great's para-historical genealogy and deeds, the common claim that the Roman Empire is the last legitimate earthly realm and the political significance of the life-giving (ζωοποιός) True Cross. The second section of the apocalypse (§4) presents the only original part of the apocalypse. It tells about the capture of Constantinople by the Ishmaelites and their advance to

⁸⁷ See SCHMID, *Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia*, p. 181. At the same time, concerning the origin of the foul woman motif, one should not forget about possible Sibylline influence, see P. ALEXANDER, *The Oracle of Baalbek. The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress*, Washington, DC, 1967, p. 21 (lines 200-204), which contains an obscure reference to a woman at the end of times who can not find a man (καὶ οὐ μὴ εὑρή [ἄνθρωπον]). See *infra* n. 138. Cf. *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* 864A (line 162). Furthermore, the chronicler Malalas recorded an incident in 541, when a woman in Constantinople prophesied the sinking of the city, see I. THURN (ed.), *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia (CFHB, 35)*, Berlin - New York, 2000, pp. 406-407 (book 18, section 90).

⁸⁸ However, I do concede the possibility that the foul women motif is a later interpolation into ms. B. If this were so then the potent imagery of the imperial capital as the adulterous harlot of Rev 17 would have provided the topical framework into which a later scribe easily integrated an obscure reference to the first female autocrat who came to rule over the "Seven-Hilled" city.

⁸⁹ *Last Daniel* §66-68. See SCHMOLDT, *Die Schrift "Vom jungen Daniel"*, p. 185.

⁹⁰ *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* 864A-864D (lines 162-191). Lennart Rydén, too, considers the foul woman here to be a *topos*. See L. RYDÉN, *The Andreas Salos Apocalypse. Greek Text, Translation, and Commentary*, in *DOP*, 28 (1974), pp. 249-251.

⁹¹ The *inscriptio* reads: τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου λόγος ἐκ τῶν ὁράσεων τοῦ Δανιήλ (Discourse of our Holy Father John Chrysostom from the Visions of Daniel). *Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse* titulus.

⁹² DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, p. 157. DiTommaso refers to the apocalypse as *Discourses of John Chrysostom Concerning the Vision of Daniel*. For his overview, see *ibidem*, pp. 155-158, 362-363.

Attalia in Pamphylia (ἕως Ἀτταλῶν).⁹³ Alexander understands this passage as a crucial *vaticinium ex eventu* which enables him to date this apocalypse. His argument rests on the notion that al-Muʿtasim (r. 833-842), after taking Amorium in 838, intended to move onto Constantinople. He dispatched an armada from Syria which was to advance on the Byzantine capital. Alexander speculates that the Muslim fleet would have needed to take the naval base of Attalia in order to safely advance up the Aegean. Thus, Alexander concludes: “Small wonder that when in 842 Apodinar’s [i.e., the Muslim naval commander] squadron captured Attalia, an anonymous Byzantine apocalypticist ... should have seen in this event a threat to the capital itself.”⁹⁴ Although there is no evidence supporting the claim that the Arab fleet actually took Attalia, the text supports Alexander’s assumption for it uses the aorist saying that “Ishmael [already] came as far as Attalia,”⁹⁵ while a few lines above the apocalypticist uses the future tense prophesizing that “they [i.e., the Ishmaelites] will enter the Seven-Hilled City.”⁹⁶ Thus, I agree with Alexander on dating the composition around the year 842. The second section closes with the blasphemous Arab insult that the Romans have no rescue (ἀνάρρυσις), which presents another (almost verbatim) borrowing from the Greek redaction of Pseudo-Methodius.⁹⁷

Alexander suggests that the third section of the apocalypse (§5) reproduces elements from the (now lost) Greek original of the *Slavonic Daniel*.⁹⁸ In essence, he persuasively argues that the *Slavonic Daniel* is based on a Greek original that was composed in Sicily between 827 and 829.⁹⁹ From this composition, Pseudo-Chrysostomos appropriated, for instance, the expression “the so-called Rebel City.”¹⁰⁰ It is in this city that an emperor of humble origin will be revealed, whom everyone had considered useless or even dead. His name is said to start with the letter *lambda*.

⁹³ *Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse* §4.5.

⁹⁴ ALEXANDER, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, p. 76. Regarding the history and failure of this naval expedition see M. P. VINSON (tr.), *Life of St. Theodora the Empress*, in A.-M. TALBOT (ed.), *Byzantine Defenders of Images. Eight Saints' Lives in English Translation*, Washington, DC, 1988, pp. 373-374.

⁹⁵ *Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse* § 4.5: καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Ἰσμαήλ ἕως Ἀτταλῶν. Emphasis mine.

⁹⁶ *Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse* § 4.3: καὶ εἰσελεύσονται ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ Ἑπταλόφω. Emphasis mine.

⁹⁷ Cf. *Apocalypse* [13] 6.

⁹⁸ DiTommaso refers to this work as the *Slavonic Vision of the Prophet Daniel on the Emperors*. For his treatment of this apocalypse, see DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, pp. 145-151, 504-507.

⁹⁹ ALEXANDER, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 62-64.

¹⁰⁰ *Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse* §5.1: ἡ πόλις ἐκείνη ἡ καλουμένη τυραννίς. According to Alexander, the “Rebel City” is Syracuse, see ALEXANDER, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 72-73.

After his anointing as emperor¹⁰¹ this man will defeat the Arabs first alone and, then, with the alliance of the “blond races” (ξανθὰ ἔθνη).¹⁰² After their final defeat he will enter Rome, where he will open up a treasure and distribute its wealth to the people. After having consolidated his rule this Victorious Emperor will move to Constantinople and chase away its ruler. The fourth and last section (§6) recounts the coming of the Antichrist, the death of Enoch and Elijah, and the final *Parousia*. Again, the language and themes used here are direct borrowings from the Greek redaction of Pseudo-Methodius.

In sum, one can say that the *Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse* is an abbreviated version of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* with a few emendations such as the *vaticinium ex eventu* about the fall of Attalia. That being said, it is significant to note that Pseudo-Chrysostomos leaves out the emperor’s abdication scene. Here, as in the *Diegesis Danielis*, the Byzantine emperor’s function is reduced to defeating the Arabs and restoring imperial power. By not mentioning the abdication it seems that the apocalypse tries to postpone the ultimate end to the unspecified future.¹⁰³

Finally, one important element of the apocalypse needs to be emphasized, namely, the characterization of the Victorious Emperor, who is said to have a name that “was inferior in the world.”¹⁰⁴ This can be understood as referring to the humble origin of the rising emperor. The humility or poverty of the Victorious Emperor is a permanent feature in the later Byzantine apocalyptic tradition and if the dating of the *Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse* is correct then this text presents an early mention of this motif.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ The text reads: κάκει ἡρίσουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς βασιλέα where ἡρίω clearly means “to anoint.” There is no clear evidence to argue for Byzantine anointing ceremonies prior to 1204. However, Byzantine authors often used this term in a metaphorical sense. That being said, it is also possible that this term portrays a hint of Latin influence on the apocalypse especially if one considers its probable Sicilian origin. Regarding Byzantine coronation customs, see G. DAGRON, *Empereur et prêtre: Étude sur le “césaropapisme” byzantin (Bibliothèque des histoires)*, Paris, 1996, pp. 281-287 and J. L. NELSON, *Symbols in Context: Ruler’s Inauguration Rituals in Byzantium and the West in the Early Middle Ages*, in EADEM, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe*, London, 1986, pp. 259-281.

¹⁰² On the motif of the “blond races,” see A. PERTUSI, *Fine di Bisanzio e fine del mondo. Significato e ruolo storico delle profezie sulla caduta di Costantinopoli in Oriente e in Occidente*, posthumous edition by E. MORINI (*Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo. Nuovi Studi Storici*, 3), Rome, 1988, pp. 44-62.

¹⁰³ If Pseudo-Chrysostomos agrees that the Byzantine Empire is the *katechōn*, then the Antichrist’s arrival is conditional on its removal or destruction. Thus, not mentioning the abdication points either to the author’s reluctance to speculate about the *katechōn* or to his disagreement that the Last Emperor’s abdication represents the cessation of the Byzantine Empire. The same argument can be made for the *Diegesis Danielis*.

¹⁰⁴ *Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse* § 5.1: οὕτινος τὸ ὄνομα ἦν ἔλαττον ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ.

¹⁰⁵ The motif of poverty or humility cannot be found in the *Slavonic Daniel*, from which (as noted above) Pseudo-Chrysostomos borrowed certain elements. For Alexander’s English

VII. *DANIEL καὶ ἔσται*

The Vision of Daniel on the Last Times and the End of the World, or *Daniel καὶ ἔσται* for short, is another brief apocalypse that belongs to the *Vision of Daniel* genre.¹⁰⁶ It is characterized by a marked eclecticism giving “the impression of a mosaic built from often minute pebbles.”¹⁰⁷

Alexander’s comprehensive analysis divides the text into five historical (§1) and five eschatological sections (§§2-4): (1) The Arab attack on Rome and the sack of St. Peter’s in 846, (2) the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, (3) the internal strife among southern Italian principalities in the mid-ninth century, and (4) the murder of Michael III in 867.¹⁰⁸ Based on this last identification Alexander dates the apocalypse to the year 867 or 869, that is, to the period shortly after Basil I had killed his benefactor Michael III or the time of the devastating Constantinopolitan earthquake of 869.¹⁰⁹ The last (5) historical episode refers to Sicilian events in 852/853.¹¹⁰

The five eschatological sections are: (6) The arrival of the Victorious Emperor among the inhabitants of the “Rebel City” (i.e., Syracuse). This emperor is portrayed as “having signs inscribed on his finger, a sweet voice, a crooked nose, and a curtailed stature,”¹¹¹ and his name is said to start with the letter *lambda*. He will defeat the Ishmaelites and together

translation of the *Slavonic Daniel*, see ALEXANDER, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 65-72. Another important difference is that the *Slavonic Daniel* does contain the emperor’s abdication scene.

¹⁰⁶ For an overview of the content and the manuscript situation, see DiTOMMASO, *The Book of Daniel*, pp. 158-162, 364-365.

¹⁰⁷ ALEXANDER, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, p. 77.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 77-83. Alexander engages in ambitious speculations arguing that this section (*Daniel καὶ ἔσται* §1.10-11) is a propagandist attempt to justify Basil I’s murder of Michael III by comparing the former with Phinehas, the Jewish high priest, who is reported to have justly killed the Israelite prince Zimri together with his Midianite concubine for their blasphemy against the God of Israel (Num 25:1-8). If true, this typological interpretation would exemplify the active role apocalyptic literature played (or at least attempted to play) in shaping the public image of emperors by placing political events into an eschatological framework.

¹⁰⁹ ALEXANDER, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 87, 94-95.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 83-87.

¹¹¹ *Daniel καὶ ἔσται* §2.1-2: σημεῖα ἔχων τίτλωμα ἐπὶ τὸν δάκτυλον αὐτοῦ. ἡ λαλία αὐτοῦ ἡδεῖα, ἡ ῥίς αὐτοῦ ἐπίκυφος, κολοβὸς τῇ στάσει. Alexander recognizes that usually physiognomic descriptions in apocalyptic literature are restricted to the Antichrist, see ALEXANDER, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, p. 88, n. 35. For typical characterizations of the Antichrist, see BOUSSET, *Der Antichrist*, pp. 100-101, 132-134. It is significant to note that Andrew of Caesarea in his commentary on the *Revelation of John* repeatedly identifies the Antichrist with the Byzantine emperor, see SCHMID, *Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia*, pp. 136-137, 189. Thus, the physiognomic characterizations of the Antichrist were easily applicable onto the Last Emperor *topos*. Provided that Alexander’s dating of the apocalypse is correct, this text possibly contains the oldest example (which has come down

with the “blond races” pursue them to Akra.¹¹² (7-8) The Victorious Emperor then smashes a bronze idol in Rome and after consolidating his reign by giving out money to the people he proceeds to enter Constantinople, chasing away the sovereign ruling there. The emperor predicts the ultimate destruction of the Seven-Hilled City through a great deluge. After a rule of 32 prosperous and peaceful years, the Victorious Emperor dies naturally. (9) Following the gradual moral decay of the Byzantines God punishes mankind by releasing the unclean peoples of the North, who are in turn annihilated by an angelic figure. (10) Finally, the Last Roman Emperor moves to Jerusalem and abdicates on Golgotha at the advent of the Antichrist. The remainder of the text recapitulates the classical eschatological sequence including the characterization of the son of perdition, the killing of Enoch and Elijah and, finally, the *Parousia*.

For our purpose it is important to consider how the figure of the Roman emperor is portrayed. First of all, it is not clear how many emperors are being referred to in the apocalypse. While Alexander counts at least five successive emperors, I count only two. I identify one continuous protagonist, the Victorious Emperor, who fulfills the functions of appearing after being thought dead, of defeating the Arabs, of restoring the empire to wealth, prosperity, and peace, and of ruling for the symbolic number of 32 years.¹¹³ In support of this reading stands the fact that in all the other *Visions of Daniel* surveyed here¹¹⁴ as well as the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* the Victorious Emperor is said to rule for 32 (or 30) years.¹¹⁵ At the same time, this emperor is certainly not identical with the Last Roman Emperor who has to fulfill his obligation of abdicating to God at the arrival of the Antichrist.¹¹⁶ That is, here one finds a clear distinction between two emperors who are associated with the eschatological functions of the Last Roman

to us) of a detailed physiognomic portray of the Victorious Emperor. For a later instance, see *Last Daniel* §47.

¹¹² Alexander considers Akra to stand for a city district of Jerusalem, which functioned as a fortified quarter under Seleucid rule, see ALEXANDER, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, p. 90.

¹¹³ *Daniel καὶ ἔσται* §2.1-5, §2.15, §2.27, §3.6, §3.12-20.

¹¹⁴ I.e., *Diegesis Danielis*, *Seven-Hilled Apocalypse*, *Last Daniel* except for *Pseudo-Chrysostomos*, which does not mention the duration of the Victorious Emperor's reign.

¹¹⁵ The 32-year motif refers to Alexander the Great's lifespan or alternatively to the time-span of Constantine the Great's rule. The other numeral value that is closely associated with the Last Emperor motif is the number 12, which refers to the time-span of Alexander the Great's rule. For the application of the “twelve-year rule” motif, see *Last Daniel* §60, *Seven-Hilled Daniel* §12.22, *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* 860B (line 109). Cf. *Apocalypse* [13] 21,3-6. On the meaning of these numerical values, see, BOUSSET, *Beiträge*, p. 285, J. WORTLEY, *The Warrior-Emperor of the Andrew Salos Apocalypse*, in *AB*, 88 (1970), pp. 55-56, DiTOMMASO, *The Book of Daniel*, p. 162.

¹¹⁶ *Daniel καὶ ἔσται* §4.7-9.

Emperor *topos*. This division in imperial responsibility earlier was either only implied (as in the *Edessene Apocalypse*), or ignored (as in the *Diegesis Danielis* and the *Seven-Hilled Daniel*). Apart from this notable distinction *Daniel καὶ ἔσται* closely follows the sequence of the Pseudo-Methodian eschatological events.

VIII. SEVEN-HILLED DANIEL

The *Vision of Daniel on the Seven-Hilled City*, or the *Seven-Hilled Daniel* for short, is possibly the most obscure apocalypse dealt with in this paper.¹¹⁷ Virtually nothing can be stated for certain about the date and provenance of this short narrative.

The apocalypse begins (§1) with a warning to the city of Constantinople, prophesying that it will fall to an unspecified lad (μειράκιον),¹¹⁸ who will occupy the city for some three weeks (probably meaning 21 years). Then, the people are said to revolt, for which they are severely punished.¹¹⁹ At that point, a sleeping snake (κοιμώμενος ὄφις) appears who chases the Ishmaelites permanently out of the city.¹²⁰ After the expulsion of the Arabs a bloody Byzantine civil war ensues, which causes much carnage in the streets of Constantinople (§2). A subsequent earthquake wakes a “poor lion” (λέων πτωχός) of great age, whom two angels crown emperor and order him to wage war on his enemies (§2.5-9). Together with his four sons the aged emperor rebuilds the City, erects churches, and defeats the Ishmaelites. His 30-year rule is marked by great benefits for the people. He

¹¹⁷ For its complex manuscript and textual situation, see DiTOMMASO, *The Book of Daniel*, pp. 126-130, 354-356.

¹¹⁸ Concerning this motif, see W. BRANDES, *Kaiserprophetien und Hochverrat. Apokalyptische Schriften und Kaiservaticinien als Medium antikaiserlicher Propaganda*, in W. BRANDES and F. SCHMIEDER (eds.), *Endzeiten: Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen*, Berlin, 2008, pp. 190-191, n. 145.

¹¹⁹ The text employs here the *topos* of a tripartite division: one third of the people are killed by the sword, one third are enslaved, and one third hide or run away. This motif also appears in *Apocalypse* [13] 7,3-5, *Diegesis Danielis* §2.3-9, and *Last Daniel* §53-54.

¹²⁰ Here, the text provides an exact date for the expulsion of the Ishmaelites, namely the year 6981. If one considers this year to adhere to Annianus' era (i.e., 1 AM = 25 March 5493 BCE), one would arrive at the year 1489 CE. Similarly, if one uses the Byzantine calendar (i.e., 1 AM = 1 September 5510 BCE), one arrives at the year 1472 CE. Both years are remarkably close to the notorious year of 1492, which was widely believed to be the date the world would end. Thus, I wonder whether this date is not a later interpolation that read the apocalypse as a prophecy which foretold the Ottoman taking of the city as well as its eventual recapture. Concerning eschatological sentiments around the year 1492 CE, see A. A. VASILIEV, *Medieval Ideas of the End of the World: West and East*, in *Byz.*, 16 (1942-1943), pp. 497-500 and MAGDALINO, *The History of the Future*, pp. 27-28.

hands out money and ensures prosperity and peace until (after twelve years) he moves to Jerusalem in order to abdicate his dominion to God. Upon his departure his four sons quarrel and start fighting with each other. Nonetheless, this emperor surrenders his imperial dignity on Golgotha amidst a huge crowd of witnesses (§2.10-29). The last lines of the apocalypse briefly refer to the arrival of the unclean peoples, to the advent of the Antichrist and to the ultimate event, the *Parousia* (§2.30-33).

This *Seven-Hilled Daniel* follows closely Pseudo-Methodius' narrative structure. All essential elements are present: the awakening of a liberating emperor, his victory over the Arabs, the subsequent restoration of imperial power, the ensuing peace, and his final abdication on Golgotha. Furthermore, the unity of the Victorious or Liberator Emperor and the abdicating Last Roman Emperor is retained. At the same time, the pseudonymous author integrates later elements into this framework, such as the notion of the emperor's poverty, his angelic coronation, and the civil war erupting among his sons. A major change is observable in the reversal of his abdication and the arrival of the peoples of the North. The *Seven-Hilled Daniel* shares this inverted sequence with the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse*.¹²¹

Concerning the date of the apocalypse, to the best of my knowledge, no strong argument has yet been made. While Schmoldt neglects to deal with the dating, DiTommaso tentatively proposes an eighth- or ninth-century date.¹²² For now, I am inclined to accept a late ninth-century date. Anything earlier than this would be challenged to account for the motif of the angelic coronation, which became a standard imperial theme only with the Macedonian dynasty (867-1056).¹²³

IX. *LAST DANIEL*

The *Last Vision of the Prophet Daniel*, or *Last Daniel* for short, is preserved in a great number of manuscripts. In his dissertation Schmoldt met the need for a critical edition, which he based on nineteen manuscripts.¹²⁴ Some of these manuscripts attribute the apocalypse to Methodius of Patara, thus showing again how closely the *Visions of Daniel* were associated with

¹²¹ Cf. *Seven-Hilled Apocalypse* §2.22-30 with *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* 860C-869A (lines 114-276).

¹²² DiTOMMASO, *The Book of Daniel*, p. 130.

¹²³ See K. WESSEL, *Kaiserbild*, in *RAC*, III (1978), pp. 751-752.

¹²⁴ DiTommaso supplements the nineteen manuscripts known to Schmoldt with an additional six witnesses, see SCHMOLDT, *Die Schrift "Vom jungen Daniel"*, pp. 114-116 and DiTOMMASO, *The Book of Daniel*, pp. 366-369. See further *ibidem*, pp. 186-192.

this seventh-century pseudonymous authority.¹²⁵ Also, the apocalypse shows the typical eclectic character of the *Visions of Daniel* genre. It parallels numerous passages from earlier apocalypses, such as the *Diegesis Danielis*, *Daniel καὶ ἔσται*, and the *Seven-Hilled Daniel*.¹²⁶

The text opens with a divine voice ordering three angels, each to devastate one part of the Roman *oikoumenē*, including Constantinople (§§1-18).¹²⁷ The Byzantine capital is said to be conquered by a lad (μειράκιον), who in turn will be defeated by a sleeping snake (ὁ ὄφις ὁ κοιμώμενος) (§§19-28).¹²⁸ Following the apparent reconquest of Constantinople from the Arabs, the “blond race” occupies the city for “six or five years” (§29). What seems important in this context is the continuous strife with the Muslim foe, against whom various factions (including one under a certain “Philip the Great”) gather in the Seven-Hilled City and end up fighting each other (§§30-46). The carnage is stopped by divine intervention, which reveals a man standing on two pillars in the northern part of Constantinople. According to his physiognomy this man is “grey-haired, just, compassionate, dressed in poor clothes, rough in appearance, but gentle in character and very mature. He carries a nail in the right leg, in the middle of the shinbone.”¹²⁹ After his discovery angels will crown him emperor and order him to defeat his enemies. The Victorious Emperor not only defeats the Arabs, but also the Ethiopians, the Franks and the Tatars (§§48-54). Then he ushers in a 32-year period of great prosperity and peace, distributing much wealth among the people (§§55-59). After his death his successor rules for another twelve years before abdicating in Jerusalem. Thus, this latter ruler is technically the Last Roman Emperor (§§60-61). Next, an internecine civil war breaks out among the Last Roman Emperor’s four sons, in which finally all perish. Then a foul woman rules the Seven-Hilled City, whose haughtiness causes the submergence of the capital. Shortly afterwards, other cities share the same fate (§§62-73). Ultimately, the Last Judgment is preceded by the arrival of the Antichrist, the rebuilding of the Jewish temple and ubiquitous calamities (§§74-85).

¹²⁵ Namely, *Venetus, Marcianus* II 125, fols. 6-11, *Vindobonensis, juridicus* gr. 6, fols. 201-202, *Holkham* gr. 26, fols. 237-239 and *Vindobonensis, Supplementum* gr. 101, fols. 133r-135v. For the respective titles of the apocalypses, see the critical apparatus in SCHMOLDT, *Die Schrift “Vom jungen Daniel”*, p. 122.

¹²⁶ For close textual comparison, see *ibidem*, pp. 167-172.

¹²⁷ This opening section follows the motif from the first Greek recension of Pseudo-Methodius, where three Muslim armies approach Constantinople and lay waste to various parts of Anatolia, see *Apocalypse* [13] 7,3-5.

¹²⁸ This passage closely follows a section from the *Seven-Hilled Daniel* §1.17.

¹²⁹ *Last Daniel* §47: Πολιὸν δίκαιον ἐλεήμονα [φορῶν πενιχρά] τῆ ὄψει αὐστηρόν, τῆ δὲ γνώμῃ πραῦν, μεστὸν τῆ ἡλικία, ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιὸν πόδα μέσον τοῦ καλάμου ἧλον.

It is apparent that this text reuses various elements from earlier apocalypses. For our purpose it is important to appreciate the adaptation of the following motifs. Adhering to the traditional *topos*, the Victorious Emperor is revealed at a moment of great struggle and hardship. The motifs of angelic coronation and monetary benefactions to the people are already known from the *Seven-Hilled Daniel*. The emperor's physiognomy stresses his poor origin and mature age, while supplementing this common characterization by an obscure note of him having a nail (ἦλος) in his right leg.¹³⁰ Further, it is interesting that the Victorious Emperor defeats not only the Arabs but other foreign nations as well, including the Franks and the Tatars. Again, adhering to the tradition of the *topos*, the emperor's reign lasts for 32 years, while his successor rules for twelve years before abdicating. This is another example for a clear distinction between the Victorious and the Last Roman Emperor. Following the imperial abdication the fate of the empire irreversibly deteriorates. A great civil war and the successive destruction of imperial cities signify the gradual disintegration of the last Danielic Empire giving way to the arrival of the Antichrist.

DiTommaso proposes an eleventh- or twelfth-century provenance for *Last Daniel*. More specifically, he considers the mention of a Great Philip to refer to Philip I of France (r. 1060-1108), thus placing the text at the time of the First Crusade.¹³¹ Alternatively, John Wortley considers the apocalypse to have reached its final shape in the thirteenth century, although earlier elements can clearly be identified.¹³² Indeed, the mention of the Tatars (τάταροι) and the notion of the continuous occupation of Constantinople by the "blond race" indicate thirteenth-century events since these descriptions go beyond the traditional *topoi* of vaguely alluding to the unclean peoples of the North and the eventual temporary loss of the capital to the Ishmaelites. Thus, a thirteenth-century date of the final redaction seems most probable.¹³³

¹³⁰ Probably a reference to the nails of Christ's crucifixion. As noted above, already the *Edessene Apocalypse* pp. 222-223 (ff. 98v.-99r.) associates the Victorious Emperor with the nails of the True Cross. Also, the nails play a role in *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* 868B (line 249), where they are said to be situated under the column of Constantine.

¹³¹ DiTOMMASO, *The Book of Daniel*, p. 192. In contrast, BOUSSET, *Beiträge*, p. 290 identifies this figure with Philip II of France (r. 1180-1223). Or might it refer to Philip of Swabia, king of Germany (1198-1208), or even to Philip of Macedon? See SCHMOLDT, *Die Schrift "Vom jungen Daniel"*, pp. 162-164, 173-175.

¹³² J. WORTLEY, *The Literature of Catastrophe*, in *Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines*, 4 (1977), pp. 8-9.

¹³³ Cf. BRANDES, *Die Belagerung Konstantinopels*, p. 84 and MÖHRING, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit*, p. 312.

X. *ANDREAS SALOS APOCALYPSE*

The presumably fictional *Vita of St. Andreas Salos*, written by a certain Nikephoros in Constantinople, contains an eschatological section in which Andrew the Fool explains to his friend Epiphanius how the world will come to an end. The text is remarkable because it lists more than five consecutive imperial rulers, some of whom share the characteristics of the Pseudo-Methodian Last Roman Emperor.

The apocalyptic passage opens with the prophecy that the New Jerusalem, i.e., Constantinople, will never fall to invaders. Then, Andrew foretells that “God will raise up an emperor from poverty,”¹³⁴ who will bring prosperity and peace to the Romans before moving on to “humble the sons of Hagar.”¹³⁵ Then, he is said to restore imperial frontiers on land as well as at sea. He will rebuild churches and subdue transgressors and magnates, while upholding a strict orthodoxy that results in the persecution of Jews and a ban on musical instruments.¹³⁶

The 32-year reign of this Victorious Emperor is followed by four subsequent rulers. The next two despots are wicked emperors, whose reigns are marked by punitive natural catastrophes. Then follows a good Christian emperor from Ethiopia who, during his twelve-year reign, repairs the churches that his predecessors have destroyed. His rule is characterized by widespread joy. Next, an Arab ruler briefly ascends to the throne. It is he who abdicates in Jerusalem after having erected and previously assembled the True Cross from its numerous fragments.¹³⁷ Thereafter, three young men are said to plunge into a devastating civil war in which the male Byzantine population is so reduced that a woman assumes the government.¹³⁸ Her reign is depicted in the apocalyptic imagery of harlotry,¹³⁹ killing of relatives,¹⁴⁰ playing music, and haughtiness.¹⁴¹ As a result of

¹³⁴ *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* 853B (line 23). The English translations given here are taken from Rydén.

¹³⁵ *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* 856A (lines 31-32).

¹³⁶ Generally, apocalyptic literature disapproves of music and games. Cf. Rev 18:22. See MANGO, *Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome*, p. 211 and RYDÉN, *The Andreas Salos Apocalypse*, p. 251. Such disapproval can also be found in *Apocalypse* [2] 1.

¹³⁷ *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* 860C (lines 114-121).

¹³⁸ The explanation for the rise of a woman to power due to male depopulation can be found already in the early sixth-century ALEXANDER, *The Oracle of Baalbek*, p. 21 (lines 200-202). This parallel can be seen as a further argument in favor of the thesis that the foul woman described in apocalyptic texts was originally a literary motif which had its roots (at least in part) in the Sibylline tradition.

¹³⁹ Cf. Rev 17:5.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Mt 10:21. See BOUSSET, *Der Antichrist*, pp. 76-77.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Isa 14:13-14. See further RYDÉN, *The Andreas Salos Apocalypse*, pp. 249-251.

her abominations, Constantinople is destroyed by a huge flood.¹⁴² The imperial government is said to be transferred to various cities, which, however, are unable to stop the rapid disintegration of imperial power. Andrew's prophecy closes with the traditional topics concerning the fate of the Jews, the coming of the peoples of the North, and the advent of the Antichrist.

The *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* is a rare example of an apocalyptic text which comes down (at least partially) in early manuscripts. The earliest witness, contained in the Monacensis gr. 443, might date to the second half of the tenth century, which provides the *terminus ante quem* of the text.¹⁴³ Rydén dates the *Vita* of Andreas Salos to this period,¹⁴⁴ while Mango proposes a much earlier date, namely, the second half of the seventh century.¹⁴⁵ When considering its date of composition it is important to realize that the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* presents an amalgamation of *topoi* taken from the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* on the one hand, and the *Diegesis Danielis* on the other. From the latter it took the marked concern for the imperial capital and its eventual destruction by a great flood. At the same time, the motifs of the abdication scene, the importance of an Ethiopian dynastic connection, and the arrival of the peoples of the North are *topoi* taken from the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*.¹⁴⁶ As seen above, both these narratives have a *terminus post quem* of the early eight century.

The *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* is remarkably uninterested in its contemporary political environment.¹⁴⁷ No *vaticinium ex eventu* can be discerned. What is more, it contains an exceptional reversal in the narrative. God does not awake the Victorious Emperor in the heat of a desperate struggle with Islam; rather, the emperor rises and initiates a period of peace and prosperity, during which "they [i.e., the Romans] will beat the blades of their swords into sickles, and their spearshafts and spears they will make into farming implements [...]."¹⁴⁸ At this peaceful time, the Victorious Emperor will move out in order to punish the Ishmaelites for their blasphemy. Thus, the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* does not portray any immediate Arab threat,

¹⁴² This passage (*Andreas Salos Apocalypse* 864D-865A (lines 192-203)) closely parallels Rev 18:21.

¹⁴³ RYDÉN, *The Andreas Salos Apocalypse*, p. 199. Cf. BRANDES, *Die Belagerung Konstantinopels*, pp. 86-87, n. 16 and WORTLEY, *The Literature of Catastrophe*, p. 4.

¹⁴⁴ RYDÉN, *The Andreas Salos Apocalypse*, pp. 199, 260. For Rydén's argumentation, see IDEM, *The Date of the 'Life of Andreas Salos,'* in *DOP*, 32 (1978), pp. 127-155.

¹⁴⁵ MANGO, *Saint Andrew the Fool Reconsidered*, pp. 297-313 (esp. pp. 299-308).

¹⁴⁶ For further textual comparisons between the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* and various *Visions of Daniel*, RYDÉN, *The Andreas Salos Apocalypse*, pp. 232-237.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 226, 239, 260.

¹⁴⁸ *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* 853C (lines 29-31). Cf. Isa 2:4.

which is an essential notion, particularly in the apocalypses of the early eighth century but also in ninth-century texts (*Daniel καὶ ἔσται*, the *Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse*, the *Seven-Hilled Daniel*). Therefore, I agree with Robert Hoyland in proposing the safe *terminus post quem* of 740 while assuming a tentative date of the ninth-tenth centuries, when the Muslim threat was less imminent.¹⁴⁹

In terms of content, various attempts have been made to identify the first of the five emperors. Vasiliev considered him to be Michael III,¹⁵⁰ while Wortley connected the textual descriptions with Basil I.¹⁵¹ It would be surprising, however, if a text which apparently has no interest in the political or historical narrative of the Byzantine Empire integrated a factual emperor at an unspecified moment. For this reason I would rather agree with Rydén, who does not recognize any reference to contemporary historical figures in the apocalypse. Rather, the five emperors listed provide an encyclopedic account of the history of the Roman Empire from Constantine to Jovian.¹⁵² Accordingly, the five emperors signify: (1) the Victorious Emperor: Constantine the Great, (2) the wicked emperor: Constantius II, (3) the pagan emperor: Julian, (4) the good Ethiopian emperor: Alexander the Great,¹⁵³ and (5) the good Arab emperor: Jovian.

This interpretation has the benefit of appreciating the fragmentation of the various typological elements that the Pseudo-Methodian Last Emperor motif carries. As reconstructed above, the Pseudo-Methodian Last Roman Emperor combines in one single character the functions of (1) a second Gideon or, later, a New Constantine who delivers the Christians from

¹⁴⁹ HOYLAND, *Seeing Islam*, pp. 305-307. Wortley dates the apocalyptic section to the late ninth century, see WORTLEY, *The Literature of Catastrophe*, p. 3. Alexander dates it to the early tenth century, see ALEXANDER, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 123, 130, and Magdalino endorses a mid-tenth-century date, see MAGDALINO, *The Year 1000*, pp. 245, 256.

¹⁵⁰ A. A. VASILIEV, *The Emperor Michael III in Apocryphal Literature*, in *Byzantina et Metabyzantina*, 1 (1946), 237-248.

¹⁵¹ WORTLEY, *The Warrior-Emperor*, pp. 45-59.

¹⁵² RYDÉN, *The Andreas Salos Apocalypse*, pp. 238-247. See also ALEXANDER, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 125-128. Rydén's argumentation is particularly laudable for appreciating the topical nature of the poverty attributed to the Victorious Emperor. On the contrary, Wortley's strongest argument for identifying the Victorious Emperor with Basil I is the latter's rise "from poverty" (ἀπὸ πενίαις), see WORTLEY, *The Literature of Catastrophe*, p. 44, passim. Realizing that the emperor's poverty was a standardized eschatological *topos* raises the crucial question of whether Basil I's poverty was emphasized due to the need to meet the expectation of the eschatological motif. See RYDÉN, *The Andreas Salos Apocalypse*, pp. 239-240.

¹⁵³ The intrusion of Alexander the Great into this historical sequence is certainly striking. Yet, the motifs of a twelve-year reign, Ethiopian descent, and the fact that this ruler precedes three evil young men, who possibly allude to the *diadochi*, point to an association with Alexander the Great. See RYDÉN, *The Andreas Salos Apocalypse*, p. 245.

oppression and restores imperial supremacy, (2) a Second Alexander, who is, on the one hand, of Ethiopian descent, and, on the other hand, is responsible for the reconquest of imperial lands, so that “the love of the Lord will spread over the whole world”¹⁵⁴ and, finally, (3) a second Jovian, who returns his *imperium* to its divine source by abdicating on Mount Golgotha. Nikephoros, the author of the *Vita of St. Andreas Salos*, divides these three essential functions and distributes them among three distinct emperors, who gradually fulfill the duties of the eschatological work list that Pseudo-Methodius drew up.

In order to understand why Nikephoros changed the Pseudo-Methodian scheme one needs to realize that the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* actually lists seven consecutive rulerships. The abdicating Arab emperor is followed by three young men, who (together with the majority of the male population) perish in a fierce civil war. Subsequently, a foul woman from Pontus rules the imperial capital. This seven-ruler scheme seems to follow Rev 17:9-11, where seven consecutive rulers are divided into five plus two. Among the five rulers Nikephoros distributes the duties of the Pseudo-Methodian eschatological work list culminating in the abdication of the Arab emperor. I propose that Nikephoros combines here the reading of the two most authoritative apocalyptic authors, namely, John of Patmos and Pseudo-Methodius. Nikephoros appreciated the typological framework and the eschatological functions of the Last Roman Emperor motif and remodeled them onto the seven-ruler scheme found in the *Revelations of John*. He did so in order to present encyclopedic material about the history of the Roman Empire,¹⁵⁵ which elucidates the typological parallels between the emperors of the first Christian century under imperial benefaction, i.e., of the fourth century CE, and the eschatological duties of the last emperor(s).¹⁵⁶

It is worth noting that following the Arab emperor’s abdication imperial business continues. A foul woman rules in Constantinople until its submergence by the sea. Even then, imperial power perseveres and is transferred to Rome, Thessaloniki, and Sylaion.¹⁵⁷ Only with the arrival

¹⁵⁴ *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* 860B-C (lines 112-113).

¹⁵⁵ RYDÉN, *The Andreas Salos Apocalypse*, p. 238.

¹⁵⁶ It is interesting that Andrew of Caesarea interpreted the seven rulers from Rev 17:9-10 as to refer to seven founders of various empires with Constantine the Great being the seventh, see SCHMID, *Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia*, p. 188. See further DAGRON, *Constantinople imaginaire. Etudes sur le recueil des ‘Patria’*, Paris, 1984, p. 324.

¹⁵⁷ The choice of these three cities is prefigured in the civil war episode (*Andreas Salos Apocalypse* 860D-861D) preceding the rise of the foul woman. During this war the “three younger men” (νεώτεροι τρεῖς) who fight for imperial power exalt the cities of Rome, Thessaloniki and Sylaion (861A-861B). On the question of why Nikephoros chose these cities,

of the eschatological peoples of the North does imperial power ultimately come to an end. Rydén explained this phenomenon by maintaining that there is a shift in quality after the ceremonial abdication. Accordingly, no good or pious Byzantine ruler follows the abdication.¹⁵⁸ What is more, any imperial restoration will be utterly impossible. My understanding would be that the abdication marks the point, following which there is no chance left to reverse or even to halt the gradual and ultimate decline of the empire. Thus, the abdication motif becomes associated with imperial termination rather than with the *katechōn*, who holds off the Antichrist. Consequently, an important shift is observable: while originally the motif of the abdication signified the abrupt end of the Byzantine Empire, the later tradition reinterpreted this motif so that it merely inaugurated a progressive decline. Both interpretations agree on the notion that the last earthly dominion is the Byzantine Empire, yet they differ in their appreciation of a swift and immediate end of the world.

On the basis of the preceding analysis of the source material, here I am presenting a table in which I have compiled the most important motifs associated with the Last Roman Emperor *topos*. The motifs are ordered according to the eschatological narrative scheme, which all authors fairly follow. The apocalypses are arranged in the order of the hypothetical timeline established in the present study, starting with the original Syriac *Apocalypse* and ending with *Last Daniel*.¹⁵⁹

Rydén proposes an etymological consideration: Rome is associated with ῥώμη (might), Thessaloniki with νίκη (victory), and Syllaion with οὐ συληθήσεται (will not be sacked) (Rydén emends the text here reading οὐ συληθήσεται instead of συλληφθήσεται), see L. RYDÉN, *Zum Aufbau der Andreas Salos-Apokalypse*, in *Eranos*, 66 (1968), p. 116. For an overview of the historical sources pertaining to Syllaion, see V. RUGGIERI and F. NETHERCOTT, *The Metropolitan City of Syllion and its Churches*, in *JÖB*, 36 (1986), pp. 133-156 (esp. pp. 134-144). There is a textual parallel to the motif of imperial transfer from Constantinople to three other cities (including Thessaloniki) in *Last Daniel* §72-73. For an analysis of this tripartite division, see DAGRON, *Constantinople imaginaire*, p. 328.

¹⁵⁸ RYDÉN, *The Andreas Salos Apocalypse*, p. 235.

¹⁵⁹ The chronological sequence of the apocalypses can be disputed. For the sake of brevity, however, I do not present an argumentation here but refer to the discussions above which treat the dating of each apocalypse.

Structural comparison of motifs associated with the Last Roman Emperor *topos*

	Pseudo-Methodius Syr.	Pseudo-Methodius Gr.	Edessene Apocalypse	12 Apostles
Narrative Context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Blasphemous Ishmaelite proposition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Arab siege of C/ple 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – At the end of the Arab dominion, i.e., in the year 694 (?) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – A devastating Arab civil war is being fought out
Identity and characteristics	<p>Last Roman Emperor</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Descendent of Kūshyat, i.e. the mother of Alexander the Great – Second Gideon – Second Jovian 	<p>Victorious Emperor</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Descendent of Kūshyat, i.e. the mother of Alexander the Great – Second Constantine – Second Jovian 	<p>Victorious Emperor</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Second Constantine, who is “from his [i.e., Constantine’s] seed” 	
Mode of appearance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – He awakes from sleep after being thought dead 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – His appearance is associated with a bridle made of Christ’s nails of crucifixion 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> /
Place of appearance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> / 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> / 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> /
Engagement with and destruction of the Ishmaelites	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – He defeats the Arabs chasing them back into the desert – His sons attack from the West annihilating the Arabs, who remained in Palestine – The surviving Arabs are enslaved 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – He attacks from the West, while his son arrives from the South – He defeats the Arabs chasing them to Mecca 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – With the alliance of “all the people of the earth” he defeats the Arabs chasing them back into the desert 	
Aftermath	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Return of captives and the displaced – Prosperity – Retaliation against apostates – General peace, joy – Church building – Tax exemptions for the clergy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Prosperity – General peace and joy – The Roman Empire rules 208 years – Gradual moral decay 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Unification of the Church – General peace – Vigorous rule – Return of captives and the displaced 	
Subsequent emperors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> / 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> / 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> /

Peoples of the North	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Gog/Magog etc. released and defeated by an angel – Gog/Magog etc. released and annihilated by an angel at Mecca 	/
Abdication	<p>Reversal of order:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The Last Roman Emperor enters Jerusalem and rules from it for 10½ years – Following the first signs of the Antichrist he erects the True Cross on Golgotha and abdicates by placing his crown on top of it 	/
Antichrist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The Antichrist appears and rules in Jerusalem until Christ throws him into Gehenna – The Antichrist appears and kills Enoch and Elijah – Christ kills the Antichrist 	/
Last Judgment	– Last Judgment	/
Diegesis Danielis		
Narrative Context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Blasphemous Roman (!) proposition during an Arab siege of C/ple 	Daniel kai šarai
Identity and characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Blasphemous Roman (!) proposition during an Arab siege of C/ple – Victorious Emperor – His initial is <i>kappa</i> – He has two sons – He has the name of an animal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Arabs are called in to support a local fight for the “Rebel city.” Victorious Emperor – His initial is <i>lambda</i> Physiognomy: – crooked nose – sweet voice – signs inscribed on his finger – curtailed stature
Mode of appearance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – God awakes him who was believed dead – He arrives from the east [i.e., Persia or Syria] to C/ple 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – He appears after being thought dead – He is anointed as emperor

Place of appearance	/	- He is found due to divine revelation in the "Rebel city" (Syracuse?)	- He is found due to divine revelation in the "Rebel city" (Syracuse?)
Engagement with and destruction of the Ishmaelites	- He leads a great exit from C/ple and defeats the Arabs (Deut 32:30) - Enslavement of the surviving Arabs	- He defeats the Arabs - He pursues the Arabs in a joint campaign with the "blond races"	- He defeats the Arabs - Together with the "blond races" he chases them to Palestine, where he defeats them with God's help in a great battle - The Arabs are pursued until <i>Akra</i>
Aftermath	- Church building - Military equipment used as agricultural tools - Prosperity, peace - The Victorious Emperor dies peacefully after a 30 year rule	- The Victorious Emperor goes to Rome - Benefactions to the people - He proceeds to C/ple chasing away the c/plitan emperor	- The Victorious Emperor consolidates his power in Rome - Benefactions to the people - The c/plitan emperor and "another emperor" are slain - The Victorious Emperor enters C/ple - Peace, Prosperity, church building - He dies a natural death after a 32-year rule
Subsequent emperors	- A man of the North rules lawlessly - A tall, foreign man (M) or a foul, foreign woman (B) rules in C/ple - Prophecy of the flooding of C/ple	/	- An emperor rules peacefully - Gradual moral decay
Peoples of the North	/	/	- Gog/Magog etc. arrive and are annihilated by an angel - Prophecy about the flooding of C/ple
Abdication	/	/	- Earthquakes, famines, wars - Upon the first sign of the Antichrist the Last Roman Emperor mounts Golgotha and abdicates
Antichrist	- On the arrival, characteristics and rule of the Antichrist - Jewish reign - Three holy men are slain	- The Antichrist appears and rules in Jerusalem - Enoch and Elijah are slain - Christ kills the Antichrist	- The Antichrist appears - Enoch and Elijah are slain - Christ kills the Antichrist
Last Judgment		- Last Judgment	

	Seven-Hilled	Andreas Salos Apocalypse	Last Daniel
Narrative Context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A Roman civil war is fought out in the streets of C/ple 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Following the statement that C/ple will never fall to invaders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Various foreign factions fight in the streets of C/ple
Identity and characteristics	<p>Last Roman Emperor</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A lion, whose name is <i>John</i> - He is poor, old and thought dead 	<p>Victorious Emperor</p> <p>Physiognomy:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - grey-haired, compassionate, just, dressed in poor clothes - rough by appearance, gentle in character - having a nail in his right leg 	<p>Victorious Emperor</p> <p>Physiognomy:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - He is announced by divine revelation - Angelic coronation
Mode of appearance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - He awakes from sleep through an earthquake - Angelic coronation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - God raises him from poverty 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - He is found in the north of C/ple standing on two pillars
Place of appearance	/	/	
Engagement with and destruction of the Ishmaelites	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - He defeats the Arabs and pursues them (Deut 32:30) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Peace and prosperity - Military equipment used as agricultural tools - Then, he defeats the Arabs and achieves great victories 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - He defeats all foreign factions including the Franks, the Tatars and the Arabs, the latter being divided into three parts
Aftermath	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - He rebuilds churches with the support of his four sons - Treasuries are opened and distributed - Prosperity and peace - All Christians have one emperor - He rules for 30 years 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - He rules for 32 years - He grants tax exemptions - Church building - Benefactions to the people - He persecutes the Jews and upholds orthodoxy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Treasuries are opened and distributed - Prosperity - Military equipment used as agricultural tools - The Victorious Emperor dies a natural death after a 32-year rule

Subsequent emperors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - After 12 years the Last Roman Emperor goes to Jerusalem - His four sons wage a devastating civil war 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A son of law/lessness rules for 3 1/2 years - An anti-Christian (pagan) emperor rules - A good Ethiopian emperor reigns for 12 years, builds churches; time of general joy - A good Arab emperor reigns for 1 year before he reassembles the True Cross and abdicates on Golgotha - Civil war breaks out among three young men - A foul woman rules, who burns icons, crosses, gospels; during her reign C/ple sinks into the sea - Imperial power transfers to Rome, Thessaloniki, Sylaiton 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - His successor, the Last Roman Emperor, abdicates in Jerusalem after a 12-year reign - Civil war breaks out among the four sons of the abdicated emperor - A foul woman rules in C/ple - C/ple sinks into the sea - other cities follow suit
Abdication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Last Roman Emperor abdicates: surrounded by many witnesses he erects the True Cross on Golgotha, then angles descend to lift up his crown into heaven 		
Peoples of the North	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gog/Magog etc. arrive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gog/Magog etc. arrive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No Gog/Magog
Antichrist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Antichrist appears - Enoch and Elijah denounce the Antichrist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Antichrist appears - Enoch, Elijah, John are slain 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Antichrist rules - Famines and earthquakes
Last Judgment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Second Coming 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Last Judgment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Last Judgment

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the material surveyed here, the following conclusions regarding the development of the Last Roman Emperor motif can be drawn. First of all, it is intriguing to see how differently the Syriac and the Greek apocalypses approach the *topos* of the Last Roman Emperor. The Syriac sources particularly address the typological functions of the Last Emperor in so far as he is portrayed as a second Gideon, a second Constantine, a second Jovian, and a second Alexander. The Greek apocalypses, on the other hand, pay special attention to the more concrete personality, physiognomy, and individual characteristics of the Pseudo-Methodian Roman emperor. All the *Visions of Daniel* dealt with here show a marked interest in characterizing the Victorious Emperor. One gets the impression that the Syriac texts are preoccupied with legitimating the Byzantine emperorship *per se* as the liberating agent of divine providence, while the Greek texts meet the interest of their respective audiences for learning about the specifics of the emperor who would initiate the eschatological end drama.

This observation can be explained in part by a reference to proximity. Syrian authors were far removed from the emperor's residence and, therefore, unable to witness his appearance during triumphal processions or public celebrations. The Constantinopolitan populace, on the other hand, was accustomed to see the emperor in ritualized performances, such as his presence in the *kathisma*, or in liturgical processions through the capital city.

Furthermore, the Syriac apocalypses, provided their dating to the very late seventh century is correct, were composed in a climate of heightened ideological polemics against the Muslim hegemony and, consequently, replied in rather abstract terms promoting an ideal Last Roman Emperor without specifying his individual characteristics. The Greek tradition, on the other hand, was persistently interested in the personal attributes of the Last Roman Emperor because these attributes were understood as the factors that determined his fitness to rule. I understand the later additions that emphasize the mature age, the humble origin, and benevolent character of the emperor as attempts to ensure the eschatological ruler's moral aptitude to receive the divine grace that ensures victory and success. Wisdom, humility, and benevolence were qualities that a Byzantine emperor had to possess in order to be considered the legitimate incumbent of the throne.¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰ See S. DIEFFENBACH, *Frömmigkeit und Kaiserakzeptanz im frühen Byzanz*, in *Saeculum*, 47 (1996), pp. 35-66 (esp. pp. 58-60), who focuses on the aspect of piety and identifies it as a crucial component for legitimately holding the office of emperor. Dieffenbach does not neglect to mention that the emperor's philanthropy and benevolence are also much-needed qualities.

Such a marked interest in the moral characteristics of the Last Emperor and the suggestion of proximity to the imperial court indicate that the main audience of the Greek apocalyptic narratives examined here was the imperial capital.¹⁶¹

It has become clear that Byzantine apocalypses increasingly specified attributes which they assigned primarily to the Victorious Emperor figure.¹⁶² While some of these attributes were certainly taken from related traditions, others were inspired by historical facts. As in the case of the *Diegesis Danielis* there was a tendency to historicize the Victorious Emperor by identifying this literary *topos* with a historical character such as Leo III. This development warranted the veracity of the attributes (e.g., initial letter of the name, arrival from the east, etc.) while attaining authority through descriptions that functioned as *vaticinia ex eventu*. It is extremely difficult to judge when a new attribute is based on real historical fact and when on purely literary innovation. This is true not only for attributes but also for characters. However, we might be helped by the exegetical principle of particularity: the richer the motif's description, the higher the probability that it refers to a historical reality. In fact, the only specific characterizations of any eschatological figure in the *Visions of Daniel* pertain to the Victorious Emperor. Thus, in the case of the *Diegesis Danielis* there is good reason to consider that the respective descriptions refer to Leo III (or in the case of manuscript M to Theodosius III). At the same time, the subsequent figures, such as the foul woman or the abdicating Last Roman Emperor, are far less detailed and, therefore, not likely to represent historical characters.

It can be observed that the eschatological work list of the Pseudo-Methodian Last Roman Emperor was gradually redistributed among various successive emperors. In the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* the duties of appearing at a moment of great distress, defeating the Arabs, ushering in a period of great prosperity and peace, resisting the onslaught of the unclean peoples of the North and, ultimately, abdicating after a ten-and-a-half-year rule in Jerusalem, are all assigned to one unspecified Byzantine emperor.¹⁶³ It appears that the dissociation of these functions happened gradually. The

¹⁶¹ Cf. DAGRON, *Constantinople imaginaire*, p. 328, who considers Byzantine apocalypses to have become a "Constantinopolitan genre." Dagron's observation needs to be qualified insofar as that there were also 'provincial' apocalyptic narratives. For instance, see J. BAUN, *Tales From Another Byzantium: Celestial Journey and Local Community in the Medieval Greek Apocrypha*, Cambridge - New York, 2007.

¹⁶² These characterizations are first and foremost: his arrival through divine revelation, the initial of his name, his poor origin, his physiognomy, his victory over the Arabs and his prosperous 32-year rule.

¹⁶³ The *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* does not indicate anywhere that there is a succession of emperors.

Edessene Apocalypse does not explicitly dissociate the Victorious Emperor from the abdicating Last Roman Emperor, while the *Diegesis Danielis* and the *Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse* both keep silent about the abdication scene. That is, these last two texts avoid speculating about the relationship between the Last Emperor's abdication and the ultimate eschatological end drama revolving around the unclean peoples of the North and the Antichrist. What matters for these pseudonymous authors is, first and foremost, liberation from the Arab threat. One finds an unambiguous dissociation of the liberating from the abdicating function in *Daniel καὶ ἔσται*. This division became part of the subsequent tradition, as can be seen in the cases of *Last Daniel* and the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse*.¹⁶⁴ The *Seven-Hilled Daniel* presents an exemption from this development.

The trend of dissociation might be explained with the authors' intent to prolong the Byzantine Empire's existence. That is, by distinguishing the Victorious Emperor from the abdicating Last Roman Emperor, the apocalypticists might have attempted to rewrite the history of the future: in contrast to the Pseudo-Methodian scheme, the liberating emperor who is about to arrive differs from the last Byzantine sovereign who will terminate the last earthly kingdom and introduce the very last chapters of the eschatological drama. That is, behind the fragmentation of the Last Roman Emperor motif might lie a reluctance to see the world end just yet. It is worth remarking that an attempt to rewrite the history of the future appears less paradoxical if one considers the divine omnipotence which could, in theory, intervene and change the cosmic plan in accordance with the petitioner's plea to delay the ultimate imperial act of abdication.¹⁶⁵

Reverses of order in the eschatological timeline occur frequently. For instance, the *Edessene Apocalypse* places the imperial abdication after the advent and defeat of the Antichrist. Furthermore, both, the *Seven-Hilled Daniel* and the *Apocalypse of Andreas Salos*, share the inverted sequence of first mentioning the abdication and then the arrival of Gog and Magog.

¹⁶⁴ In this respect the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* presents a remarkable text because it enumerates no less than seven consecutive imperial rulerships: three good emperors, who divide among each other the eschatological functions of the Pseudo-Methodian scheme, two interim wicked emperors, one triumvirate of quarreling despots and, finally, a foul empress. Due to the difficulty of dating this apocalypse it is impossible to say whether it presents a later stage in the dissociation of the various eschatological functions, or it stands at the beginning of this development and is the text that has provided the inspiration for this process. The principle of *lectio brevior* would suggest that the division into seven discrete parts is a later development that follows a simpler division into less numerous parts, as can be seen, for instance, in *Daniel καὶ ἔσται*. Be that as it may, it seems clear that the scheme of a sevenfold division is derived from the Rev 17:9-11.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. MAGDALINO, *The Year 1000*, pp. 266-267.

More significantly, though, the eschatological section of *Andreas Salos* and *Last Daniel* continue their political narrative despite the fact that the Last Roman Emperor has already abdicated. That is, the abdication appears to be increasingly less instrumental for the advent of the Antichrist and is rather perceived as an event which marks the watershed, after which imperial restoration becomes utterly impossible.¹⁶⁶ In other words, the abdication came to lose its direct association with the *katechōn* and began to signify the gradual but final disintegration of imperial power. Again, the gradual decline of the empire should be seen as an attempt to delay the ultimate end.¹⁶⁷

Several apocalypses show an increasing concern about civil war. While initially, the Victorious Emperor appears in a war-torn imperial capital (*Diegesis Danielis*, *Seven-Hilled Daniel*, *Last Daniel*), later narratives such as *Daniel καὶ ἔσται* and the *Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse* portray internal strife between the Victorious Emperor and the emperor presiding in Constantinople. Finally, the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* as well as *Last Daniel* particularly emphasize the internal strife that follows the imperial abdication. Arguably, this development to introduce an ultimate civil war further supports the notion of irreversible and gradual deterioration.

The motif of the Victorious Emperor's sons deserves a brief mention. In the Greek *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, in the *Edessene Apocalypse*, in the *Diegesis Danielis*, and in the *Seven-Hilled Daniel* the liberating Roman emperor is said to be supported by his son(s).¹⁶⁸ In the case of *Daniel καὶ ἔσται* and the *Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse*, the sons of the liberating Roman emperor are not mentioned. However, in their stead the "blond races" are said to assist the Roman emperor in defeating the Arabs.¹⁶⁹ Thus, it can be observed that a tradition existed which replaced the Victorious Emperor's sons with the "blond races." Thus, it seems that an alliance with Latin factions, which predates the era of the Crusades, developed out of the motif of the Last Roman Emperor's sons. It is telling that apocalypses of

¹⁶⁶ This is despite the fact that the abdication scene in *Daniel καὶ ἔσται* §4.9, *Seven-Hilled Daniel* §2.22, and *Last Daniel* §61 all employ the phrasing of 1 Cor 15:24 saying: παραδώσει οὐ παραδότη τὴν βασιλείαν (αὐτοῦ) τῷ θεῷ. Also, the phrasing in the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* 860C (lines 120-1) is clearly referring to this biblical passage. On the significance of this Pauline verse, see K MOSKO, *Rätsel*, pp. 285-286; ALEXANDER, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, p. 165; REININK, *Die Syrische Apokalypse (CSCO, 541)*, pp. 29-31, n. IX,7(3, 7).

¹⁶⁷ Cf. BRANDES, *Endzeitvorstellungen und Lebenstrost*, p. 58.

¹⁶⁸ See *Apocalypse* [13] 11,9-10; *Edessene Apocalypse* 223 (f. 99r), *Diegesis Danielis* §5.10, *Seven-Hilled Daniel* §2.10-14.

¹⁶⁹ See *Daniel καὶ ἔσται* §2.13-14 and *Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse* §5.7-10.

Sicilian origin promote the notion of a military alliance with Latin factions.¹⁷⁰

In another development the notion of the sons contributed to the theme of internal strife. Already in the *Seven-Hilled Daniel*, but also in *Last Daniel* and the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* the descendants of the Victorious Emperor quarrel among themselves, which results in a devastating civil war. Behind this development might lie the notion of Alexander the Great's four generals (or sons).¹⁷¹ The *diadochi* were renowned for quarreling over the remains of Alexander's empire. Also, one might suppose here an allusion to the pre-Constantinian tetrarchy, which was similarly notorious for producing crises.¹⁷² It becomes clear that the cohesion and integrity of the empire of Alexander the Great or that of Constantine the Great was preceded or followed by quarrelsome internal strife. If Constantine established order and unity by putting an end to the tetrarchy, then the final disintegration of the empire would be due to a tetrarchial arrangement. All this suggests that the process of imperial decline came to be understood as a reversal of the imperial rise. In this respect, one can see that the Last Roman Emperor *topos* was continuously considered to be the eschatological antitype of the victorious Constantine and Alexander the Great.

Originally, Constantine the Great was only implicitly present in the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*. It was in the *Edessene Apocalypse* and in the *Gospels of the Twelve Apostles* that the association of the Last Roman Emperor *topos* with the image of the first Christian emperor was worked out. The motif of the bridle, the reference to a (re)united Church, and the emphasis on effective military leadership shifted the typological focus away from Gideon and replaced it with Constantine the Great. The association of the Last Emperor with a second Gideon was subsequently lost.

The apocalyptic texts examined here clearly show an increasing tendency to introduce elements from the *Revelation of John* into the Pseudo-Methodian scheme. The introduction of the two (or at times three) witnesses from Rev 11:3-13 can already be seen in the *Edessene Apocalypse* and the first Greek redaction. The motif of the foul woman, the division of the Last Roman Emperor *topos* into seven consecutive rulers, and the notion of the sinking of the Seven-Hilled Constantinople provide further instances of this tendency. The *Diegesis Danielis*, *Daniel καὶ ἔσται*, *Last Daniel*, and the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* all mention the city's ultimate submergence

¹⁷⁰ See *supra* n. 101, 110.

¹⁷¹ *Apocalypse* [9] 1. The Greek speaks about Alexander's four sons (οἱ τέσσαρες παῖδες αὐτοῦ), who inherit his rule. The Syriac (*Apocalypse* IX.1), on the other hand, mentions Alexander's four general (i.e., the *diadochi*).

¹⁷² DAGRON, *Constantinople imaginaire*, p. 328.

into the sea.¹⁷³ This motif was, in all likelihood, motivated by Rev 18:21, which describes the eventual sinking of Seven-Hilled Babylon. Due to the fact that Constantinople was gradually identified with the Seven-Hilled (Ἑπτάλοφος) City, this biblical prophecy came to be understood as a testimony about the capital's ultimate destiny.¹⁷⁴

It is important to realize that the Greek apocalypses show a marked interest in the fate of the capital.¹⁷⁵ While the Syriac *Apocalypse* does not concentrate on Constantinople but rather on Jerusalem and the Near East, all Byzantine apocalypses surveyed here focus on events that would eventually come about in the imperial capital.¹⁷⁶ The lengthy interpolation of first Greek redaction of Pseudo-Methodius relates the siege of Constantinople and predicts that the Ishmaelites would enter through the Xylokerkos gate and advance as far as the Forum of the Ox, where they would be beaten back by divine intervention.¹⁷⁷ As a result, various locations in the capital became eschatologically charged, which – as Albrecht Berger and Wolfram

¹⁷³ *Diegesis Danielis* §9.4-6, §12.19, *Daniel καὶ ἔσται* §3.10, §4.24, *Last Daniel* §70, and *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* 868B (lines 243-54). See further T. PRÉGER (ed.), *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, II, Leipzig, 1907, p. 190 (§77).

¹⁷⁴ See SCHMID, *Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia*, pp. 201-202. See further W. BRANDES, *Sieben Hügel. Die imaginäre Topographie Konstantinopels zwischen apokalyptischem Denken und moderner Wissenschaft*, in *Rechtsgeschichte*, 2 (2003), pp. 58-71. Additionally, in the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* there are three cataclysmic events in world history: the Great Flood, the invasion of the Midianites, and finally the Ishmaelite conquest. Seen in the Pseudo-Methodian typological framework one can easily speculate that just as the Muslim Arabs are the eschatological repetition of the Old Testament Midianites, so too is the submergence of the Byzantine capital the typological antitype of the Great Flood. At the same time, one should not forget about the possible influence of oracular traditions which prophesy the sinking of various cities and islands. For examples, see W. BRANDES, *Das "Meer" als Motiv in der byzantinischen apokalyptischen Literatur*, in E. K. CHRYSOS, D. LETSIOS, H. A. RICHTER, R. STUPPERICH (eds.), *Griechenland und das Meer. Beiträge eines Symposiums in Frankfurt im Dezember 1996*, Mannheim - Möhnesee, 1999, pp. 127-128.

¹⁷⁵ The apocalypses that are presumably of Sicilian origin (i.e., *Daniel καὶ ἔσται* and the *Pseudo-Chrysostomos Apocalypse*) pay only moderate attention to Constantinople. This indicates, as one might expect, that provincial apocalypses were slightly less interested in the fate of the imperial capital. It also suggests that the apocalypses that devote much attention to the Seven-Hilled City were composed with a Constantinopolitan audience in mind. Cf. MANGO, *Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome*, pp. 207-208.

¹⁷⁶ In the Syriac *Apocalypse* (and in its Greek redaction) there are references to "Rome" (*Apocalypse* V.8) and "Great Rome" (V.4). These mentions are adjacent to references to Thessalonica, Illyria, and the Black Sea, which indicate that what is meant here is the New Rome, i.e., Constantinople. However, Constantinople plays no part in the eschatological end drama. On the importance of Jerusalem in the Syriac Apocalypses, see G. J. REININK, *Alexandre et le dernier empereur du monde: les développements du concept de la royauté chrétienne dans les sources syriaques du septième siècle*, in L. HARF-LANCNER, C. KAPPLER, F. SUARD (eds.), *Alexandre le Grand dans les littératures occidentales et proche-orientales: Actes du Colloque de Paris, 27-29 novembre 1999*, Nanterre, 1999, pp. 149-159.

¹⁷⁷ *Apocalypse* [13] 9-10.

Brandes have properly observed – came to determine the city’s urban planning throughout Byzantine history and beyond.¹⁷⁸

Arguably, the central role that Constantinople came to play in the Byzantine apocalyptic tradition was amplified by the Arab expeditions against Constantinople in the seventh and eighth centuries.¹⁷⁹ In fact, Muslim eschatology focused on the eventual capture of the Byzantine capital and considered the end of the world being dependent on its fall into Muslim hands.¹⁸⁰ Consequently, Constantinople became the new focal point of eschatological expectations of both Christians and Muslims. As a result, the fate of the capital and the actions of the Last Roman Emperor became increasingly linked. First, the emperor was said to arrive from the east to the capital (*Diegesis Danielis* §5.5-8) in order to fend off the besieging Ishmaelites, then he was said to be crowned emperor in Constantinople (*Seven-Hilled Daniel* §2.7, *Last Daniel* §49), and, in at least one apocalypse, he would even be revealed within the city itself (*Last Daniel* §47). That is, the Victorious Emperor’s function became increasingly centered on the defense of the capital and on imperial restoration.¹⁸¹ At the same time, the function of representing the Byzantine Empire became more and more associated with Constantinople. As a result, the Last Roman Emperor could abdicate without the immediate evaporation of imperial power. In the case of the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse* and *Last Daniel* the Seven-Hilled City outlived its Last Roman Emperor.

In sum, it can be asserted that the apocalyptic texts studied here show a tendency to fragment the Last Roman Emperor motif and delay the ultimate end of the world by prolonging the eschatological decline of the Byzantine Empire. What mattered most after the imperial restoration by the Victorious Emperor was the protraction of imperial order.¹⁸² In the attempt to work out conceptual models to prolong the Christian empire, Byzantine apocalyptists used and reused specific eschatological schemes and motifs that belonged

¹⁷⁸ See A. BERGER, *Das apokalyptische Konstantinopel. Topographisches in apokalyptischen Schriften der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, in BRANDES and SCHMIEDER, *Endzeiten*, pp. 136-137 and BRANDES, *Kaiserprophetien und Hochverrat*, *ibidem*, pp. 193-195.

¹⁷⁹ Of course, Constantinople appeared in earlier apocalypses as well. For instance, in the ALEXANDER, *The Oracle of Baalbek*, p. 14 (lines 94-95). See further MANGO, *Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome*, p. 203. However, it was not in the focus of earlier apocalyptic narratives.

¹⁸⁰ See VASILIEV, *Medieval Ideas of the End of the World*, pp. 472-476. See further D. COOK, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam, 21)*, Princeton, NJ, 2002, pp. 53-66, 166-171.

¹⁸¹ On the notion of imperial restoration, see P. ALEXANDER, *The Strength of Empire and Capital as Seen Through Byzantine Eyes*, in *Speculum*, 37 (1962), pp. 349-354.

¹⁸² Cf. PODSKALSKY, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie*, p. 102 and BRANDES, *Endzeitvorstellungen und Lebenstrost*, p. 58.

to a fairly well-defined repertoire of apocalyptic imagery. The persistent use of such motifs led to the perpetuation of the expectations and sentiments they evoked. Put differently, the continued application of the Pseudo-Methodian Last Roman Emperor *topos* contributed to the perpetuation of the seventh-century apocalyptic sentiment, which was characterized by an eschatological struggle with Islam. That is to say, by becoming a vital and indispensable theme of the apocalyptic tradition the Last Roman Emperor motif promoted “politico-religious irredentism”¹⁸³ that conditioned Byzantine eschatological thought for centuries. As Paul Magdalino put it: “In a word, Byzantium never really got over the fact that the world did not end with the Arab conquest.”¹⁸⁴ That being said, the *topos* of a Last Roman Emperor did undergo gradual development and was continuously reinterpreted in order to accommodate the particular hopes and needs of the day.

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SUMMARY

Christian apocalyptic sentiments of the late seventh century produced the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, a Syriac composition which proposes the immediate downfall of the Arab dominion at the hands of a last Roman emperor. This notion of the Last Roman Emperor who – after having defeated the Arabs – would usher in a time of prosperity, face the eschatological people of the North, and ultimately abdicate to God at the end of times developed into an apocalyptic motif of ubiquitous influence. Out of its long-standing and wide-ranging tradition the present article deals with the afterlife of the Pseudo-Methodian Last Roman Emperor motif in the earlier Byzantine apocalyptic tradition.

By means of conceptual comparison I map the use and the adaptations of this literary *topos*, thereby learning how this motif was accommodated to the Byzantine audience and how it became one of the most prominent motifs of Byzantine apocalyptic thought. My source material comprises the original Syriac *Apocalypse*, two Syriac apocalypses that are closely related to it, its first Greek redaction, five apocalypses from the *Visions of Daniel* group, and the *Andreas Salos Apocalypse*. Among others, I conclude that these apocalyptic texts show a tendency to fragment the Last Roman Emperor motif and delay the ultimate end of the world by prolonging the eschatological decline of the Roman Empire.

¹⁸³ P. ALEXANDER, *Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs. The Legend of the Last Roman Emperor*, in *Medievalia et Humanistica*, N.S. 2 (1971), p. 60.

¹⁸⁴ MAGDALINO, *The History of the Future*, p. 31.

THE BYZANTINE OLIVE OIL PRESS INDUSTRY: ORGANIZATION, TECHNOLOGY, PRICING STRATEGIES

INTRODUCTION

This article probes the gamut of activities in the olive oil press industry, encompassing the cultivation of the olive tree, the activities of the olive oil press industry, and the marketing of the olive oil. The organizational structure; location; the methods and mechanical devices employed by the olive oil press industry in the process of decorticating the olives, extraction of the oil from the resulting pulp, and its refinement; and the utilization of the residual products (lees and oil cake) of the oil-pressing process are analyzed in depth. Particular emphasis is placed on the challenges and the attendant service-pricing calculus the oil press industry faced as a capital-intensive, seasonal, and topography bound activity, the impact of the prevailing regional market structure and nature of competition on their decision-making process, and on the role of the state concerning the business organizational form the providers of this service assumed and their price-setting policies.

THE CULTIVATION OF THE OLIVE TREE

Olive trees were a more profitable and reliable revenue-producing asset than arable land: τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλαίας προσόδου ... οὐδεμία γὰρ ἑτέρα πρόσοδος οὕτως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον φυλάττεσθαι δύναται χρόνον (the yield from the olive tree exceeds and lasts longer than that from any other crop); ἀσφαλεῖς καὶ βεβαίους ἔχει τοὺς πόρους ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλαίας πρόσοδος (revenue from the olive tree ensures a reliable and steady return).¹ A highly productive olive tree in Byzantium could yield a return on investment (based on the price of the tree = 1/4 to 1 1/10 *hyperpyra*) amounting to 20-25 %, under the assumption that olive trees bear fruit every two years which is not necessarily correct.² The productivity of the olive tree depends

¹ *Geoponica*, ed. H. BECKH, Leipzig, 1895, p. 233; A. HARVEY, *Economic expansion in the Byzantine empire 900-1200*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 141. As high-value properties, olive trees were taxed more heavily; cf. HARVEY, *ibidem*.

² A. E. LAIOU, *The Agrarian Economy, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries*, in A. E. LAIOU *et al.*, *The Economic History of Byzantium*, Washington, DC, 2002, (hereafter *EHB*), I, p. 359; C. MORRISSON and J.-C. CHEYNET, *Prices and Wages in Byzantium*, in *EHB*, II, pp. 837-839.

on age, the variety cultivated, the density of the olive grove, irrigation, rainfall, husbandry, weather conditions, and whether or not it has been infected by insects and bacteria. The amount of oil contained in the pericarp of the drupaceous olive fruit varies from 60% to 70%.³ Olive trees grow slowly and take time to reach maturity, the implication being that olive groves require a considerable investment in land, cash, and labor. Even after intensive care and irrigation in the early years, olive trees require attention (ἐπιμέλεια, ἐπιμέλεται) entailing annual expenses: plowing, manuring, drainage, pruning, removal of off-shoots. Neglect or inadequate husbandry leads to lower yields, as does protracted drought. Olive trees have certain advantages compared to other cultivations: they are suited to a variety of soils including poor quality and rocky ones; can withstand very dry conditions once they have reached maturity; they yield a marketable and exportable cash crop;⁴ and they are longevous plants lasting 500-600 years.⁵ Despite the very good prospects for a sizable profit, a very small landholder could not afford the investment involved, and could not subsist on an unproductive land for the almost dozen years required for the oil grove to begin to yield an adequate income.⁶ Hence, sizable olive groves typically were owned by relatively large landholders including richly endowed monasteries.⁷ Olive trees thrive in plains, lowlands, and uplands in temperate

³ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδικὸν Λεξικόν, ed. Ἐλευθερουδάκης, Athens, 1927 (hereafter Ἐλευθερουδάκης), s.v. Ἐλαία, pp. 179-180; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Cambridge, 1910-1911, s.v. Olive, pp. 85-86.

⁴ HARVEY, *Economic expansion*, pp. 143-145; Ἐλευθερουδάκης, s.v. Ἐλαία, pp. 178-180, 182-183; *Georonica*, pp. 235-248; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. Olive, pp. 85-86.

⁵ Ἐλευθερουδάκης, s.v. Ἐλαία, p. 178.

⁶ G. TCHALENKO, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord: le massif du Bélus à l'époque romaine*, I (*Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut français d'archéologie du Proche-Orient: Beyrouth-Damas-Amman*, 50), Paris, 1953, p. 413.

⁷ *MM*, IV, pp. 7, 8, 19, 20, 24, 25, 27, 57, 60-61, 62, 64, 76, 78, 80, 89-90, 93-94, 98, 103, 116, 122-123, 134-135, 135, 136-137, 320; *MM*, V, p. 11; *MM*, VI, pp. 6, 10, 11, 14, 15, 19, 28, 36, 37, 38; *Βυζαντινά Ἐγγράφα τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου*, II, ed. M. NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU, Athens, 1980, no. 50, pp. 5-6; no. 52, p. 56; *Actes d'Esphigménou*, ed. J. LEFORT (*ArchAth*, 6), Paris, 1973, Appendix B, p. 188; *Actes de Xénophon*, ed. D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU (*ArchAth*, 15), Paris, 1986, no. 1, pp. 71-72; no. 25, p. 192; *Actes de Xéropotamou*, ed. J. BOMPAIRE (*ArchAth*, 3), Paris, 1964, no. 21, p. 234; *Actes de Docheiariou*, ed. N. OIKONOMIDÈS (*ArchAth*, 13), Paris, 1984, no. 59, p. 299; *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée*, ed. A. GUILLOU (*Bibliothèque Byzantine. Documents*, 3), Paris, 1955, no. 9, p. 55; *Actes d'Iviron*, II, ed. J. LEFORT, N. OIKONOMIDÈS, D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU (*ArchAth*, 16), Paris, 1990, no. 52, p. 233; *The Correspondence of Ignatios the Deacon*, text, transl., commentary by C. MANGO (*CFHB*, 39), Washington, DC, 1997, epist. 4 (p. 35); Chrysobull of Michael VIII Palaeologus (1272), in *JG*, I, pp. 661, 662; H. DELEHAYE, *Deux Typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues*, in IDEM, *Synaxaires byzantins, ménologes, typica*, Variorum Reprints, London, 1977, Part VI, p. 131; H. AHRWEILER, *L'histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081-1317) particulièrement au XIII^e siècle*, in *TM*, 1 (1965), p. 18; M. E. MARTIN, *The Venetians in the Byzantine Empire before 1204*, in *BF*, 13 (1988), p. 212.

climatic zones. In Byzantium, their cultivation extended along the coastlands of the Greek peninsula, Asia Minor, the Ionian and Aegean islands, and in Crete and Cyprus. The regions of south-western Peloponnesus and Smyrna were reputed for their extensive olive groves.⁸

The export of olive oil was prohibited at least up to the 10th century,⁹ to ensure adequate domestic supply of a basic consumer staple.¹⁰ The law was sometimes breached in the outlying commercial centers, but fell in desuetude following the increase in domestic production which lessened the potential risk of shortages, as is evidenced from the extensive privileges granted to Italian merchants in the 11th century and beyond, whereby no restrictions were placed on commodities to be traded or places within or without the empire in which trade could be carried out. In fact, of all the commodities traded by Venetian merchants, olive oil was the most frequently mentioned in the sources. Large quantities of olive oil were exported from many trade centers in the Peloponnesus destined not only to domestic markets, Constantinople in particular, but also to Venice and Alexandria in Egypt.¹¹

⁸ *Geoponica*, pp. 234-235; Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Description des îles de l' Archipel*, ed. E. LEGRAND, Paris, 1980 (= 1897), p. 171; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. R. J. H. JENKINS (CFHB, 1), Washington, DC, 1967, p. 236; HARVEY, *Economic expansion*, pp. 147, 217; M. F. HENDY, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300-1450*, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 49, 52, 53, 57; J. W. NESBITT, *Mechanisms of Agricultural Production on Estates of the Byzantine Praktika*, Ph.D Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1972, pp. 8-9, 10-11; A. E. LAIOU and C. MORRISSON, *The Byzantine Economy*, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 8, 12, 66, 109; P. KARLIN-HAYTER, *Notes sur les archives de Patmos comme source pour la démographie et l'économie de l'île*, in *BF*, 5 (1977), p. 204; AHRWEILER, *Géographie de la région de Smyrne*, pp. 17-18; A. E. LAIOU, *Quelques observations sur l'économie et la société de la Crète vénitienne (ca. 1270-ca. 1305)*, in *EADEM, Gender, Society and Economic Life in Byzantium*, Aldershot, 1992, *Variorum Reprints*, Part X, pp. 179, 182, 185, 195; A. E. LAIOU, *The Byzantine Village*, in *Les villages dans l'Empire byzantin (IV^e-XV^e siècle)*, ed. J. LEFORT, C. MORRISSON, J.-P. SODINI, Paris, 2005, p. 45; J. FRENKEL, *Oil and Olives in the Land of Israel in the Early Muslim Period (634-1099)*, p. 58; *ODB*, s.v. Olive.

⁹ *Basilica* (hereafter *B*), ed. I. D. ZEPOS (*Βασιλικά*), I-IV, Athens, 1896-1900, *B*. 19. 1. 83; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, in *JG*, V: A. III. 16.

¹⁰ Depending on the region, olive trees produced a great variety of olives, some suitable for relish following many distinct ways of preparation (edible olives), but mostly for the production of olive oil used for cooking, salad dressings, liniments, soap, etc. Ἐλευθερουδάκης, s.v. Ἐλαία, pp. 178-179; *Geoponica*, pp. 258-259; Ph. KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, Athens, 1948-1952, vol. V, pp. 34-35; LAIOU and MORRISSON, *The Byzantine Economy*, pp. 30, 114.

¹¹ A. E. LAIOU, *Monopoly and Privileged Free Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (8th-14th Century)*, in *Chemins d'outre-mer*, ed. D. COULON, C. OTTEN-FROUX, P. PAGÈS, D. VARERIAN, II, Paris, 2004, pp. 512, 519-521; A. E. LAIOU, *Exchange and Trade, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries*, in *EHB*, II, pp. 751-752; HARVEY, *Economic expansion*, pp. 217, 223; D. JACOBY, *Italian Privileges and Trade in Byzantium Before the Fourth Crusade: A Reconsideration*, in *IDEM, Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean*, *Variorum Reprints*, Aldershot, Hampshire, 1997, Part II, pp. 349-368, esp. 365, 366; *IDEM, Venetian commercial expansion in the eastern Mediterranean, 8th-11th centuries*, in *Byzantine*

OLIVE OIL-MAKING TECHNOLOGY

Olive oil-making involves the removal of the kernel from the olives (decortication) without crushing them to prevent spoiling the quality of the oil; extraction of the oil from the resulting pulp by the application of pressure in the olive press (ἐλαιοτρόπιον); and the separation of the commercially useful but highly contaminating lees (ἀμόργη, *amurca*) from the oil. Oil-making was a demanding craft, as the operators had to have the requisite skill and empirical knowledge to determine the right amount and duration of the pressure to be applied, the timing and synchronization of successive tasks, and the mechanical skill to operate and maintain the equipment. The sequential stages of oil-making were brought together in vertically integrated olive oil mills, whose construction, installation, and operation required a substantial capital investment.

Treatment of the Olives before Milling

The timely and proper gathering of the olives is of great importance. To find out whether the olives were sufficiently ripe for picking, a test was performed by squeezing the juice out from a sample through a funnel into a flask and inspecting the taste and smell of the separated oil. The picking was made in November-December, in fair weather, and preferably by hand, shaking the branches when the olives are too far off for picking, or tapping the branches with pliant twigs to avoid bruising the olives. Harsher methods of picking will knock off branches and thus diminish next year's harvest – hence the popular notion that olive trees produce a good crop every other year. Before the olives were hauled to the mill, all extraneous material was removed: they were stripped of their stalks, sifted, and cleansed with warm water. As soon as they had dried out, they were transported to the oil mill in baskets where they were weighed. It was advisable that the freshly picked olives be processed without delay and not be piled up on the floor of the mill as the exuded heat affected the quality of the oil. Once in the mill, before removing the kernel, the olives were softened by steeping them in hot water and, usually, by adding natural salt to facilitate the separation of the oil from the pulp and to prevent the oil from thickening.¹²

Trade, 4th-12th Centuries, ed. M. MUNDELL MANGO, Farnham, 2009, pp. 378-379, 384, 389; M. BALARD, *La Romanie génoise: XIII^e - début du XV^e siècle (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 235)*, Rome, 1978, p. 30; MARTIN, *Venetians*, p. 212; LAIOU and MORRISON, *The Byzantine Economy*, pp. 55, 114, 135, 146; HENDY, *Studies*, p. 52.

¹² *Geoponica*, pp. 100, 248-250; Ἐλευθερουδάκης, s.v. Ἐλαιον, pp. 183-184; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, V, pp. 275-276; R. J. FORBES, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, III, Leiden, 1955, pp. 102-103; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. Oils, pp. 45-46; K. D. WHITE, *Farm Equipment of the Roman World*, Cambridge, 1975, pp. 225-226.

Decortication of the Olives

The removal of the kernel from the tough skin of the olive is achieved by partly crushing the olive, extracting the kernel, and then expressing the oil. There was appreciable development in the kernel and oil extraction technology during the Byzantine era. Typical designs of oil mills in use for removing the kernel were the primitive *mola olearia*, which underwent notable improvements over time both in terms of ensuring the stability of the millstones and the capacity to handle olives of varying sizes; and the *revolving mill* (*trapetum* = τρέπω = turn, revolve). Both devices, whether housed or unsheltered, were installed independently but in close proximity to the oil press in order to synchronize their operation. They worked on the principle of a pair of vertical rollers turning on a central spindle in a heavy stone mortar, the surfaces being set at a distance sufficient to cause the kernels to be released without crushing them. In the *mola olearia* device the millstones were cylindrical, had a flat surface, and were adjustable; the surface of the mortar was also flat. The millstones were rotated on a horizontal axle that was carried by a vertical beam placed in the middle of the mortar and which also turned around. The *revolving mill* consisted of a pair of millstones with a flat inner and a convex outer surface set vertically, the curvature being made to match the concave curvature of the mortar in which they revolved. In the middle of the circular mortar stood a solid column in the top of which was set an upright iron pin fastened with lead. A wooden beam was fitted over the pivot which carried the two plano-convex millstones. In both devices the millstones were turned manually or by animal power. The intensity of the power applied and the duration of the crushing varied in accordance with the quality of the olives. Rich in oil (and hence containing less watery liquid) olives required harder crushing in order to obtain an unctuous pulp, whereas the watery ones needed moderate crushing in order to prevent the pulp from becoming too liquid. The duration of the crushing was a function of the maturity of the olives. A major drawback of the revolving mill was that the adjustment of the millstones upward or downward to accommodate the varying size of the olives was impossible save by structural alteration. Any change in the height of the axles of the millstones would throw the matching curves out upsetting the whole process. The curved millstones could do the milling effectively only at the height for which they were originally set, suggesting that the design of the revolving mill was inflexible and incapable of technical improvement. In contradistinction, the *mola olearia* mill had distinct advantages and probably was the most frequently used device in Byzantium: the millstones could be lowered or raised to suit the size of the olives and thereby prevent the complete crushing of the kernel; building and

installation of the mill were less expensive; and the design made easier the organization of the milling process.¹³

Extraction of the Oil

The result of removing the kernel from the olive by any of the devices described is to produce a mushy pulp of pitted smashed olives. The next stages involved removing the oil from the pulp and separating it from the lees, the water, and other impurities. The first person who expressed olives packed in a sack by heaping stones on them to produce oil may be considered as the forerunner of the inventors of all the presses that subsequently came into use.¹⁴ A centuries old, and still used in villages in Anatolia, simple press consists only of a stone or wooden trough of oblong form, furnished with a spout by which the oil runs into a wooden tank. The olives are crushed by trampling on them with clogs (ὑποδήματα ξύλινα μεθ' ὧν τὰς ἐλαίας πατοῦσι), the pulp is put in bags, and then placed in the trough. A wooden plank is then placed above the bags on which men stand to press out the oil. The method certainly is primitive and wasteful and the extracted oil is of inferior quality.¹⁵ Still, the device is inexpensive, handy for processing small quantities of olives by the peasants themselves, and convenient in remote areas where transport is problematic. The continued use of the device attests to its practicality.

The oil was expressed, i.e. squeezed out of the pulp under pressure, fundamentally by either of two devices: the *lever press* or the *direct-screw press*, which kept improving technically and operationally over time. Apparently, both devices were used in Byzantium. The *simple lever press*, in its most primitive form, consisted of a horizontal press-beam which bent down at the free end by the weight of two heavy boulders, while a man standing further along the beam applied some extra pressure. In an improved design, massive vertical columns were set up at either end, anchoring them into the floor to take the thrust, while ropes, pulleys, and a capstan were substituted for the clumsy stone weights. Subsequently, a better method of

¹³ K. D. WHITE, *Greek and Roman Technology*, Ithaca, New York, 1984, pp. 71-72 and the designs therein; IDEM, *Farm Equipment*, pp. 225-229; FORBES, *Studies*, 103; Ἐλευθερουδάκης, s.v. Ἐλαιον, p. 184; O. CALLOT, *Huileries antiques de Syrie du Nord (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut français d'archéologie du Proche-Orient: Beyrouth-Damas-Amman, 118)*, Paris, 1984, p. 19; A. KLONER and N. SAGIV, *The Technology of Oil Production in the Hellenistic Period: Studies on the Crushing Process in Maresha*, in *Olive Oil in Antiquity*, ed. M. HELTZER and D. EITAM, Haifa, 1987, pp. 133-138; C. MORRISSON and J.-P. SODINI, *The Sixth-Century Economy*, in *EHB*, I, p. 198; *ODB*, s.v. Olive Press.

¹⁴ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. Oils, p. 47.

¹⁵ WHITE, *Farm Equipment*, p. 227 and n. 1; FORBES, *Studies*, p. 131; W. R. PATON and J. L. MYRES, *On Some Karian and Hellenic Oil-Presses*, in *JHS*, 18 (1898), p. 209.

raising and lowering the press-beam was devised by replacing the ropes and the capstan and using instead a screw fixed to the floor of the pressroom and passing through the free end of the lever – the *screw-and-lever press*. The screw was fixed to the floor in such a way that it could turn without giving way upwards. The lever could then be moved up or down by turning it by handles fixed on it below the lever. In a further improvement on the screw-and-lever device, the screw, instead of being attached to the floor, was secured to a weight of stone and made hang clear of the floor. In this way the task of lowering the press-beam became much easier and also simplified the problem of raising the heavy beam after the pressing is complete. The ensuing innovation was to dispense with the lever altogether: to use the screw for direct pressure on the pulp – the *direct-screw press*. In this design by Heron of Alexandria, the screw was firmly anchored to withstand the severe reverse pressure as the squeezing process reached its maximum, thereby eliminating the long, clumsy, and space-filling lever. Heron's single screw press was portable and was contained within a rectangular frame which resembled a letter-press. His heavier twin-screw press was housed, anchored into the floor, and had a movable beam which came down as the screws were turned. Both presses had one indispensable feature in common – the provision of a female screw-thread in the beam itself.¹⁶

¹⁶ WHITE, *Farm Equipment*, pp. 229-231 and designs therein; *Geoponica*, p. 171; A. KAZHDAN, *The Peasantry*, in *The Byzantines*, ed. G. CAVALLO, Chicago, 1997, p. 50; *ODB*, s.v. Olive Press. Lever and screw oil presses are found in the Pontus, Bithynia, Phrygia, Caria, and Judea. LAIOU and MORRISSON, *The Byzantine Economy*, p. 31; R. FRANKEL, *Oil Presses in Western Galilee and the Judaea – A Comparison*, in *Olive Oil in Antiquity*, p. 66; C. R. CONDOR and H. H. KITCHENER, *Survey of the Western Palestine*, I, London, 1881, p. 56. For descriptions of vertically integrated oil mills of similar design found in archaeological excavations, their development over time, and their likely working principles, see CALLOT, *Huileries antiques*, pp. 20-77; FORBES, *Studies*, pp. 134-136, 146-148; FRANKEL, *Oil Presses*, pp. 63-72 and Figures 1-4; R. SAIDAH, *Archaeology in the Lebanon 1968-1979*, Beirut, 1979, p. 181; S. HADJISAVVAS, *An Introduction to Olive Oil Production in Cyprus*, in *Olive Oil in Antiquity*, pp. 99-104; J.-L. BISCOP, *Deir Dêhès monastère d'Antiochène (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut français d'archéologie du Proche-Orient: Beyrouth-Damas-Amman, 148)*, Beyrouth, 1997, pp. 21-26; P. O. LONG, *Technology and Society in the Medieval Centuries: Byzantium, Islam, and the West, 500-1300*, Washington, DC, 2003, p. 10; TCHALENKO, *Villages antiques*, pp. 361-372; R. CRESSWELL, *Un pressoir à olives au Liban: Essai de technologie comparée*, in *L'Homme – Revue française d'anthropologie*, 5 (1965), pp. 33-63; A. SARDINAS, *Old Olive Oil Mills on the Island of Corfu (Greece)*, Memphis (USA), 1971; PATON and MYRES, *Karian and Hellenic Oil-Presses*, pp. 209-217; O. CALLOT, *Les huileries et l'huile au Bronze Récent: Quelques exemples Syriens et Chypriotes*, in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, Supplément*, 36 (1993), pp. 55-63; K. AHMET, *A middle Byzantine olive press room at Aphrodisias*, in *Anatolian Studies*, 51 (2001), pp. 159-167; G. AGROUD, *Une huilerie à Salamine*, in *Salamine de Chypre*, IV, *Anthologie salaminienne*, Paris, 1973, pp. 203-219; R. FRANKEL, *Wine and Oil Production in Antiquity in Israel and Other Mediterranean Countries*, Sheffield, 1999, pp. 46-48, 56-58, 61-84, 107-118, 122-137, 147-148; J. RUSSEL, *Anemourion*, in *EHB*, I, p. 223.

To express the oil, the olive pulp was built up in layers of bags separated by flat slabs of wood. By lowering the press-beam the pulp was squeezed and the oil flowed from spouts into a vat. The pressure was applied gradually until oil ceased to flow out of the bags. The oil was then drawn into another settling vat filled with water where the separation of the oil from the lees took place by a method based on the principle of gravitation: lees and other impurities fell to the bottom and drawn off through a spout, while the oil came to the surface and was drawn out into another vat. The separation of the oil from the water was done as quickly as possible as the consistency of the oil could be adversely affected. The pulp was then soaked in hot water and subjected to a second and third pressing by raising the pressure. This facilitated the separation of the oil from the pulp and increased the yield but it also affected the quality of the oil (taste, smell, color) and was not recommended for top quality olive oils.¹⁷

Refinement of the Oil

As the methods of extracting the olive oil were crude, impurities (water, remnants of vegetable tissues, mucilaginous matter, traces of moisture) remained. For the most part, these foreign substances were removed by a physical process of refining, involving the transfer of the oil from one vat to another every day for a few days at first and every 2-4 days subsequently. But even after this purification, the oil still contains small quantities of foreign substances. To maintain the desired quality of the edible olive oil, two decantations, one in the spring and one in the fall, are necessary to remove the sediment from the oil before the high summer temperatures and before the cold winter weather set in. Also, the olive oil is best maintained if protected from exposure to air, light, heat, and humidity to prevent oxidization which renders it rancid.¹⁸ Practical methods of old were used for cleansing rancid, fetid or turbid olive oil.¹⁹

Turning to Account the Residue

Left over from the oil-pressing process were lees mixed with water and other impurities and the compressed oil cake. Both contained a small quantity of oil which was worth recovering. The lees were placed in a vat where

¹⁷ *Geoponica*, pp. 250-251; FORBES, *Studies*, p. 104; Ἐλευθερουδάκης, *s.v.* Ἴλαιον, p. 184; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *s.v.* Oils, pp. 47-48.

¹⁸ *Geoponica*, p. 251; Ἐλευθερουδάκης, *s.v.* Ἴλαιον, pp. 184-185; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *s.v.* Oils, pp. 44-45, 49.

¹⁹ *Geoponica*, pp. 252-254.

the oil was extracted from the water and the other foreign substances by gravitation: being lighter, the oil remained on the surface and it was easy to collect, whereas the other constituent substances, being heavier, fell to the bottom. The oil thus obtained, possibly along with other rancid and high-acid oils not fit for consumption, was processed and used in soap-making, illumination, lubrication, etc.²⁰ Also, lees mixed with fresh water was used as fertilizer in olive trees.²¹ The oil contained in the oilcake was extracted by crushing the kernels under pressure and placing the mush in vats filled with water, where the oil suspended on the surface and was collected. The residue was used as animal feed, fertilizer, and fuel.²²

ORGANIZATION AND LOCATION OF THE OLIVE OIL MILLS

Olive oil mills or presses (ἐλαιοτριβεῖα, τζυμλαρεῖα), combining the partial crashing of the olives, the extraction of the oil from the resulting pulp, and the refinement of the oil, entailed a sizable investment, operated seasonally (about two months a year), and were driven by brawn or animal power. The location of the olive oil presses was dictated by the perishability of the olives when carried over long hauls, pointing to the need to find sites that minimized the distance between olive groves and mills; and by the aim to minimize the transport cost of the olive oil to the locations to be marketed, as it was much cheaper to haul olive oil because of the high proportion of weight loss of the olives during processing (up to 80%). As a material-oriented industry, olive oil processing plants therefore should be located near the source of the raw material they used – the olive groves. Thus, olive oil mills were rationally located in towns or their environs with proximity to olive groves or close to clusters of olive-growing villages. Oil mills of larger size were found in towns and large villages, while small olive presses and hand presses in small olive groves and in the courtyards of houses (*intra muros*), where the owners extracted the oil themselves.²³

²⁰ Ἐλευθερουδάκης, *s.v.* Ἐλαιον, p. 185.

²¹ *Geoponica*, pp. 241-243; Ἐλευθερουδάκης, *s.v.* Ἐλαιον, p. 185.

²² Ἐλευθερουδάκης, *s.v.* Ἐλαιον, p. 188; *Geoponica*, p. 249; CALLOT, *Huileries antiques*, p. 31.

²³ C. DAUPHIN, *Villes et "villages-campements" byzantins du Golan*, in *JÖB*, 32 (1982), p. 618; J.-P. SODINI et al., *Déhès (Syrie du Nord) campagnes I-III (1976-1978)*, in *Syria*, 57 (1980) p. 292; TCHALENKO, *Villages antiques*, pp. 372-373; CALLOT, *Huileries antiques*, pp. 117-125; IDEM, *Huileries et huile*, pp. 56, 60; Y. HIRSCHSFELD and R. BIRGER-CALDERON, *Early Roman and Byzantine Estates near Caesaria*, in *Israel Exploration Journal*, 4 (1991), pp. 88-89; J. RUSSELL, *Anemourion*, in *EHB*, I, p. 223 and n. 9; A. MOUTZALI, *Sparta*, in *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, 34 (1979), Part B 1, p. 159; G. D. R. SANDERS, *Corinth*, in *EHB*, II, p. 652.

Occasionally oil presses were attached to churches or monasteries, or were owned by village communities.²⁴

Contrary to the very large number of *grain* mills owned by monasteries,²⁵ implying that investments in such facilities were less “capital intensive”, were less complex to operate, could be rented out, and yielded satisfactory returns, mention of *olive oil* mills owned by monasteries is scanty²⁶ despite the fact that they were major owners of large olive groves,²⁷ suggesting that the preponderance of oil mills were owned by private individuals either as a profit-making industrial service activity or by owners of large estates who might also use the *corvée* of their dependent peasants (*paroikoi*).²⁸ As going concerns in a “capital intensive” industry, large oil mills were owned and operated by better off individuals (landlords or merchants) either as sole proprietorships or by forming partnerships. Oil mills owned by monasteries probably were rented out to private operators as olive pressing was a fairly complicated activity; the task was arduous and required skilled labor; and a private operator would ensure better organization of the operation during the very short and busy season and a higher capacity utilization. Smaller olive presses were owned by individuals with limited resources. Olive mills owned by monasteries, as all other *autourgia*,²⁹ were exempted

²⁴ TCHALENKO, *Villages antiques*, p. 360; BISCOP, *Monastère d'Antiochène*, pp. 21-26.

²⁵ G. C. MANIATIS, *The Personal Services Market in Byzantium*, in *Byz*, 74 (2004), pp. 42-44 and ns. 58-64.

²⁶ *MM*, II, p. 82; *MM*, VI, p. 38; *Archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrôme*, no. 35, p. 116; *Βυζαντινά Έγγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου*, no. 52, p. 56; S. LAMBROS, in *NE*, 3 (1906), pp. 202-203; CALLOT, *Huileries antiques*, 1984, p. 118; KARLIN-HAYTER, *Archives de Patmos*, p. 204; BISCOP, *Monastère d'Antiochène*, p. 21; A. LEONE, *Topographies of Production in North African Cities during the Vandal and Byzantine Periods*, in *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, ed. L. LAVAN and W. BOWDEN (*Late Antique Archaeology*, 1), Leiden, 2003, pp. 264-269. The monastery of Nea Mone owned and rented out a flaxseed mill producing linseed oil (λινελαιοτριβικὸν ἐργαστήριον, τζυμιλαρεῖον) located in Thessalonike. *Actes de Lavra*, III, ed. P. LEMERLE, A. GUILLOU, N. SVORONOS, D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU (*ArchAth*, 10), Paris, 1979, no. 168, pp. 183-184.

²⁷ See n. 7 above.

²⁸ *Paroikoi* were obligated to provide for free part of their working time, ranging from 12 to 52 days a year, to the landlord in whose domain their holdings happened to be located. *ODB*, s.v. *Corvée*. The view that oil mills were largely in private hands is also shared by C. MORRISON and J.-P. SODINI, *The Sixth-Century Economy*, in *EHB*, I, p. 198; K.-P. MATSCHKE, *The Late Byzantine Economy, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries*, in *EHB*, V, p. 493.

²⁹ *Autourgion* (αὐτούργιον) denoted any productive, profit-making (εὐπρόσοδον), “capital intensive” fixed asset, such as saltworks, grain mills, brickyards, olives groves, oil mills, vineyards, canals, fisheries. These assets were exploited as domain property, in the sense that they were operated by the owner or his representatives by using the labor of his slaves, the *corvée* of his *paroikoi*, or hired labor (particularly skilled workers). G. A. RHALLIS and M. POTLES, *Syntagma*, II, p. 593, ll. 19-20; p. 595, ll. 4-7; N. SVORONOS, *Les privilèges de l'Église à l'époque des Commènes: Un rescrit inédit de Manuel I^{er} Comnène*, in *TM*, 1 (1965),

from all fiscal obligations including taxes.³⁰ Buildings housing oil mills by law had to keep a certain distance from the citizens' houses, as during the process of oil extraction noxious fumes were emitted which were harmful to public health.³¹ The state refrained from prescribing business organizational forms for the providers of this service, and did not interfere with their pricing policies, appreciating the impracticality of such interventions and preferring to relegate the task to the operative market forces and the price mechanism.³² The return on oil mill investment cannot be estimated given the lack of data regarding the type of apparatus installed, plant scale, construction costs, the demand for and the quality of the service offered, operating expenses, efficiency of operation, quality of maintenance, the balance between crushing and pressing capacities, the degree of utilization of the facilities, taxes, and the fee they charged the users which depended on the regional market structure and the degree of competition

p. 329, n. 22; P. CHARANIS, *Monastic Properties and the State*, in *DOP*, 4 (1948), p. 79 and n. 80; F. DÖLGER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts* (BA, 9), Leipzig, 1927 (= Hildesheim, 1960), p. 151; N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance*, Athens, 1996, pp. 185, 208, 248; *ODB*, s.v. Autourgion.

³⁰ *Novels* 58 (1153) and 61 (1158) of Manuel I Comnenus, in *JG*, I, pp. 378-381 and 381-385, respectively; *Novel* 30 (1272) of Michael VIII Palaeologus, in *JG*, I, pp. 660-663; *Novel* 23 (1301) of Andronicus II, in *JG*, I, pp. 523-527; *Actes de Lavra*, I, no. 38, p. 218; no. 44, p. 243.

³¹ D. GHINIS, *Τὸ Ἐπαρχικὸν Βιβλίον καὶ οἱ Νόμοι Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ Ἀσκαλωνίτου*, in *EEBS*, 13 (1937), pp. 189-190; *Hexabiblos* (Ἑξάβιβλος), II, 4, 20, ed. K. G. ΠΙΤΣΑΚΗΣ, Athens, 1971.

³² As a rule, commodity prices in Byzantium were established by market forces under conditions of free and fair competition within a framework of a private enterprise system. However, in the capital only, the *edible* olive oil was distributed by guild-organized grocers whose maximum profit margin was limited to one *miliaresion* per *nomisma*, or 6%. *Book of the Eparch* (Ἐπαρχικὸν Βιβλίον) (hereafter *BE*), 13. 1. 5, in J. KODER, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen* (CFHB, 33), Vienna, 1991. Nevertheless, fixing profit margins is not tantamount to fixing prices. The reason is that the wholesale price structure – the bedrock for retail price formation – was allowed to reflect the prevailing demand and supply conditions as well as prospective price movements and, as a result, the retail price reflected wholesale price movements and the buyer felt the impact of any price adjustments. Besides, setting profit margins did not preclude competition as vendors might be inclined to accept a lower than the maximum allowed margin in order to increase sales volume, aiming at maximizing total instead of unit profits. For details on divergent views about price controls and the impact of capping profit margins, see G. C. MANIATIS, *Price Formation in the Byzantine Economy, Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries*, in *Byz*, 73 (2003), pp. 401-420, 424-440 and n. 79. By contrast, the sale of *inedible* olive oil used as fuel in lamps for illumination in houses, particularly by low-income people who made up the largest part of the capital's population, was assigned to the guild of candlemakers (*BE*, 11. 5), in compliance with the rule that no guild was allowed to undertake the economic activity assigned to another (*B.* 60. 32. 1; *BE*, 2. 1; 4. 1, 7; 5. 1; 6. 14, 15; 8. 6; 9. 6; 10. 1, 5, 6; 11. 2, 8; 12. 4, 6; 13. 1; 14. 2; 15. 1; 18. 5; 21. 7. For detail see G. C. MANIATIS, *The Guild-Organized Candle Manufacturing Industry in Constantinople – Tenth-Twelfth Centuries*, in *Bsl*, 67 (2009), pp. 211-212.

THE OLIVE OIL MILLERS' PRICING STRATEGIES

Depending on the topography, size of olive groves, and the distribution of the oil mills in a given area, a local oil miller might enjoy a situational *monopoly*, if the users had no ready access to other suppliers of the service within a reasonable travel distance. Yet, facing a largely subsisting patronage of small owners of olive groves who could not afford to own a milling capacity or pay a high fee, as well as the potential loss of discontented well-off users who might be compelled to install their own olive press, possibly by sharing the cost and ownership with their neighbors in some cooperative form, the oil miller effectively became a *nominal* monopolist, in the sense that he could not realistically maximize his profit and would have to settle for a lower fee, albeit high enough to enable him to earn a satisfactory return on his investment if he was an owner, or pay the rent, meet his other running expenses, and make a sufficient profit so that he can stay in business if he was a renter (*satisficing* business behavior).³³ Fees might have varied among regions, but custom and tradition very likely resulted in a uniform local fee, usually a percentage of the quantity of the extracted olive oil. This customary arrangement was mutually convenient: the user of the service did not have to pay cash, while the oil miller could trade the withheld olive oil and make an extra profit. Moreover, the oil miller could increase further his revenue by selling the residue of the oil pressing (lees and the oil cake) which could be processed further to obtain inedible oil used for lighting and other purposes.³⁴ Since conventions introduce rigidities, milling fees, especially since payment was mostly in kind, probably were infrequently adjusted and only to reflect fluctuations in the price of olive oil, the value of the currency, or inflation.

In theory, the oil miller enjoying a situational monopoly had the power to practice *price discrimination*, i.e. charge a fee for his service that varied with the ability of his clients to pay. By charging worse off clients a lower fee and better off ones a higher fee, he could increase his profitability, as he was in a position to dictate the amount of the charge (take it or leave it). But in practice, the nature of the service, involving repeated dealings with

³³ Satisficing behavior conveys the notion of enterprises striving for a minimum or merely satisfactory level of profits rather than a maximum or optimum level of profitability in their effort to adapt to their surrounding circumstances – optimization under a set of constraints. For detail see H. A. SIMON, *Decision-Making in Economics and Behavioral Science*, in *American Economic Review*, 49 (1959), pp. 253-283.

³⁴ MANIATIS, *Candle Manufacturing*, pp. 211-212, and n. 32 above. The sediments of the oil (ἀμόργη) were processed by the ἀμμυδάριος, a craft to be distinguished from that of the olive presser (ἐλαιοτριβής). ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, II, 1, p. 190.

the same users, did not lend itself to this pricing formula because making *ad hoc* deals each time had important repercussions. Specifically, varying fees could easily lead to recriminations over the fairness of the fee and undue discrimination among his clients; there were inherent difficulties in fathoming the financial situation of his clients, particularly of those not residing in the same locality; or, because of the nature of the business, the oil miller might suffer a credibility gap by raising suspicion of delivering underweight or adulterated (e.g., elevated sediment content) olive oil compared to some producers' expectations, a situation that could arise for various and hard to prove reasons: since the method of extracting the olive oil was crude, impurities of one kind or another always remained;³⁵ the quantity and quality of the extracted oil could vary depending on the oil content of the olive fruit which is related to regional and seasonal climatic conditions, irrigation, etc.; the time of harvesting the olives which affected their ripeness; the treatment of the olives before processing, e.g. failure to remove all extraneous material; the number of times the extraction process is repeated. It would seem that a uniform fee established by long practice and set at a level that would forestall new entry, i.e., prevent the construction of rival mill nearby, though below the monopoly price (*limit price*), would still be to the oil miller's advantage as ensuring above normal profits, instilling confidence in his dealings, and resulting in better relations with his clientele.

In the event that a group of large olive grove owners accounting for the bulk of the monopolist oil miller's business acted in concert by unspoken understanding or informed cooperation³⁶ during the pre-harvest time frame to set a fee to their advantage, a situation of *bilateral monopoly* arises.³⁷ In this approach, since both sides command substantial market power and can exercise a varying degree of control over the fee, the price mechanism is inoperative and the level of the fee is *indeterminate* within a wide range. In the absence of impersonal market forces, the final outcome depends on bargaining strength, maneuvering skills, ability to wait, or willingness to compromise. Oil miller dominance, producer dominance, or balanced power all are within the realm of possibilities. The fee therefore may fall in either limit if one side has dominant market power, or may fall uncertainly between these extreme limits. Yet, the owners of the olive groves were at a

³⁵ Ἐλευθερουδάκης, *s.v.* Ἴλαιον, p. 184.

³⁶ Overt collusion was illegal, albeit difficult to prove. *B.* 19. 18. 1; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, in *JG*, V: Π. 24. 1; Attaleiates, *Ponema*, in *JG*, VII: 11. 7; *Synopsis Minor*, in *JG*, VI: M. 4.

³⁷ For an in depth analysis of the participants' pricing strategy under bilateral monopoly, see J. S. BAIN, *Pricing, Distribution, and Employment*, New York, 1953, pp. 394-396, 432-436; E. SCHNEIDER, *Pricing and Equilibrium*, London, 1962, pp. 299-313.

major disadvantage because they could not afford to wait as time was of the essence: if olives are not harvested and pressed in a timely fashion, the quantity and quality of the extracted olive oil will suffer materially resulting in substantial financial loss. Cognizant of their predicament, the oil miller could stall for time and would likely prevail, rendering the scheme of the owners of the olive groves without effect and hence unlikely.

To the extent that there is a degree of *competition* among a few oil millers in a given locality, be it a town or a rural area, an *oligopoly* situation arises, implying the presence of a very limited number of providers and many unorganized users of the service.³⁸ In this instance, all oil millers render basically the same (homogeneous) service and hence the users are indifferent between providers, provided there was no credibility gap concerning accurate deliveries;³⁹ the number of rival oil millers is small enough that each knows that his actions visibly affect the attitude of the others; and rivalry is open and conscious. In effect, individual behavior is also group behavior and can assume many patterns, since each provider of the service usually controls a significant share of the market, so that decisions in setting fees become directly interdependent (*mutually recognized interdependence*). As a result, no one can independently cut his fee without inducing a chain reaction; nor can any one increase his fee and hope to retain his clientele, unless he can induce his rivals to raise their fees too. In the absence of concerted action which was difficult to arrange and illegal, no provider can be certain how his rivals will react to a change in his fee, since changes undertaken independently will inevitably bring on intrinsically uncertain responses with unpredictable results on the volume of his business – the demand for his services becomes *indeterminate*. In the face of a homogeneous service and the interdependence syndrome, rival fees inevitably tend to become identical. This suggests that, if the rivals adjust their pricing policies to each other, fees tend to be uniform, fairly stable, and at a level likely to ensure above normal profits.

An oil miller nonetheless might try to dominate the competitive market by lowering his fee or merely by pursuing an aggressive fee-setting rivalry. The result in this instance would be price war, as each competitor would

³⁸ For a deeper understanding of enterprise behavior in oligopolistic situations, see BAIN, *Pricing*, pp. 332-339; D. S. WATSON, *Price Theory and its Uses*, New York, 1968, pp. 361-371; C. E. FERGUSON, *Microeconomic Theory*, Homewood, Illinois, 1969, pp. 302-333; A. W. STONIER and D. C. HAGUE, *A Textbook of Economic Theory*, London, 1957, pp. 198-204.

³⁹ Significant differences in the required travel time between oil mills could be perceived as a non-homogeneous service by the users, enabling the provider located closer to the users' olive groves to raise his fee. On the other hand, the provider may prefer to maintain a competitive fee in order to increase his market share and profitability.

likely match fee reductions and even keep setting successively lower fees being determined to force the others out of the market. Conceivably, the lower-cost⁴⁰ or financially stronger oil miller might in the end eliminate the others, but it is unlikely that he would survive unscathed in the process. Since everyone appreciates the consequences of such a short-sighted pricing policy, namely that the final outcome is uncertain and that all stand to lose, it can hardly be expected that they will adopt such tactics, preferring to avoid cutthroat competition with an unpredictable outcome and settling for a stable fee. The level at which the fee will be set is *indeterminate* and may settle at any level between the monopoly and the perfectly competitive. What can be said with confidence is that it is unlikely that the fee will be set below the point at which the oligopolists are unable to earn normal profits, since in the long run it would not be possible for them to remain in business. However, profits may be moderate because the level of prospective enterprise demand due to the homogeneity of the service and the cost structure of each enterprise may suppress excessive profit margins. But, whatever their level, individual and joint profits would tend to be at the maximum possible, albeit the larger the number of the providers of the service, the more remote becomes the likelihood that they will gravitate toward a monopoly fee. Also, since the homogeneity of the service renders the users indifferent as to which provider they patronize, the market shares of the several rivals would be unstable and quite indeterminate even though the fees are identical. However, personal discrimination in the fees charged to individual users of the service, e.g., in the form of secret fee concessions, cannot be precluded and non-adherence to a fee implicitly or explicitly accepted by all could result in a chaotic fee pattern. All in all, a less confrontational price-setting strategy seems preferable leading to a fee structure below monopoly and above perfectly competitive levels.

Under a different scenario, an oil miller, usually the larger, through a tacit agreement or unspoken understanding may take the lead and set a fee which the others follow closely (*price leadership*).⁴¹ The result is fee uniformity but not necessarily fee stability, as the price leader establishes the fee at a certain level which he may change periodically depending on market conditions or personal considerations, and the others match it for fear of price war or for convenience. In a sense, the price leader is in a position

⁴⁰ The cost structure of competitors may differ depending on the kind of equipment used, the utilization of manual or animal power, labor costs, capacity utilization, and operating efficiency.

⁴¹ The idea is that the price leader will direct the price to the most advantageous level, and that the market will be shared by all at a single price.

to enforce price discipline on the group.⁴² But, as already mentioned, fee variations in this setting have undesirable consequences, and hence price leadership may not be an expedient mode of pricing. Alternatively, the oligopolists may agree openly or tacitly to act together and set that fee which maximizes their joint profits (monopoly fee). However, collusive agreements, aside from being illegal, even if put in place, tend to be fragile and often break down because antagonistic disposition among rivals leads to deviations from perfectly collusive behavior. Moreover, to be effective, such agreements presuppose enforceable schemes to maintain fees and ability to discipline fractious members – a tall order, particularly in the face of the time constraint. Typically, some oil millers will soon find that a different fee is more profitable for them, as cost structures and market shares vary among competitors. Also, setting high fees decreases the demand for milling services by dissatisfied well-off users, encourages secret cuts, and prompts defections in efforts to increase market share. Internal pressures emanating from unrestrained individualistic competitive behavior and economic calculus tend to undermine the effectiveness of a pricing strategy based on collusive arrangements.

CONCLUSION

Olive trees were a profitable and reliable revenue-producing asset, were cultivated in many regions and islands of the empire, and the extracted olive oil was an important consumer staple and tradable commodity. The extraction of the oil from the olives led to the establishment of an industry of integrated oil mills located in towns and large villages, whose construction, installation, and operation required a substantial capital investment. Olive oil-making involves the removal of the kernel from the olives; extraction of the oil from the resulting pulp by the application of pressure; and the separation of the lees from the oil.

Typical designs of oil mills in use for removing the kernel were the *mola olearia mill*, which underwent notable improvements over time both in terms of ensuring the stability of the millstones and the capacity to handle olives of varying size; and the *revolving mill*. Both devices worked on the principle of a pair of vertical rollers turning on a central spindle in a heavy stone mortar, the surfaces being set at a distance to prevent the crushing of the olives. In both devices the millstones were turned manually or by animal power. The difference between the two devices was that in the *mola*

⁴² Price leadership does not necessarily imply collusion.

olearia mill the millstones were cylindrical, had flat surfaces, and were adjustable, whereas in the revolving mill the millstones had a flat inner and a convex outer surface. A major drawback of the revolving mill was its technical inflexibility, in that it was impossible to adjust the millstones upward or downward to accommodate the size of the olives, whereas the great advantage of the *mola olearia* mill was that the millstones could be lowered or raised to suit the size of the olives, and thereby prevent the undesirable effect of crushing the olives completely; building and installation of the mill was less expensive; and the design made easier the organization of the milling process. The distinct advantages of the latter suggest that probably it was more frequently used in Byzantium.

The oil was extracted by either of two devices, apparently both used in Byzantium: the *lever press* or the *direct-screw press*. In the original *simple lever press*, the horizontal press-bar was bent down by the weight of two heavy boulders. In an improved design, ropes, pulleys, and a capstan replaced the stone weights, until subsequently they too were replaced by a screw, first fixed to the floor and later secured at a level above the floor, which made the task of lowering the press-beam much easier and also simplified the problem of raising the heavy beam after the pressing is complete. The ensuing innovation was to dispense with the lever altogether by using a screw for direct pressure on the pulp – the *direct-screw press*, originally the single and then the twin, which had the advantage of withstanding the severe reverse pressure as the squeezing process reached its maximum. To express the oil, the olive pulp was built up in layers of bags separated by flat wooden slabs. By lowering the press-beam the pulp was squeezed and the oil flowed from spouts into a vat. The pressure was applied gradually until oil ceased to flow out of the bags.

The oil was then drawn into another settling vat filled with water where the separation of the oil from the lees was achieved by gravitation. The pulp was then soaked in hot water and subjected to a second and third pressing by raising the pressure. As the methods of extracting the oil were crude, impurities remained, which were removed by a physical process of refining involving the transfer of the oil from one vat to another at given time intervals. The lees and the oilcake were processed further as they contained a small quantity of oil which had commercial value.

A key feature of the Byzantine socio-economic structure affecting olive oil mill ownership and the demand for oil-milling services was the sharp divide between haves and have-nots and the absence of a sizable middle class. The standard of living of the bulk of the heavily taxed peasantry hovered around the subsistence level. The highly skewed income distribution could not but influence the pricing policy of the providers of olive

oil-milling services. The olive oil press industry, as a capital-intensive, seasonal, and topography bound activity, faced particular challenges and a concomitant price-setting calculus. In *monopolistic* situations, patronage by subsisting users of the service, concern of loss of discontented well-to-do users, and the disadvantages of practicing price discrimination, rendered the oil miller's situational monopoly *nominal* and likely to favor setting a *satisficing*, uniform and lower local fee rather than a maximum fee, albeit high enough to enable the supplier of the service to earn above normal profits. In *oligopolistic* situations, because of the limited number of competing suppliers of the service, mutually recognized interdependence, and service homogeneity, a fee established by any oligopolist independently will inevitably induce an intrinsically uncertain response from his rivals with an unpredictable impact on his volume of business rendering the demand for his service indeterminate. It would therefore be in the interest of the group to settle for a uniform and stable fee and at a level ensuring above normal profits. On the other hand, pursue of predatory pricing tactics would lead to unpredictable and costly outcomes, and it can hardly be expected that such a strategy will be adopted. On the whole, a less confrontational price-setting strategy seems preferable leading to a fee structure that is below monopoly and above perfectly competitive levels. The large number of olive oil presses that must have existed in the vicinity of every large and small town and village in the olive oil producing regions of the empire and their ownership distribution seem to suggest that they were a profitable investment, prized by lay and ecclesiastics alike.

There is no evidence in the legal or primary sources that the firm's size, the number of workers to be employed, the scale of the firm's operations, wage rates, profit rates, or price-making decisions were ever fixed centrally in manufacturing activities in Byzantium. The state refrained from prescribing organizational business forms for the providers of olive oil press services, and it did not interfere with their pricing policies. Appreciating the impracticality and unworkability of such interventions, the authorities preferred to relegate these tasks to the operative market forces and the price mechanism.⁴³

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⁴³ G. C. MANIATIS, *Organization and Modus Operandi of the Manufacturing Industry In Byzantium*, in *Bsl*, 68 (2010), pp. 181-184, 187-189, 192-193.

SUMMARY

This article examines the organization, location, technology employed, and the price-setting strategies entertained by the olive oil mill industry in Byzantium. The methods and mechanical devices employed in the process of decorticating the olives, extraction of the oil from the pulp, and its refinement are analyzed in depth. Particular emphasis is placed on the challenges and the attendant price-setting calculus the oil press industry faced as a capital-intensive, seasonal, and topography bound activity. In *monopolistic* situations, the oil millers' situational monopoly was *nominal* compelling them to seek satisfactory rather than maximum profits, albeit likely above normal levels. In *oligopolistic* situations, the limited number of suppliers of the service, mutually recognized interdependence, the unpredictable outcome of confrontational pricing tactics and the ensuing costly cutthroat competition, and the fragility and illegality of collusive arrangements would tend to produce uniform and rather stable fees, albeit at levels possibly allowing for some excess profits. The state did not interfere with the oil miller's pricing policies, appreciating the impracticality of such interventions and preferring to relegate the task to the operative market forces and the price mechanism.

CRISIS AND WEALTH IN BYZANTINE ITALY: THE *LIBRI PONTIFICALES* OF ROME AND RAVENNA*

INTRODUCTION

Byzantine Italy in the fifth and sixth centuries was engulfed in a series of disasters, which its civic and ecclesiastical leaders sought to manage, control and exploit for their own purposes. Crises such as natural disasters, population displacement, poverty, religious disputes, violence, and social abuses necessitated swift and decisive responses on the part of bishops. An important testimony to such responses is provided by episcopal letters,¹ which demonstrate the increasing use of letters to manage crises of various kinds in the fifth and sixth centuries, in both halves of the Roman empire. Another source which is vital as a point of comparison is the record of bishops' achievements, preserved in Italy in two collections: the *Liber Pontificalis* of the bishops of Rome (*LP*),² and the *Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* (*LPR*).³ I have demonstrated elsewhere that as the locus of imperial power moved away from Rome in the west towards Ravenna, the popes of the fifth century increasingly acted in the place of the emperor in regard to civic activities such as building and decorating churches and other public buildings, ransoming of prisoners, raising tribute for diplomatic negotiations, and famine relief.⁴ In the sixth century we see this

* I am grateful to the Australian Research Council for funding this research as part of a larger project, "Crisis management in Late Antiquity: the evidence of episcopal letters", conducted at Australian Catholic University with Pauline Allen. My sincere thanks to both Pauline Allen and an anonymous reader for helpful suggestions for improvement of this article.

¹ The larger findings of which this article is a small part will be published in P. ALLEN and B. NEIL, *Crisis Management in Late Antiquity: The Evidence of Episcopal Letters, 410-590CE (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae)*, Leiden - Boston - Köln, forthcoming.

² L. DUCHESNE and C. VOGEL (eds), *Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 3 vols., 2nd edn, Paris, 1955; trans. Raymond DAVIS, *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis) (Translated Texts for Historians, 6)*, Liverpool, 2000² [=LP].

³ D. M. DELIYANNIS (ed.), *Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, 199)*, Turnhout, 2006 [= CCCM 199]. Trans. D. M. DELIYANNIS, *Agnellus of Ravenna. The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, Washington, DC, 2004.

⁴ B. NEIL, *Imperial benefactions to the fifth-century Roman church, in Basileia. Essays on Culture and Imperium in Honour of E. M. and M. J. Jeffreys*, ed. G. NATHAN and L. GARLAND (*Byzantina Australiensia, 17*), Canberra, 2011, pp. 55-66; EADEM, *Models of Gift Giving in the Preaching of Leo the Great*, in *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 18 (2010), pp. 225-259.

trend increasing, with crisis management becoming one of the main *foci* of the bishop's role.⁵

A vital point of comparison with episcopal letters is offered by the record of bishops' achievements in Rome and Ravenna. Using the *LP* and *LPR*, the official records of the churches of Rome and Ravenna, I survey the evidence for episcopal involvement in the many crises that impinged on these two important cities and on Byzantine Italy generally in the fifth and sixth centuries. The categories of crisis under investigation are 1. population displacement; 2. natural disasters; 3. crises in the structures of dependence;⁶ 4. doctrinal disputes and other religious controversies; 5. violence and war; 6. social abuses such as usury, simony, fraud and other kinds of corruption. By comparing the two sources I hope to find whether there are defining differences between Roman and Ravennan approaches in Byzantine Italy.⁷ I also examine to what extent wealth governed or limited episcopal capacity to manage such crises.

⁵ P. GARNSEY and G. WOOLF, *Patronage of the rural poor in the Roman world*, in A. WALLACE-HADRILL (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society (Leicester-Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society, 1)*, London, 1989, pp. 153-170, at 166, argue that such activity among bishops was not civic evergetism, in the sense of being solely for the traditional purpose of enhancing one's own civic honour and social standing, but for fulfilling the duties of Christian charity. Cf. R. HAENSCH, *Christlicher Euergetismus ob honorem? Die Einsetzung von Klerikern in ihre Aemter und die von diesen vorangetriebenen Bauprojekte*, in J. LEEMANS et al. (eds), *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity. Structures and Perspectives (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, 19)*, Berlin - Boston, 2011, pp. 167-182, who plays down the role of honour as a motivator in Christian bishops' evergetism, *contra* P. VEYNE, *Le Pain et le cirque: sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique (L'univers historique)*, Paris, 1976.

⁶ N. PURCELL, *The Populace of Rome in Late Antiquity: Problems of Classification and Historical Description*, in W.V. HARRIS (ed.), *The Transformations of URBS ROMA in Late Antiquity (Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series, 33)*, Portsmouth, 1999, pp. 135-161, at 152. The phrase "structures of dependence" neatly encapsulates both the causes and consequences of a highly stratified social structure.

⁷ Recent research on similar crises and crisis management in late antique Rome from a social history perspective include Neil's study of "Leo I on Poverty", in P. ALLEN, B. NEIL, and W. MAYER, *Preaching Poverty in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Realities (Arbeiten zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte, 28)*, Leipzig, 2009, pp. 171-203; R. M. FRAKES, *Contra potentium iniurias: The Defensor Civitatis and Late Roman Justice (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, 90)*, Munich, 2001; E. GUIDOBONI, with A. COMASTRI, and G. TRAINA, *Catalogue of Ancient Earthquakes in the Mediterranean Area up to the 10th Century*, rev. edn of *I terremoti prima del Mille in Italia e nell'area mediterranea*, trans. by B. PHILLIPS, Rome, 1994; D. STATHAKOPOULOS, *Famine and Pestilence in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Empire: A Systematic Survey of Subsistence Crises and Epidemics (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs, 9)*, Aldershot, 2003, *passim*. On Ravenna, see the classic work of T. BROWN, *Gentlemen and Officers: imperial administration and aristocratic power in Byzantine Italy A.D. 554-800*, Rome, 1984, and his forthcoming history of Ravenna and its hinterland from Justinian to Otto III; D. M. DELIYANNIS, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, 2010; A. MOFFATT, *Sixth-century Ravenna from the perspective of Abbot Agnellus*, in P. ALLEN and E. JEFFREYS (eds), *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning? (Byzantina Australiensia, 10)*, Brisbane, 1996, pp. 236-246; J. M. PIZARRO,

DEFINITIONS OF 'CRISIS' AND 'WEALTH'

It is necessary at the outset to outline my understanding of the word "crisis". Much has been written in recent years on various crises in antiquity,⁸ mainly with reference to transformative events of epic proportions, such as the turmoil in the western empire in the third century, the fall of Rome in the fifth century, the beginnings of Arab hegemony in the seventh century, and so on. It has also been suggested in recent scholarly literature that instead of the word "crisis" with its negative overtones we should be using more neutral terms like "change", "transformation", or even "anarchy".⁹ Given our concentration on the *Libri Pontificales*, it will become obvious that the crises with which we are concerned are mostly of a local character, that is, local to Rome and to Ravenna, and of personal concern to the bishop. One constant in all crises in Late Antiquity is that they are defined from above, that is, by the emperor, bishop, or other civic leader who was in a position to intervene, ignore it, or dismiss it as not worthy of his attention or support. The role of the bishop of Rome as a major civic leader in the West has been the subject of increasing attention in the past two decades.¹⁰ We will see from the texts below that the bishop was, often by default, the first person to whom the citizens of Rome and Ravenna turned in a crisis. Even what we might term 'perennial crises' in

Writing Ravenna: The Liber Pontificalis of Andreas Agnellus (Recentiores: Later Latin Texts and Contexts), Ann Arbor, 1995, pp. 9-66, on the politics of the fifth- to ninth-century Ravennan church.

⁸ A representative sample would include Av. CAMERON, *The Perception of Crisis*, in *Settimane di studio del centro italiano sull'alto medioevo*, 45 (1998), pp. 9-31; C. WITSCHEL, *Krise-Rezession-Stagnation? Das Westen des römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Frankfurt am Main, 1999; O. HEKSTER, G. DE KLEIJN, and D. SLOOTJES (eds), *Crises and the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the Seventh Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Nijmegen, June 20-24, 2006)*, Leiden and Boston, 2007.

⁹ See, for example, CAMERON, 1998, p. 10, and W. LIEBESCHUETZ, *Was There a Crisis of the Third Century?*, in HEKSTER *et al.*, 2007, pp. 11-20, at 11.

¹⁰ On the rising authority of the bishop of Rome see K. SESSA, *The Formation of Papal Authority in Late Antique Italy: Roman Bishops and the Domestic Sphere*, Cambridge, 2012; EADEM, *Exceptionality and Invention: Silvester and the Late Antique 'Papacy' at Rome*, in *Studia Patristica*, 46 (2010), pp. 77-94; M. SALZMAN, *Leo in Rome: The Evolution of Episcopal Authority in the Fifth Century*, in G. BONAMENTE and R. LIZZI TESTA (eds), *Istituzioni, carismi ed esercizio del potere (IV-VI secolo d.C.)*, Bari, 2010, pp. 343-356; G. DEMACPOULOS, *Gregory the Great and the Appeal to Petrine Authority*, in *Studia Patristica*, 48 (2010), pp. 333-348; M. SÁGHY, *Amator Castitatis: Pope Damasus and the Politics of Asceticism*, in *Studia Patristica*, 45 (2010), pp. 49-54. Papers presented at the 16th International Conferences in Patristic Studies held at Oxford in August 2011 will be published in G. DUNN (ed.), *The Bishop of Rome in Late Antiquity* (in preparation). On the rise of bishops generally, see also the important collections of essays in É. REBILLARD and C. SOTINEL (eds), *L'évêque dans la cité du IV^e au V^e siècle: Image et autorité (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 248)*, Rome, 1998.

human history, like violence, acute poverty, famine, and the plight of displaced or trafficked persons, were usually dealt with at a local level by bishops. While the role of Late Antique bishops has rightly risen to prominence as a result of this international research, there has been no systematic study of the episcopal role in crisis management in general or as reflected in the *Libri Pontificales*.

“Wealth” here is defined as any private and/or institutional wealth at the disposal of bishops. Obviously, the status of the see determined the amounts of institutional wealth at the bishop’s disposal. Both Ravenna and Rome had extensive patrimonial territories which were a source of tax-free revenue for the churches. The church of Ravenna had properties in Istria and Sicily, similar to the patrimonies of the Roman church in Sicily, Illyricum, Calabria, and possibly Asia Minor.¹¹ A letter of Pope Felix IV (526-530) to the bishops of Ravenna estimated the value of a quarter of the Ravennan patrimonies at 3000 *solidi*.¹² Moreau notes that during the early years of Justinian’s wars of reconquest, the legislation continued to favour the traditional policy of the inalienability of ecclesiastical property that had been commended by Roman bishops from Leo the Great (440-461). This situation changed in 541 when the Goths took back control of part of Italy.¹³ Other sources of institutional wealth were collections and bequests, both from wealthy benefactors and the imperial purse.¹⁴ Simplicius of Rome, in his first preserved letter dating to 475, established the *quadraticum*, which divided the church’s income into quarters, one fourth for the bishops (*cathedraticum*), a quarter for the poor, a quarter for church buildings, and the rest for the clergy.¹⁵ Gelasius I’s letters (492-96) reveal his concern that the *cathedraticum* be limited to a quarter of the church’s income,¹⁶

¹¹ In the time of Gregory the Great, papal properties were also located in Bruttium, Lucania and the Cottian Alps. See the survey of Roman patrimonies from the earliest attestations to the reign of Gregory the Great in D. MOREAU, *Les patrimoines de l’église romaine jusqu’à la mort de Grégoire le Grand*, in J.-P. CAILLET and J.-M. CARRIÉ (eds), *Économie et Religion dans l’Antiquité Tardive (Antiquité Tardive, 14)*, Turnhout, 2006, pp. 79-93.

¹² *Constitutum de ecclesia Rauennatensi* (CPL 1687) = *LPR*, ch. 60, CCCM 199, p. 227; cf. n. 75 below.

¹³ MOREAU, 2006, p. 87.

¹⁴ NEIL, 2011, pp. 56-65, discusses the records of these benefactions to the Roman church under Sixtus III and Leo I in the mid-fifth century.

¹⁵ Simplicius, *ep.* 1.2, ed. A. THIEL, *Epistulae Romanorum Pontificum genuinae et quae ad eos scriptae sunt a sancto Hilario usque ad Pelagium II*, Fasciculus I, 2nd edn, Braunsberg, 1867 (= Hildesheim, 2004), pp. 176-177.

¹⁶ Gelasius, *frag.* 20, ed. THIEL, p. 495: “Cathedraticum etiam non amplius quam vetusti moris esse constiterit, ab ejus loci presbytero noveris exigendum; et de iis, quae die dedicationis fuerint offerentium devotione collata, consuetudinem, quae generaliter omnibus ecclesiis est praescripta, servabis.” Gelasius warns Bishop Sabinus that the *cathedraticum* should not be more than is prescribed by ancient custom, and advises him to keep the custom

with the remainder to be divided between helping the poor, maintaining and renewing church buildings, and supporting the clergy.¹⁷ Private wealth depended on the socio-economic background of the bishop, and we will see that aristocratic background became increasingly important in sixth-century Rome. The boundary between private and institutional wealth often became blurred, as evidenced in many letters of Leo, Gelasius, and Gregory the Great, concerning church property which had been alienated by other bishops for their own purposes. *LPR* records that Felix IV advised the bishops of Ravenna also to implement the *quadraticum*.¹⁸

BACKGROUND TO THE SOURCES

The first recension of the *LP* was made in the early sixth century by an unknown author who had access to papal archives, especially donation lists and other financial records. Entries from around the time of Anastasius II (496-498) indicate first-hand knowledge of the people and events described.¹⁹ The first edition contained lives up to 530; a second edition was made no later than the 540s and went up to Silverius (536-537).²⁰ The work was taken up again around 640, and contemporary entries were made until 870, with fragmentary records for the later ninth-century.²¹ *LP* cannot legitimately be classed as a hagiographical source on the activities of the bishops of Rome, since it owes its rhetorical character to imperial *res gestae*.

LPR is a somewhat later source composed in conscious imitation of the Roman *LP*. It was compiled between 830 and *post* 846 in three stages by Agnellus, a priest and abbot of Ravenna.²² Agnellus gave his work a deliberately hagiographical bent, freely admitting that he made up material to fill gaps in the historical record. Agnellus states that his purpose was to give a consecutive history of bishops of Ravenna over the previous 800 years,

which is prescribed for all churches about collections made on the day of dedication of offerings.

¹⁷ Cf. also *ep.* 14.27, ed. THIEL, p. 378; *frag.* 23, ed. THIEL, pp. 496-497; and *frag.* 28, ed. THIEL, pp. 499-500.

¹⁸ *LPR*, ch. 60, CCCM 199, p. 227; cf. n. 75 below.

¹⁹ DAVIS, 2000², p. xvii.

²⁰ DAVIS, 2000², p. xiii.

²¹ See DAVIS, 2000², p. xiii; and DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 21. DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 21, n. 4, cites W. BERSCHIN, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinische Mittelalter*, I, *Von der Passio Perpetuae zu den Dialogi Gregors des Grossen (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters)*, 8), Stuttgart, 1986, pp. 270-271.

²² For the dating of these stages (stage 1 = 831-836 CE; stage 2 = 837-839 CE; stage 3 = 841/842 - *post* 846 CE), see the introduction of DELIYANNIS, CCCM 199, pp. 11-19, and the literature there cited.

and if his readers wonder why he did not tell the deeds of bishop Exuperantius or his predecessors, he tells them this is why:

And when I did not discover any history, or what their life had been like, neither from aged and old men, nor from buildings, nor from any authority, in order that there would be no gap in the sequential record of the holy bishops, with the aid of your prayer and of God, I have reconstructed their lives.²³

Nevertheless, Agnellus' use of earlier sources, such as inscriptions and especially a now-lost *Chronicle* by Bishop Maximian of Ravenna (546-557),²⁴ makes his work a valuable source for the fifth and sixth centuries, when the church of Ravenna sought to rival the power and prestige of Rome. The work, which is rich in social historical detail, has not been read for the purpose of determining what it can tell us about episcopal crisis management until now, nor has it ever been systematically compared with the Roman *LP* on this theme.

Sparing us from the methodological pitfall of comparing apples with oranges, an unusual number of literary sources survive from the sixth-century, bearing witness to the catastrophic events of that century from a Byzantine perspective. These authors include Marcellinus Comes, Malalas, Procopius, Zachariah Rhetor, John of Ephesus, and Evagrius.²⁵ These, along with the lost sixth-century *Chronicle* cited by Agnellus, give us a basis for comparing a ninth-century source from Ravenna with the sixth- and seventh-century Roman *LP*. Recent research by Mischa Meier has demonstrated that several strategies were devised by the people of Constantinople in the time of Justinian as a response to the perceived imperial failure to deal with the great number of catastrophes that befell the city in that period, e.g. repeated visitations of the plague, frequent earthquakes, and wars

²³ *LPR*, ch. 32, CCCM 199, p. 185: "et ubi historiam non inueni, aut qualiter eorum uita fuisset, nec per annos et uetustos homines, neque per aedificationem, neque per quamlibet auctoritatem, ne interuallum sanctorum pontificum fieret, secundum ordinem quomodo unus post alium hanc sedem optinuerunt, uestris orationibus me Deo adiuuante illorum uitam composui..." Trans. DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 135 (amended).

²⁴ Continuing the chronicles of Jerome, Orosius and others, Maximian wrote his own chronicle "about most noble leaders, not only emperors but kings and prefects" (*LPR*, ch. 78, CCCM 199, p. 247: "iste in chronicis laborauit, et ipsos secutus per diuersos libros nobiliorum principum, non solum imperatorum, sed et regum et praefectorum, suam propriam chronicam exarauit." Trans. DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 193).

²⁵ H. SONNABEND, *Naturkatastrophen in der Antike. Wahrnehmung-Deutung-Management*, Stuttgart and Weimar, 1999. On Byzantine responses to natural catastrophes in the sixth century, see M. MEIER, *Zur Wahrnehmung und Deutung von Naturkatastrophen im 6. Jahrhundert n.Chr.*, in D. GROH, M. KEMPE, and F. MAUELSHAGEN (eds), *Naturkatastrophen. Beiträge zu ihrer Deutung, Wahrnehmung und Darstellung in Text und Bild von der Antike bis ins 20. Jahrhundert (Literatur und Anthropologie, 13)*, Tübingen, 2003, pp. 45-64.

on several fronts.²⁶ Meier calls the concentration of crises in Justinian's rule a "Katastrophen-Cluster".²⁷ One strategy was to blame the emperor for the crises, as did, for example, Procopius.²⁸ Sonnabend also identifies demonising of the emperor as a common response to natural catastrophes in the Justinianic period.²⁹ Meier speaks of a heightened eschatological perception among pagans and Christians from the beginning of the sixth century onwards.³⁰ Imperial failure in the face of catastrophe led people to devise religious responses, such as processions,³¹ (a ritual already evidenced in the rogations in fifth-century Gaul), increased devotion to the cult of the Virgin Mary,³² and, because not even holy men and women were able to save the situation, the veneration of icons.³³ If Agnellus represents a distinctively Byzantine approach to crisis and crisis management by bishops, we would expect to see this sort of religiosity and eschatological awareness surfacing in *LPR*, along with a critique of the emperors' handling of such challenges.

SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHIC ORIGINS OF BISHOPS

A key difference between *LP* and *LPR* is immediately apparent when we consider the information each provides on the social background of individual bishops. *LP* is concerned to name the place of birth and father of each of its bishops, and the father's occupation. In fifth-century Rome, bishops came from a range of geographic and social backgrounds. There were no demonstrably aristocratic bishops until the election of Felix III in 483 CE, from a Roman clerical family, chosen by Basilius, head of the

²⁶ M. MEIER, *Das andere Zeitalter Justinians. Kontingenzerfahrung und Kontingenzbewältigung im 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr. (Hypomnemata, 147)*, Göttingen, 2004.

²⁷ MEIER, 2004, p. 644.

²⁸ On *Kaiserkritik* in the sixth century see MEIER, 2003, p. 58, citing the most famous example from Procopius, *Anekdotia* 18, 36-45.

²⁹ SONNABEND, 1999, p. 33.

³⁰ MEIER, 2004, pp. 478-481, 645-646.

³¹ MEIER, 2004, pp. 489-502, 646-647. See also IDEM, *Kaiserherrschaft und 'Volksfrömmigkeit' im Konstantinopel des 6. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.. Die Verlegung der Hypapante durch Justinian im Jahr 542*, in *Historia*, 51 (2002), pp. 89-111, esp. 98-99.

³² MEIER, 2004, pp. 502-528, 647; IDEM, 2002, 99-101; IDEM, 2003, pp. 57-58; Av. CAMERON, *The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople: A City Finds its Symbol*, *JThS*, 29 (1978), pp. 79-108; P. ALLEN, *The role of Mary in the early Byzantine feast of the Hypapante*, in K. DEMURA and N. KAMIMURA (eds), *Patristica. Proceedings of the Colloquia of the Japanese Society of Patristic Studies*, Supplementary volume 2 (2007), pp. 1-22.

³³ MEIER, 2004, pp. 528-560, 647-648; IDEM, 2003, pp. 61-63.

senatorial order.³⁴ Until the election of Felix III, the senate seemed neither willing nor interested in interfering in episcopal elections. Outsiders, or non-Romans, in the fifth century included one Greek (Zosimus), two Sardinians (Hilary and Symmachus), and from the Italian provinces a Campanian (Celestine), a Tuscan (Leo I), Simplicius from Tibur and Innocent I from the city of Albanum, just outside Rome. Compare this with the sixth century, when only the first three out of fourteen bishops originated from the provinces: Hormisdas from Frusino, Campania (and later his son Silverius); John I from Tuscany; and Felix IV from Samnium. All the rest were born in Rome, and six – Boniface II, Agapitus, Vigilius, Pelagius I, John III and Gregory I – were chosen from Roman aristocratic families.³⁵ In the sixth century the range of backgrounds and ranks of successful candidates became much narrower, senatorial background became more important, and their personal wealth presumably became larger. The *LP* entries also list all imperial, aristocratic and episcopal donations of church buildings, furnishings, sacred vessels, and property, giving evidence of the authors' access to the financial archives of the Roman church. *LP* presents us with popes as political leaders, defenders of doctrine and material providers for their churches. Its bishops do not display poverty or humility. The virtues of the bishop of Rome, unlike those of earlier western bishops (such as Cyprian in Pontius' *Life*, and Augustine in Possidius' *Life*)³⁶ are presented squarely according to civic, not monastic, ideals.

LPR shows less concern with provenance and social status of its bishops, concentrating instead on their saintly virtues or lack thereof. Agnellus' coverage of the fifth century begins with the pontificate of Liberius III, predecessor of Ursus whose reign began in 405. All Ravennan bishops up to and including Peter Chrysologus (431-450) were of Syrian origin, according to Agnellus. After Peter I, there were only five bishops whose place of birth was specified: Peter II from the territory of Imola; Maximian from Istria, "an alien sheep from the city of Pula"; John II the Roman, and Marinian,

³⁴ J. RICHARDS, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages 476-752*, London - New York, 1979, p. 235.

³⁵ RICHARDS, 1979, pp. 235-244, summarises the evidence. See also J. MOORHEAD, *On Becoming Pope in Late Antiquity*, in *Journal of Religious History*, 30 (2006), pp. 279-293, on the importance of senatorial background for papal candidates.

³⁶ E. ELM, *Die Macht der Weisheit: Das Bild des Bischofs in der Vita Augustini des Possidius und anderen spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Bischofsviten* (*Studies in the History of Christian Thought*), Leiden, 2003, pp. 16-63, demonstrates how early authors of bishops' *vitae*, especially Possidius in his *Vita Augustini*, drew from the models of ascetical hagiography and Hellenistic lives of philosophers. On the *Vita et Passio Cypriani* of Pontius, see ELM, 2003, pp. 65-78.

also from Rome.³⁷ Family origins of the bishops are not a concern of Abbot Agnellus, except in the case of his namesake, Agnellus (557-570), a married man whom he described as “sprung from noble stock, wealthy in possessions, rich in animals, abounding in wealth”.³⁸ At the end of his life Bishop Agnellus left his granddaughter “five silver ornamental vessels for the table, and many other things, since it is not our task to digress about diverse wealth.”³⁹ Agnellus’ silence on the background of his subjects is an interesting point of difference from the *LP*, and can be explained partially by the lack of information available to Agnellus in the ninth century, but also by the different authorial intentions of the abbot versus the pontifical chroniclers.

A SHINING EXAMPLE: MAXIMIAN OF RAVENNA

By way of example of the difference between the two approaches, let us compare *LPR*’s account of the pontificate of Maximian (546-557) with *LP*’s entry on his contemporary Vigilius (537-555). As bishop of Ravenna in the aftermath of the Gothic wars, Maximian was required to deal with displaced peoples, poverty and need, religious controversy, and in his response to these crises he embodied, according to Agnellus, all the ideal qualities of a bishop:⁴⁰

[Maximian] never ravaged his sheep, never hurt them, never struck them, but refreshed them with words, fed them with food, warned the wandering, recalled the errant, collected the dispersed, ministered to the needy, consoled the one in trouble.

How did he finance his pastoral interventions? Agnellus does not tell us, but the abbot does tell an intriguing tale of how Maximian came into possession of a large fortune of gold *solidi*, uncovered in a field before he became bishop. Determined to hang on to his treasure, he had some of it sown into a large bag made from a cow’s stomach and some sown up in goatskin boots. When he was sent as a deacon to Constantinople, he perhaps unwisely

³⁷ Damian (692-708) who came from Rome falls outside our timeframe.

³⁸ *LPR*, ch. 84, CCCM 199, p. 252: “Ex nobili ortus prole, diues in possessionibus, animalibus locuples, abundans opibus.” Trans. DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 198.

³⁹ *LPR*, ch. 84, CCCM 199, p. 252: “quinque ornamenta mensae uasculorum argentea relinquens et multa alia, quia nobis per diuersas discurrere opus non est diuitias...”. Trans. DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 198.

⁴⁰ *LPR*, ch. 82, CCCM 199, p. 249: “Numquam suas lanauit oues, numquam momordit, numquam percussit, sed refouit eloquiis, nutriuit alimentis, monuit uagos, reuocauit errantes, collegit dispersos, ministrauit inopi, condoluit tribulanti”. Trans. DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 195.

gave the remainder of his treasure to the emperor. Justinian asked him searchingly if there was any more where that came from. Maximian replied under oath:

“By your health, lord, and by the salvation of your soul, I do not have any more of it than what I lavished on stomach and boots.”⁴¹ The emperor thought that he spoke of food for the body and coverings for the feet; Maximian of course was referring to the money he had hidden in the cowskin bag and goatskin boots. Justinian rewarded the deacon’s apparent faithfulness with the *pallium* of the see of Ravenna, against the wishes of the people of Ravenna who had chosen their own candidate. Later, Maximian used some of those gold coins as gifts to bribe city leaders in order to secure his election.⁴² Agnellus’ inclusion of these anecdotes illustrates that canniness with private wealth was just as important for the sixth-century bishop as the traditional spiritual virtues of charity, gentleness and humility.

We may compare the tenor of this entry with that in the *LP* for Maximian’s contemporary Vigilius of Rome (537-555), “son of the consul John”, and appointed by the general Belisarius at the beginning of the Gothic wars. As an archdeacon he was sent by Silverius as *apocrisarius* to Constantinople, where he connived with Justinian and Theodora to have his predecessor removed from office and exiled.⁴³ Vigilius then spent most of his miserable time in office defending himself against Justinian’s efforts to force him to close ranks during the Three Chapters Controversy. Both Justinian and Theodora put strong pressure on Vigilius to reverse his predecessors’ condemnation of the patriarch of Constantinople, Anthimus. This Vigilius had pledged to do before becoming bishop of Rome. The Three Chapters crisis is discussed very circumspectly in the *LP* entry, with no criticism of Justinian who kept Vigilius under virtual house arrest for several years. Vigilius is portrayed as heroically resisting imperial pressure to betray the orthodox faith. His eventual capitulation in 553 is not mentioned. The author, who could not have been a contemporary, shows no appreciation of the wider picture, the virtual obliteration of Rome’s status as a result of the Byzantine reconquest and pursuant Lombard sieges and plagues.⁴⁴ Instead the *LP*’s author lavishes circumstantial detail first on Belisarius’ campaigns against the Vandals in North Africa and the Goths in Italy, and later on Narses’ campaigns, to whom God gave victory over

⁴¹ *LPR*, ch. 70, CCCM 199, p. 239 “Per salutem tuam, domine, et pro salute animae uestrae, quia non amplius inde habeo nisi quantum in uentrem et in zancas expendi.” Trans. DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 185.

⁴² *LPR*, ch. 71, CCCM 199, p. 240.

⁴³ *LP* 1, pp. 292-293 (Silverius).

⁴⁴ DAVIS, 2000², p. xliv.

the Gothic king Totila. However, the author mistakenly conflates Totila's two sieges of Rome and the resultant famine into one, a mistake indicating the hand of a later continuator in the 640s.⁴⁵ In spite of the havoc wrought upon Rome by the Gothic wars, Byzantine benefactions to the church are noted with approval:⁴⁶

Then Belisarius came to Rome, and from the spoils of the Vandals presented to St Peter by the hands of pope Vigilius a gold cross with jewels, weighing 100 lb, with an inscription about his victories, and the two great silver-gilt candlesticks which still stand today before St Peter's body.

Here we see Vigilius acting as the channel for imperial wealth to the Roman church, which is used to decorate its most important basilica. Although he is later blamed for the famine associated with the sieges, and accused of murder by the Roman people,⁴⁷ Vigilius is also portrayed as a civic and spiritual leader, when in fact he was not so much a crisis manager as a crisis victim. More will be said on the subject of Vigilius in relation to the individual crises identified below.

COMPARISON OF CRISIS MANAGEMENT IN LP AND LPR

Crisis 1. *Population displacement*

According to *LP*, Pope Symmachus (498-514) "ransomed for cash prisoners throughout the Ligurias, Milan and various provinces; he gave them many gifts and let them go their way."⁴⁸ This evidence is corroborated by the *Life* of Caesarius of Arles, who sought the help of Symmachus and the Roman senate to raise ransoms.⁴⁹ The sale of church property to ransom prisoners is not mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis*, although we know

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁶ *LP* 1, p. 296 (Vigilius): "Tunc Vilisarius patricius de spolia Wandalarum veniens Romam obtulit beato Petro apostolo per manus Vigilii papae crucem auream cum gemmis, pens. lib. C., scribens victorias suas, et cereostatos argenteos deauratos maiores II, qui stant usque hodie ante corpus beati Petri apostoli." Trans. DAVIS, 2000², p. 58.

⁴⁷ *LP* 1, p. 297 (Vigilius).

⁴⁸ *LP* 1, p. 263 (Symmachus): "Hic captivos per Ligurias et Mediolano et per diversas provincias pecuniis redemit et dona multiplicavit et dimisit." Trans. DAVIS, 2000², p. 46.

⁴⁹ Paulinus of Milan, *Vita Ambrosii*, 38.4; ed. A. A. R. BASTIAENSEN, *Vita di Cipriano. Vita di Ambrogio. Vita di Agostino*, 4th edn (*Vite dei Santi dal secolo III al secolo IV*, 3), Milan, 1997, p. 102; *Vita Caesarii Arelatensis* 1.32, ed. G. MORIN, *S. Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis Opera Omnia*, II, Maredsous, 1942, pp. 296-345. See further W. KLINGSHIRN, *Charity and power: the ransoming of captives in sub-Roman Gaul*, in *JRS*, 75 (1985), pp. 183-203.

some bishops, including Ambrose of Milan, went to such lengths. In the time of Pope Leo I many thousands of prisoners were captured in Rome by Geiseric according to Prosper,⁵⁰ and general mention is made of ransoming prisoners in Leo's homilies, but *LP Leo* is silent on the subject. Exiles were another important class of displaced persons. Some popes assumed responsibility for exiled clergy; Symmachus, for example, helped exiled bishops throughout Africa and Sardinia with gifts of money and clothing.⁵¹ Exile was the usual punishment for Manicheans found in Rome, as under Pope Hormisdas. The archdeacon Vigilius, later pope, sent Silverius into exile at Pontiae "where he fed him on the bread of affliction and the water of distress."⁵² The clergy who supported Vigilius' late stand against the emperor Justinian in Constantinople during the Three Chapters controversy were also exiled to various mines.⁵³ Those who sought refuge in churches during the sieges of Rome by Alaric (408-410), Geiseric (455) and Vitiges (536-537), are not mentioned, although Totila is praised for allowing the Romans time to seek safety in churches during the siege of 549-550.⁵⁴ Presumably the bishop had some role in organising shelter, food and water for these asylum-seekers, although this is not stated explicitly in *LP*.

Displaced persons are rarely found in *LPR*, unless they are royal exiles such as the deposed Queen Malasuintha, sent into exile in Volsena in 533.⁵⁵ While the capture and destruction of cities is a common theme in *LPR*, especially during the Lombard invasions, which displaced many Romans in northern and central Italy, prisoners of war do not rate a mention, apart from royal hostages such as the daughter of the Lombard king Agilulf. At the end of the sixth century or early seventh century, Agilulf's daughter and her husband Godescalc were captured by Gallinicus in Parma and taken to Ravenna.⁵⁶ In retaliation, the king destroyed the city of Cremona and harassed Mantua. In the chapter devoted to Marinian (595-606) we find evidence that ransoming captives was considered part of a bishop's duty, when Agnellus describes the ways in which a bishop is greater than a king:

⁵⁰ Prosper Tiro, *Epitoma Chronicon edita primum a. CCCXXXIII continuata ad a. CCC-CLV*, 1375, a. 455; ed. Th. MOMMSEN (*MGH, Auctores antiquissimi*, 9; *Chronicorum minorum saec. IV-VII*, vol. 1), repr. Berlin, 1961, p. 484.

⁵¹ *LP* 1, p. 263 (Symmachus).

⁵² *LP* 1, p. 293 (Silverius): "et misit eum in exilio in Pontias et sustentavit eum panem tribulationis et aqua angustiae..." Trans. DAVIS, 2000², p. 58.

⁵³ *LP* 1, p. 298 (Vigilius).

⁵⁴ See above on the conflation of two sieges into one in *LP* (Vigilius). Three senators escaped to Constantinople, where they were rewarded by Justinian "as befitted Roman consuls" (*sicut digni erant consules Romani*): *LP* 1, p. 298. Trans. DAVIS, 2000², p. 60.

⁵⁵ *LPR*, ch. 62, CCCM 199, p. 232.

⁵⁶ *LPR*, ch. 101, CCCM 199, p. 270.

“[T]he king [thinks] that he might lead rebels captive, the bishop that he might purchase, redeem, and release captives...”⁵⁷ Of course, this is not an indication of when this practice began in Ravenna, but the first mention of a specific bishop ransoming captives is the following bishop of Ravenna, John III (606-625).⁵⁸

Crisis 2. *Natural disasters*

LP does not mention natural disasters except as an occasion for papal generosity to the city. For example, Leo I renewed St Paul’s Outside the Walls after a fire caused by lightning. Similarly Felix IV (526-530) rebuilt the basilica of St Saturninus from the ground up after it was destroyed by fire.⁵⁹ We can detect a change in the later sixth-century, when the floods during the time of Pelagius II in 589-590 are described as so great a disaster that no one could remember anything like it.⁶⁰ Astronomical events like comets are not mentioned in *LP* until the seventh century. The waves of plague that rocked Rome in the first decade of the seventh century are attributed to the time of Boniface IV (608-615), without saying that he did anything about them.⁶¹ During the Lombard invasions and the concurrent floods in Rome, Pelagius II converted his house into an almshouse for the aged poor, and built a new cemetery, but also covered St Peter’s body with silver-gilt panels.⁶²

By contrast, Agnellus is concerned to associate with current events natural disasters of many kinds, including flood, plague, frost, fire, earthquake as well as astronomical phenomena like comets, not disastrous but merely shocking. For example, the comet in ch. 90 (a. 565) was identified as a portent occurring between Narses’ expulsion of the Franks from Italy and the imminent death of Emperor Justinian in his fortieth year. In January 595, a comet forecast Bishop John II’s death that same month (ch. 98). The death of Pope Gregory and succession of Sabinian in 604 are linked in *LPR* with a series of natural disasters, in the form of a great frost and a plague of mice that destroyed the harvests; others crops were struck by blight.

⁵⁷ *LPR*, ch. 100, CCSM 199, p. 269: “rex ut captiuos ducat rebelles, episcopus ut emat captiuos, redimat et absoluat...” Trans. DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 216.

⁵⁸ *LPR*, ch. 104, CCCM 199, p. 272.

⁵⁹ *LP* 1, p. 279 (Felix IV).

⁶⁰ *LP* 1, p. 309 (Pelagius II).

⁶¹ *LP* 1, p. 317 (Boniface IV): “Huius temporibus famis, pestilentiae et inundationes aquarum gravissime fuerunt.” Trans. DAVIS, 2000², p. 64: “In his time there were a very serious famine, plagues, and floods.”

⁶² *LP* 1, p. 309 (Pelagius II).

Serious famine arose among the people, since self-restraint was rarely to be found, as it is now in our times. Now this happened so that through serious famine it might be shown by God as a sign of the lost preaching from the death of blessed Gregory, since preaching is the divine food of the soul, as self-restraint is of the body.⁶³

Natural disasters will be discussed as they come up in association with such events as assassinations of emperors, deaths of bishops, invasions, and the like.

Crisis 3. *Crisis in the structures of dependence*

The *Liber Pontificalis* has much to say about some popes' contributions to the poor and to others who depended on the bishop for funds, namely the clergy. The poor do not make a showing in *LP* until the pontificate of Gelasius, at the end of the fifth century. Gelasius (492-496) was described as "a lover of the clergy and the poor", again with the poor coming second after the clergy, whose number he increased.⁶⁴ In the whole fifth-century corpus of bishops' letters, just two bishops – Simplicius and Gelasius – write about helping the poor. Following Simplicius' directions on the *quadraticum*, Gelasius directs the bishops (and them alone) to distribute church funds to the poor in the following order: widows, orphans, paupers and clerics. The remainder is to be claimed by bishops so that they can offer largesse to pilgrims (*peregrini*) and captives.⁶⁵ *LP* also relates that Gelasius delivered the city of Rome from danger of famine.⁶⁶ Symmachus made improvements to the basilica of St Pauls, adding a fountain and a bath which would have been used for drinking and bathing by the poor. Not only bishops made such donations: the general Belisarius, laden with spoils from his successful campaign against the Vandals in Africa, while the Gothic wars caused widespread chaos and famine in Italy, presented gifts and alms for the poor, and built a hostel for strangers on the *via Lata*.⁶⁷

Boniface II (530-532) came to the aid of the clergy when they were threatened by famine "with much giving of alms".⁶⁸ In 536, in the course

⁶³ *LPR*, ch. 102, CCCM 199, p. 271: "Et in eodem anno in populo famis ualida, quia frugalitas omnis parua et rare inueniebatur, sicut nunc est temporibus nostris. Idcirco hoc factum est, ut indicium amisse praedicationis de morte beati Gregorii a Deo per ipsam famem ualidam ostenderetur, quia cibus animae praedicationis diuina est, corporis uero omnis frugalitas." Trans. DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 218.

⁶⁴ *LP* 1, p. 255 (Gelasius).

⁶⁵ Gelasius, *ep.* 17, ed. THIEL, 2004, pp. 381-382. On the *quadraticum*, see above, n. 15.

⁶⁶ *LP* 1, p. 255 (Gelasius).

⁶⁷ *LP* 1, p. 296 (Vigilius).

⁶⁸ *LP* 1, p. 281 (Boniface II): "et alimoniis multis in periculo famis clero subuenit."

of the Gothic wars famine in Italy was so bad that the bishop of Milan recounted that in Liguria “women had eaten their own children from poverty and hunger: some of these women, he reported, were members of his own church.”⁶⁹ Similarly in Rome under the siege of Totila, the ensuing famine was so extreme that parents even wanted to eat their own children.⁷⁰ Pope Vigilius was later blamed for this famine. On the eve of his arrest by Byzantine soldiers during the Three Chapters controversy, the Roman people gathered to throw stones and pots and pans at him as he boarded the boat for Constantinople, yelling at their bishop, “Take your famine with you! Take your deaths with you! You treated the Romans badly, may you meet evil where you are going.”⁷¹ By contrast, Emperor Justin sent emergency supplies of grain from Egypt to Rome to relieve Italy from famine in the time of the Lombard invasions under Pope Benedict I (575-579). While Gregory I’s letters show that he was involved in obtaining grain for Roman citizens after the devastating floods of 589, *LP* gives the credit to his successor Sabinian (604-606), who opened the church’s granaries and made corn available for the price of 30 *modii* for one *solidus*. Charging such a high price, however, at a time of serious famine was considered so outrageous that the Roman citizenry tried to disrupt his funeral procession with a riot, a fact understandably omitted from *LP*.

Relatively little is said about Ravennan bishops’ attempts to help the needy in *LPR*, although they were often described as excelling in charitable works, especially in the earliest entries when little was known about the bishops in question. For example, Liberius I, the tenth bishop of Ravenna, was “full of charity”; Agapitus, his successor, whose name is defined as meaning “full of charity”, daily performed works of charity to strangers, and eagerly bestowed gifts upon the poor; and Liberius II, the twelfth bishop, was a father to orphans, generous with alms.⁷² We take this as a trope of the hagiographical genre, elements of which, including miracles, are much more frequent in *LPR* than in *LP*. Bishop John of Ravenna (477-494) is described as “sustainer of paupers...a giver of alms to the needy”.⁷³ Interestingly, the dates of John’s pontificate overlap with those of Gelasius (492-496), the first Roman bishop mentioned in *LP* as helping the poor, but

⁶⁹ *LP* 1, p. 291 (Silverius): “in partes Lyguriae mulieres filios suos comedissent penuriae famis; de quas retulit ecclesiae suae fuisse ex familia.” Trans. DAVIS, 2000², p. 56.

⁷⁰ *LP* 1, p. 298 (Vigilius).

⁷¹ *LP* 1, p. 298 (Vigilius): “Famis tua tecum! mortalitas tua tecum! Male fecisti Romanis, male invenias ubi vadis.” Trans. DAVIS, p. 59.

⁷² *LPR*, ch. 10, CCCM 199, p. 153; ch. 11, CCSM 199, pp. 153-154 (we note in passing that here the plural of the Greek *agape* is used to mean “alms”: “hic agapes cum peregrinis cotidie faciebat”) and ch. 19, CCCM 199, p. 164.

⁷³ *LPR*, ch. 34, CCCM 199, p. 186: *egenorum alimonia tributor*.

this may be no more than a coincidence. Like bishops of Rome, those in Ravenna were heavily involved in the financing of building, repairing and decorating churches and related buildings, but none of them were specifically dedicated to the poor.

An interesting interaction between the sees of Rome and Ravenna is evidenced by the letter of Pope Felix IV (526-530) to Bishop Ecclesius and the church in Ravenna, concerning the defrauding of the poor:

Let persons from the clergy...be sent under a suitable guarantee so that the alms-giving to paupers should not suffer fraud and the amount of the patrimony of the church may not be hidden; and let each and every cleric from among these, under fear of God and his own bishop, faithfully explain the accounts which have been committed to him.⁷⁴

This letter is an important witness to papal activity in this area, and its preservation in *LPR* an important reminder that not all letters concerning episcopal financial management are preserved in letter collections. Felix IV repeats the formula of the *quadraticum*, stipulating that a quarter of the patrimony of the Ravennate church, a sum of 3000 *solidi*, be used for the appropriate payments to all the clergy or to other normal recipients of aid. He qualified this norm as follows: "If, however, any of the pensions or inheritances should happen to increase, by the will of our Lord, with that Lord mediating, its fourth part should be used for the same."⁷⁵ Agnellus is more forthcoming about the crisis of structures of dependency in Italy than the authors of *LP*. During the Gothic wars, in the mid-sixth century, as power of the Roman senate slowly disintegrated, "provincial citizens were everywhere reduced to nothing, from the consulate of Basilius to the rule of Narses."⁷⁶ However, no help seems to have been forthcoming from the bishops of Ravenna.

⁷⁴ *Constitutum de ecclesia Rauennatensi* = *LPR*, ch. 60, CCCM 199, p. 228: "ex clero personae, electae cum solaciis, quae pro notitia deputauerit episcopus, sub idonea fideiussione mittantur, quorum fides fuerit et industria comprobata, ut et alimonia pauperorum fraudem non patiat et quantitas patrimonii ecclesiae latere non possit, et unusquisque clericus sub timore Dei et proprii sacerdotis de his, quae sibi commissa fuerint, exponat fideliter rationes." Trans. DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 174.

⁷⁵ *LPR*, ch. 60, CCCM 199, p. 227: "Quartam patrimonii Rauennensis ecclesiae, hoc est tria milia solidorum, solitis erogationibus clericis omnibus uel quibus erogari est solitum compleatur. Si quid tamen ex pensionibus uel hereditatibus crescere, Domino nostro uolente, confingerit, eodem Domino mediante, etiam quartae portionis proficiat sic..." Trans. DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 173.

⁷⁶ *LPR*, ch. 95, CCCM 199, p. 260: "A Basilius namque tempore consulatum agentis usque ad Narsetem patricium prouinciales Romani ubique ad nichilum redacti sunt." Trans. DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 207. And further on in the same chapter Agnellus remarks caustically (*ibidem*): "Narsisque patricius obiit Romae, postquam gessit multas uictorias in Italia cum denudatione omnium Romanorum Italiae, in palatio quieuit."

Crisis 4. *Religious controversies*

Religious disputes were legion in the fifth and sixth centuries, with the most vehement debate being over the number of natures in Christ, first discussed at the so-called Robber Council of Ephesus in 449, and then at the Fourth Ecumenical Council held at Chalcedon in 451. The aftermath of Chalcedon led to much division between those churches who supported Pope Leo's formula, "one in two natures, human and divine", which won the acclaim of Emperor Marcian, and those in Palestine, Syria and Egypt, who supported an extreme interpretation of Cyril of Alexandria's formula, "one incarnate nature of God the Word". Riots followed in Palestine and Alexandria, and the lynching of Alexandria's bishop Proterius. The issue was still being hotly debated in the sixth century, at the Fifth Ecumenical Council held in Constantinople. The *LP* praises papal interventions in these disputes more than any other episcopal act. The preservation of doctrine and guarding the church against heretics is the primary agenda of bishops of Rome, according to this text.

LPR interprets the rioting in Alexandria not as the result of religious controversy but due to easterners' predilection for civil war. Agnellus cites the *Chronicle* of Maximian, who was an eyewitness to the events described, on the constant religious unrest in Alexandria.

Civil war arises amongst them; aroused... for the sake of slaughter and for the killing of citizens, they all killed their prefect within the church, because previously some others had likewise killed their bishop, accusing him of heresy.⁷⁷

The 'civil war' refers to the deaths of Alexandrian patriarchs Proterius and Dioscorus, in the mid-fifth century. Soon afterwards, the city of Nazarba in Cilicia fell to earthquake, and more than 30000 people perished.⁷⁸ Agnellus' chronology here is quite muddled: in fact the earthquake occurred c. 525, but it has been brought forward some 50 years in order to appear as divine punishment for religious strife.

Arianism

Like *LP*, *LPR* is also concerned to show its bishops as champions of orthodoxy, especially against Arian rulers such as Theodoric. John was the first bishop of Rome to travel to the court of Constantinople, even if it was

⁷⁷ *LPR*, ch. 78, CCCM 199, p. 246: "ciuile inter se motum est bellum;... ob necem atque interitum ciuium, commoti uniuersi praefectum suum intra ecclesiam occiderunt, quod iam antea aliquanti similiter episcopum suum accusantes haereticum interfecerant." Trans. DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 192.

⁷⁸ Cf. Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.8.

at the bidding of Theodoric. He was accompanied by Ecclesius of Ravenna (522-532), as Agnellus reports. John returned in trepidation to Theodoric, having achieved only two of the king's demands - that Arian churches be restored and those Arians expelled from public office be recalled - and not the crucial third demand, that Arians would not be forced to renounce their faith. Punishment was swift:

And John, the Roman pope... was brought to Ravenna at the order of the king, and was confined by Theodoric and kept for so long that he died, and was buried in the public prison in a marble sarcophagus.⁷⁹

The situation was reversed when Bishop Agnellus (557-570) reconciled all the Arian churches which were built in the times of the Goths or of King Theodoric.⁸⁰ *LPR* relates that Ravenna followed Rome's lead in condemning Eutyches, but does not dwell on the subject in anywhere near the same level of detail.⁸¹

Manicheism

While *LP* abounds in accounts of persecution of Manicheans in the fifth and sixth centuries (e.g. by Leo, Gelasius, Symmachus and Hormisdas), there is a single mention of Manicheism in the whole *LPR*. After the triumph of Narses over the Gothic king Teia at Campania in 552 or 553,⁸² Manicheism arose in the city of Ravenna. "Orthodox Christians overcame them, threw them out of the city and stoned them..., and they died in their sins, and Ravenna was spared from these evils."⁸³

⁷⁹ *LPR*, ch. 39, CCCM 199, p. 197: "Et Iohannes papa Romanus... iussu regis Ravennam dictus, ab Theodorico coactus est et tamdiu detentus est quamdiu mortuus, et infra carcerem publicum in arca marmorea sepultus est." Trans. DELIYANNIS, 2004, pp. 146-147.

⁸⁰ *LPR*, ch. 86, CCCM 199, p. 253.

⁸¹ In *LPR*, ch. 48, CCCM 199, p. 209-210, on Peter II (494-520) Agnellus relates that Pope Leo I told Bishop Peter II (whom Agnellus confused with Peter Chrysologus) about Eutyches' superstitious belief. Peter II then wrote a letter to the Council of Chalcedon, part of which is cited at CCCM 199, p. 210: "Vere oportet te humiliare ad sanctum Romanum pontificem et diligenter eius praecepta custodire. Et non aliter aestimes, nisi quod ipse beatus Petrus apostolus uiuus sit et apostolatus cathedrae Romanae sedis in carne teneat principatum." Trans. DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 138: "Truly you should humble yourself to the holy Roman pope and diligently obey his commands. And do not think other than that the blessed apostle Peter himself is now alive and apostolically holds the power of the throne of the Roman see in the flesh."

⁸² The battle of Mons Lactarius, also known as the battle of Vesuvius.

⁸³ *LPR*, ch. 79, CCCM 199, p. 247: "Post haec autem Manichaeorum hereses exorta est in ciuitate Rauenna, quam orthodoxi christiani conuincentes, eiecerunt extra ciuitatem,... lapidis obruerunt, et mortui sunt in peccatis suis, et ablata sunt mala a Rauenna." Trans. DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 193 (modified).

Crisis 5. *Violence and Warfare*

LP contains only cursory mentions of barbarian invasions in the fifth century. While Rome was besieged by Alaric three times from 408 to 410, Ravenna remained unscathed. *LP* relates how Sixtus III had the emperor Valentinian replace the *fastigium* in St John Lateran, after the original had been stolen by barbarians, and donate huge amounts of gold and silver and liturgical furnishings to ravaged churches. Both Rome and Ravenna were untouched by the Visigoth invasion led from the north in 452 by Attila, although both *Libri pontificales* give voluminous praise to their bishops for averting the catastrophe.

The *LP* account of the city of Rome's embassy to Attila is succinct, making Leo the head of the senatorial legation: "For the sake of the Roman name [Leo] undertook an embassy and travelled to the king of the Huns, Attila by name, and he delivered the whole of Italy from the peril of the enemy."⁸⁴ *LP* gives a similar role to Pope Zacharias facing the Lombard threat in the mid-eighth century. *LPR*'s chapter on John I tells a fantastic story of Attila's invasion of Ravenna, which actually was spared throughout the Huns' depredations of northern Italy in 450-451. Agnellus gives many details that are completely lacking in *LP*, and may simply be invented, although Agnellus also quotes from the now-lost sixth-century *Chronicle* of Maximian.⁸⁵ The pontifical intervention that averted the crisis is wrongly ascribed to Ravennan Bishop John (477-494), and may be a simple substitution for the legendary account of Jordanes, who describes Leo of Rome's meeting with Attila in 452-453. Three years later the city was again besieged by the Vandal leader Geiseric, but due to Leo's intervention not a Roman life was taken, just most of the city's portable wealth and its young labour force.⁸⁶ A single mention is made of "the Vandal disaster" (*cladem Wandalicam*) in connection with the theft of church plate from many churches.⁸⁷ Rather, the authors of *LP* are concerned that bishops were seen to keep up appearances in the major *basilicae* after the Vandal attacks.

⁸⁴ *LP* 1, p. 239 (Leo I): "Hic propter nomen Romanum suscipiens legationem ambulavit ad regem Unnorum, nomine Atthela, et liberavit totam Italiam a periculo hostium." Trans. DAVIS, 20002, p. 39.

⁸⁵ *LPR*, ch. 37, CCCM 199, pp. 189-195. Cf. DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 144, n. 15. The Hun's invasion of Italy in 450-451, which did not come near Ravenna, occurred in the pontificates of Peter or Neon (450-473), not John I: DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 139, n. 11.

⁸⁶ Prosper Tiro, *Epitoma Chronicon* 1375, a. 455; ed. MOMMSEN, p. 484.

⁸⁷ *LP* 1, p. 239 (Leo I). Leo melted down six water-jars from each of the major *basilicae* (St John Lateran, St Peter's and St Paul's), to replace all the silver services throughout all the titular churches.

The silence of the *LP* on the deposition of the last Roman emperor Romulus Augustulus from his throne in Ravenna in 476 is probably best interpreted as an indication of how little this event was seen to concern the church or city of Rome. Setting up court in Ravenna, Odoacer claimed the title of king of Italy and was recognised as such by the Byzantine Emperor Zeno. What is odd is that the event is passed over in silence in *LPR*. In the pontificate of John I, starting in 477, Attila the Hun was still the main threat to Ravenna, according to Agnellus (ch. 37). Odoacer appears soon afterwards as the one “who at that time held the kingdom of Ravenna,”⁸⁸ and was challenged by Theodoric in 493, a year before John’s pontificate ended. The end of Byzantine rule passed without acknowledgement in *LP* or *LPR*. Both, however, contain detailed descriptions of the Gothic wars and the Lombard invasions of Italy, especially as they impacted on their own cities.

Ostrogothic Rule and the Gothic Wars

After Theodoric had Odoacer killed in 493, he “ruled alone and secure in the manner of the Romans.”⁸⁹ His triumph was tainted by the ensuing starvation of Gothic troops, followed by an earthquake on December 26. When Theodoric entered the city of Ravenna on 5 March 494, the intercession of Bishop John ensured a peaceful transition, “not only for the citizens of Ravenna, but for all Romans, for whom blessed John had entreated.”⁹⁰ Agnellus hereby makes a jab at the *LP*’s claim that Leo delivered “all of Italy from the peril of the enemy” through his intervention with Attila in the Veneto.⁹¹ Those in the Byzantine territory of Sicily were not so lucky:⁹²

After all his adversaries were conquered, in the thirtieth year of his reign [Theodoric] sent the Ravennate army to Sicily, he ravaged it and transferred it to his own authority. In his reign everyone saw the northern sky burning.

The various Byzantine campaigns against Goths, Heruli, Franks and Lombards in Italy, and the Vandals in North Africa, are described in some detail in *LPR*, but in broader strokes than in *LP* (ch. 62; ch. 79). In *LPR* Byzantine victories were accompanied by signs, such as the red sign that

⁸⁸ *LPR*, ch. 39, CCCM 199, p. 195: “qui illo tempore regnum Rauennae obtinebat”. Trans. DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 145.

⁸⁹ *LPR*, ch. 39, CCCM 199, p. 196: “Postquam iubente Theodorico interfectus est Odoacer, solus et securus regnavit Romanorum more.” Trans. DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 146.

⁹⁰ *LPR*, ch. 39, CCCM 199, p. 196: “non solum Rauennensibus ciuibus sed etiam omnibus Romanis, quibus beatus postulauit Johannes.” Trans. *ibidem*.

⁹¹ *LP* 1, p. 239 (Leo); a similar point to mine is made by DELIYANNIS, 2004, p. 146, n. 19.

⁹² *LPR*, ch. 39, CCCM 199, p. 197: “Post omnes aduersarios deuictos trigesimo regni sui anno Rauennianum exercitum Siciliam misit, depopulauit et suis ditionibus mancipauit. Et ipsius temporibus a parte aquilonis ab omnibus uisum est caelum ardere.” Trans. DELIYANNIS, 2004, pp. 146-147.

appeared in the sky before Lord Narses went to Rome, and visions of men in the sky, causing many citizens of Ravenna to put marks on their property and homes and vessels, so that they might be recognized again later (ch. 79). Verona was captured on 20 July, and five days later another terrible sign was seen in the sky, as if men were fighting among themselves, brandishing weapons as if in battle.⁹³ Again Agnellus interprets a natural phenomenon as a sign or portent obvious in retrospect, with a strong apocalyptic sense of the imminent end of the age.⁹⁴

In spite of the fact that Narses left Ravenna at the end of the wars, taking “all the wealth of Italy” with him (ch. 90), Agnellus celebrates the abundance and order that returned to the people (ch. 91). The peace was short-lived, with the Lombard invasion of the Veneto, from where they expelled the Romans without a fight (ch. 94). In the fifth year of Emperor Justin II’s reign, a plague caused the widespread death of cows, heralding the Lombard capture of Tuscany and Pavia. The Lombards moved on as far as Rome, and burned Furlo. Avars arrived in Pannonia, and General Narses died at Rome, after plundering “all the Romans of Italy”.⁹⁵

Crisis 6. *Social abuses*

Charges of moral corruption against the papacy are among the social abuses mentioned in *LP*. A certain Bassus brought an unspecified charge against Sixtus III. Bassus was condemned by the Roman synod, and all his estates and goods were assigned to the catholic church by command of Emperor Valentinian and his mother Placidia.⁹⁶ In fact the luxury enjoyed by the bishops of Rome was criticized even by pagan contemporaries such as Ammianus Marcellinus in the fourth century.⁹⁷ Slavery was not considered a social abuse in itself but the ordination of slaves contravened the canons. Similarly Pope Pelagius II warned against simony for any office in the church.⁹⁸

⁹³ *LPR*, ch. 79, CCCM 199, p. 247.

⁹⁴ See also the fierce winds that destroyed marble pavements in Ravenna before the Vandals could steal them (ch. 87), and the comet that accompanied the expulsion of Franks from Italy and foretold the death of Justinian (ch. 90).

⁹⁵ *LPR*, ch. 95, p. 260. Cf. the text in n. 76 above.

⁹⁶ *LP* 1, p. 232 (Sixtus III): “...Valentinianus Augustus cum matre sua Placidia Augusta, furore sancto commoti, scriptionem Bassum condemnauerunt et omnia praedia facultatum eius ecclesiae catholicae sociavit.”

⁹⁷ Amm. Marc., *Res gestae* 27.3.14, ed. and trans. J. C. ROLFE, *Ammianus Marcellinus* 3 (*The Loeb Classical Library*, 331), Cambridge (MA) - London, 1986, pp. 20-21.

⁹⁸ *LP* 1, p. 303 (Pelagius I).

LPR displays similar concerns with abuses within the church but not outside it. The story of the Strong Arm, who is Christ, mediating between a creditor and a debtor is told as a warning against usury, but it has nothing to do with Bishop Neon, in whose life it appears (ch. 30).⁹⁹ The chapter on Marinian gives a comprehensive list of clerical abuses, including simony and unfair arbitration of cases:

[Marinian] was not like others, who devour the possessions of the church for episcopal honor, who even take bribes of another, and become debtors. And if a dispute arises between two persons, they so traffic in the dignity of their honor, as to sell out one of the parties. And they send spies between each other, to find out how much money the other wants to give.¹⁰⁰

In ignorance the clergy pursued the Simoniac heresy, even though the bishop had publicly forbidden it.¹⁰¹ A related problem was the undue influence of patrons over clerical appointments, concerning which Felix IV admonished the church of Ravenna, that both clerics and monks should avoid the patronage of the mighty to obtain preferment, which would place their bishop in the invidious position of seeming either ungrateful when he does not ordain them, or unjust when he does.¹⁰²

CONCLUSION: CONTRASTING EPISCOPAL RESPONSES TO CRISIS

Overall in the *LP* we find a distinct reticence about the dire straits in which the papacy found itself in the context of the barbarian invasions of the fifth century and the Gothic wars in the sixth century. Bishops of Rome are especially reticent about their own activities in managing the many crises that these attacks generated, and perhaps most unwilling of all to concede that they had temporarily lost power in Rome itself in 455 and again twice under Totila. The Gothic kings enter without any special remark until

⁹⁹ In *LPR*, ch. 30, CCCM 199, pp. 178-184, Agnellus tells the story of the origin of the place name "Strong Arm", attributing it to Christ, who went guarantor for a loan between two men. The creditor refused to charge interest, and the grateful debtor praised Christ for raising him from poverty.

¹⁰⁰ *LPR*, ch. 100, CCCM 199, p. 268: "Non fuit iste ut ceteri qui res ecclesiae deorant pro episcopati honore, etiam alterius sumunt munera, et debitores fiunt. Et si contigerit orta intentio de duabus personis, sic mercantur sui honoris dignitatem, quomodo aliquem uenudent. Et mittunt inter se exploratores, quantam ille largire pecuniam uult." Trans. DELIYANNIS, 2004, pp. 215-216.

¹⁰¹ *LPR*, ch. 100, CCCM 199, p. 269.

¹⁰² *LPR*, ch. 60, CCCM 199, p. 227: "Clerici uero uel monaci ad indebitum optinendum ordinem uel locum potentium patrocina non requirant, per quae aut non faciendo ingratus aut faciendo iniustus uideatur episcopus."

the Byzantine reconquest put them under fire. As in the papal letters of the fifth century, what really upsets the Roman bishops of the fifth century is heresy, whether Manichees, Pelagians or Priscillianists in Italy, Spain and Gaul, or Nestorians and so-called “monophysites” in the east, and later the Acacian schism. On the basis of the *LP* as well as the epistolary record, we can see that this reticence begins to evaporate in the sixth century, with greater acknowledgement of natural disasters, famine, plague, the sufferings of the poor, the devastation of the Gothic wars, and barbarian invasions – this time by the Lombards.

We find a much greater tendency in *LPR* than *LP* to make religious or social meaning out of seemingly random events. Agnellus was probably more familiar with the traditions of Byzantine chronicles, such as the lost chronicle of Bishop Maximian of Ravenna, than the authors of the *LP*. The *LP* presents us with popes as political leaders, defenders of doctrine and material providers for their churches. Its bishops do not display poverty or humility. The virtues of the bishop of Rome are civic, not monastic, and their interventions in crises are usually from a position akin to that of the charitable evergetist, using whatever resources they had at their disposal or could commandeer from aristocratic and imperial patrons. The full implementation of the shift to bishop as “hands on” crisis manager is evident by the beginning of the seventh century in the *Registrum* of Gregory the Great, which testifies to Gregory’s intimate involvement in the various problems of the city of Rome and its people.¹⁰³ However, the *LP* gives no evidence of such a shift taking place in Gregory’s time or afterwards. In *LPR*, the bishops of Ravenna are portrayed more often as saints than as crisis managers. Its author is further from the events of the fifth and sixth centuries, and perhaps for that reason has less to say about their management of specific crises, though he does emphasize their involvement in ransoming prisoners and sponsoring building projects.

On the basis of the sixth-century Byzantine sources discussed above (in ‘Background to the Sources’), the increasing religiosity of Agnellus’ response to crisis appears Byzantine, rather than Roman, in character. Agnellus’ story of the canny episcopal candidate Maximian demonstrates the kind of *Kaiserkritik* that Meier and Sonnabend identified as a common Byzantine reaction to the rule of Justinian. The heightened eschatological perception among pagans and Christians that Meier observed in Byzantine

¹⁰³ Gregory’s 854 letters provide many instances of hands-on intervention of a kind that is largely absent from the letters of fifth-century Roman bishops. See John the Deacon’s ninth-century *Vita Gregorii* and the anonymous *Life* of the eighth century by a person of Whitby (a. 713), *Liber beati et laudabilis viri Gregorii papae urbis Romae de vita atque virtutibus*.

sources from the beginning of the sixth century onwards we have also seen in Agnellus. Just as imperial failure in the face of catastrophe led people to devise religious responses in the sixth century, so Agnellus tells similar miraculous tales about divine intervention, and interprets comets and other natural phenomena as portents of divine wrath. This kind of interpretive strategy is noticeably absent in the Roman *LP*.

One reason for the lack of religious responses in Rome, at least as documented in the Roman *LP*, might be a desire to promote the perception that the bishop of Rome's power had not failed in the face of similarly frequent catastrophes. Fifth-century Roman bishops from Innocent I onwards had found that turning to the western emperors in Ravenna for military and financial aid in times of crisis would only bring disappointment. With the departure of the last western Roman emperor in 476, their only potential external sources of aid were the Gothic kings or, after the Byzantine reconquest, their new masters in Constantinople. Instead of doing so, its bishops sought to build up their own authority and financial resources to deal with whatever crises that arose. In this regard, bishops of Rome tried to remain outside the Byzantine ambit as much as possible – the perils of not doing so were amply demonstrated by the hapless Vigilius. I must stress again that we are dealing in *LP* not with facts but with representations, which were shaped to portray the bishops of Rome as much as possible as strong civic leaders.

To return to our original question of whether wealth was an influential factor in episcopal management of crises in Byzantine Italy, we have seen that *LP* and *LPR* take different approaches to the use of wealth in relation to the various crises affecting Rome and Ravenna respectively. In *LPR* we see a struggle between Agnellus' desire to present bishops as exemplars of monastic virtues, of which poverty and generosity were two of the most praised, and his desire to present bishops who could compete in status and social impact with those of Rome. Wealth, whether private or institutional, was something that Agnellus did not like to talk about in relation to bishops, as his comment on the wealthy Bishop Agnellus indicates,¹⁰⁴ unless to complain that it was carried off by barbarians, Byzantine generals, or destroyed in fires. I suggest that this is not because there was a significant difference between the actions of their bishops in the arena of civic evergetism, of which crisis management became the focus, but due to different authorial intentions. The abbot of Ravenna portrays his bishops according to a monastic, hagiographical model. Out of disregard for the trappings of worldly success, Agnellus pays no heed to the backgrounds of Ravennan

¹⁰⁴ *LPR*, ch. 84, CCCM 199, p. 252. Cf. n. 39 above.

bishops, whether aristocratic or otherwise, while *LP* lists these credentials at the beginning of every entry. Roman bishops are portrayed in *LP* as highly involved in affairs of state. The role of a Roman bishop in a crisis such as a barbarian attack was to take matters into his own hands (e.g. Leo I's embassy to Attila in 452 and representation to Geiseric in the siege of 455). In the aftermath of sieges, bishops such as Sixtus III, Leo I, and Hilary led the rebuilding effort, even if this was financed to some extent by imperial funds. Ravennan bishops also undertook vital diplomatic interventions – Leo I's embassies to Geiseric and Attila find an obvious parallel in Ravennan bishop John I's representation to the new king Theodoric in 494. *LP* contains extensive lists of the lavish church furnishings, buildings and estates that were donated by Roman bishops, in an echo of the imperial records, while Agnellus remained silent on such matters. The story of Maximian and his desire to preserve his private wealth from the rapacious grasp of Emperor Justinian shows us, however, that the sixth-century bishop's virtues extended beyond the monastic virtues common to earlier *vitae* of Ravennan bishops. It is in the contrast between the Roman imperial-style *Liber Pontificalis* and the later, more hagiographic *Liber Pontificalis* of Ravenna that we can see the increasing role of bishops in managing the many crises that affected Byzantine Italy over the fifth and sixth centuries.

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SUMMARY

Using the *Liber Pontificalis* and *Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, the official records of the churches of Rome and Ravenna, the author surveys the evidence for episcopal involvement in the many crises that impinged on these two important cities and on Byzantine Italy generally in the fifth and sixth centuries. Six categories of crisis are investigated. By a comparison of the two sources Neil examines the defining differences between Roman and Ravennan approaches to crisis management in Byzantine Italy.

CONSTANTINOPLE AU 14^e SIÈCLE VUE PAR IBN BATTUTA

« À Constantinople, Ibn Battuta perd réellement ses moyens » : c'est ainsi que S. Yerasimos exprime l'impression d'étrangeté que laisse transparaître la relation du voyage dans la capitale byzantine¹. Et en effet, le voyageur se trouve dans une terre infidèle dont il ne parle pas la langue. Sa perception de Constantinople ne saurait donc être immédiate. Des invraisemblances chronologiques et des préjugés fantaisistes ont même pu laisser penser que cette description ne reposait pas sur un séjour réel. Comme pour l'ensemble du texte, le problème est compliqué par le fait que la *Rihla* a été rédigée non par Ibn Battuta, mais par Ibn Juzayy, secrétaire de l'émir mérinide du Maroc, en 1355-1356². Ainsi, le rédacteur, bien qu'il affirme tenir son texte du voyageur, a pu insérer des passages puisés dans des auteurs anciens. En ce qui concerne plus précisément notre sujet, il est manifeste que le texte attribué à Ibn Battuta s'inspire dans sa vision des Byzantins d'auteurs arabes antérieurs³. Par ailleurs, pour tenter de voir plus clair sur la crédibilité de la description de Constantinople, il est nécessaire de confronter systématiquement le texte d'Ibn Battuta avec les sources byzantines⁴.

Le premier problème qui se pose, et pratiquement le seul qui ait bénéficié d'un examen précis, est celui de la date et donc du contexte politique assignable au séjour à Constantinople. H. Gibb a proposé une datation qui entraîne l'adhésion⁵ : plutôt qu'à la date traditionnellement reçue de l'été 1334, le séjour aurait eu lieu à l'été et à l'automne 1332. En rapport avec cette datation, F. Micheau a éclairé le contexte politique de la description

¹ Je remercie Guillaume Saint-Guillain de ses remarques sur la prosopographie de la dynastie Paléologue et Peter Van Deun de ses scrupuleuses corrections bibliographiques.

S. YERASIMOS, *Introduction*, dans *Ibn Battuta, Voyages*, II, *De la Mecque aux steppes russes et à l'Inde*, trad. C. DEFREMERY et B. R. SANGUINETTI, Paris, 1997, pp. 5-65, ici pp. 43-45. Cet ouvrage reprend en fait une traduction réalisée en 1858.

² *Voyageurs arabes*, trad. P. CHARLES-DOMINIQUE (*Bibliothèque de la Pléiade*, 413), Paris, 1995, p. 1131. Nous avons utilisé cette traduction, la dernière en français.

³ J. S. CODOÑER, *L'identité des Byzantins dans un passage d'Ibn Battuta*, dans *Medioevo greco*, 1 (2001), pp. 221-225 : Ibn Battuta reprend en particulier la distinction classique des géographes arabes entre les *Rum* (les Byzantins) et les *Yunan*, c'est-à-dire les Ioniens (les anciens Grecs).

⁴ La description de Constantinople se trouve dans Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, pp. 371-1050, ici pp. 696-703 : l'auteur affirme y avoir séjourné un mois et six jours.

⁵ H. A. R. GIBB, *Notes sur les voyages d'Ibn Battuta en Asie Mineure et en Russie*, dans *Études d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, Paris, 1962, pp. 125-133.

de Constantinople⁶. D'une part, même à une telle date avancée de deux ans, Ibn Battuta n'a pu rencontrer l'empereur Andronic II, décédé le 12 février 1332. D'autre part, il est possible qu'une fille d'Andronic III ait bien épousé le khan mongol de la Horde d'Or avant le printemps-été 1341⁷. Ibn Battuta décrit le pouvoir byzantin à l'époque de son séjour en ces termes : « Le roi de Constantinople se nomme Takfûr, fils du roi Jirjîs qui est encore en vie, mais a renoncé au monde et s'est fait moine ». Le souverain régnant Andronic III est appelé Takfûr, le prince, titre qui est donné usuellement par les Arabes aux empereurs de Byzance. Son père Andronic II ne portait pas en religion le nom de Jirjîs (Georges), mais celui d'Antonios, ainsi que le veut l'adoption d'un nom monastique de la même initiale que celui d'origine. S. Yerasimos attribue cette évocation d'Andronic II, impossible chronologiquement, à la réputation d'un empereur qui a régné quarante-six ans pour se retirer ensuite comme moine : est-ce à dire que le guide d'Ibn Battuta l'aurait trompé sur la mort du souverain, de peu antérieure, en l'amenant voir un moine quelconque ? On le voit, la description de la famille impériale byzantine témoigne bien de deux veines dans le texte d'Ibn Battuta : d'une part le regard d'un savant musulman et d'autre part le témoignage d'un contemporain. Nous examinerons successivement ces deux approches de Constantinople, en suivant pour chacune l'ordre du texte, afin de faciliter le repérage des passages commentés.

1. – LE REGARD D'UN SAVANT MUSULMAN

Le palais impérial dépeint par Ibn Battuta est incontestablement le grand palais, comme le montre une description topographique relativement claire, dont nous citons l'essentiel :

(...) une des deux parties de la ville s'appelle Istanbul et est située sur la rive est (...) cette partie de la ville se trouve au pied d'une montagne qui forme un promontoire de neuf milles de long et autant de large ou davantage. Au sommet de la montagne ont été érigés une petite citadelle et le palais du roi. Un rempart entoure cette montagne qui est fortifiée et n'a aucun accès à la mer (...) la cathédrale se trouve au centre de cette partie de Constantinople⁸.

⁶ F. MICHEAU, *Ibn Battuta à Constantinople la Grande*, dans *Médiévales*, 12 (1987), pp. 55-65.

⁷ V. LAURENT, *L'assaut avorté de la Horde d'Or contre l'empire byzantin (printemps-été 1341)*, dans *REB*, 18 (1960), pp. 144-162. Ibn Battuta présente ainsi la princesse byzantine : « La troisième *khâtûn* s'appelle Bayalûn, c'est la fille du roi de Constantinople la Grande, le sultan Takfûr ».

⁸ Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, p. 698.

La question de savoir si la cour résidait effectivement au grand palais lors de la visite d'Ibn Battuta ne peut être tranchée. Au témoignage des historiens Grégoras et Cantacuzène, Andronic III vivait, après la mort de son père, au palais des Blachernes⁹. Mais d'un autre côté, nous savons que la cour logeait encore, au moins épisodiquement, au grand palais sous le successeur d'Andronic III, Jean VI Cantacuzène (qui est par ailleurs l'historien précité)¹⁰. Il s'avère à tout le moins que le grand palais n'était pas abandonné lors du séjour d'Ibn Battuta. Mais, à vrai dire, la question importe peu, car la description du palais impérial puise vraisemblablement dans le modèle fourni par Ibn Rosteh à propos du séjour d'Harun ibn Yahya, au tournant des 9^e et 10^e siècles. Pour Ibn Battuta, le fait même de décrire le grand palais, alors qu'il n'est plus la résidence impériale principale, témoigne déjà en soi de la révérence pour un modèle savant. Mais plus concrètement un détail évoquant le grand palais fait écho à ce prototype. La salle d'audience est ainsi décrite :

(...) les murs étaient revêtus de mosaïques représentant des animaux et des objets. Au centre de la pièce, on voyait un ruisseau bordé d'arbres¹¹.

Il s'agit ici d'une allusion indubitable à la Magnaure, le lieu habituel de réception des ambassadeurs, où se trouvaient des arbres en bronze doré¹². La formule censée avoir été prononcée par le visiteur devant l'empereur est la même que celle d'au moins un autre récit d'ambassade musulmane : « le salut soit sur toi »¹³. Certes, il peut s'agir de la transcription fidèle d'une formule officielle ayant eu cours fort longtemps, mais la coïncidence montre quand même la volonté de s'inscrire dans une tradition :

Puis le souverain m'offrit une robe d'honneur, me donna un cheval sellé et bridé et un parasol semblable à celui sous lequel il s'abrite et qui est une marque de protection¹⁴.

Si Ibn Battuta a effectivement été reçu à la cour impériale, ce qui n'est pas sûr, on ne peut savoir la manière exacte dont il fut éventuellement considéré. Les présents et marques d'honneur évoqués caractérisent les

⁹ U. V. BOSCH, *Kaiser Andronikos III. Palaiologos. Versuch einer Darstellung der byzantinischen Geschichte in den Jahren 1321-1341*, Amsterdam, 1965, pp. 165-166.

¹⁰ R. JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique* (*Archives de l'Orient Chrétien*, 4A), Paris 1964², p. 109.

¹¹ Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, p. 697.

¹² JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 117-118.

¹³ A. MIQUEL, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11^e siècle*, II, Paris, 2001², pp. 438-439 : il s'agit du récit d'ambassade de Umara b. Hamza, envoyé du calife Abu Bakr ou Umar auprès de l'empereur.

¹⁴ Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, p. 698.

ambassadeurs voire les dignitaires étrangers, ceux que Byzance désigne au moyen du terme générique d'archontes. Il est en tout cas douteux qu'Ibn Battuta ait pu être assimilé à un tel visiteur officiel. La prudence conduit donc à invoquer à nouveau la tradition arabe, qui relate le don de vêtements d'honneur aux prisonniers musulmans retenus à Constantinople¹⁵. Tout se passerait comme si Ibn Battuta, en décrivant une audience impériale, ne pouvait faire moins que d'assimiler son cas à celui d'un prisonnier, faute de pouvoir revendiquer un statut officiel !

Cette description classique du cérémonial du palais ne s'accompagne pas d'une évocation de l'hippodrome, sans doute parce que l'institution avait décliné, contrairement à la grande époque des géographes et voyageurs arabes¹⁶. Mais elle est en revanche suivie d'un passage fondateur dans les traditions musulmanes sur Sainte-Sophie :

Les Grecs l'appellent Ayâ Sûfiya. On raconte qu'elle a été construite par Asaf ben Barakhiyâ qui était le fils de la tante maternelle de Salomon¹⁷.

S. Yerasimos a débrouillé l'écheveau des traditions qui rendent compte d'un tel raccourci¹⁸. D'une part, un texte byzantin, la *Chronique Anonyme* de 1033, affirme que Justinien a baptisé l'église du nom de sa femme Sophia¹⁹, en lui attribuant l'explication exacte des noms du palais et du port bâtis par son successeur Justin II. Cette tradition byzantine expliquerait la désignation de l'église au moyen du nom d'une personne, qui n'est en réalité, comme on le sait, pas une sainte, puisque *sophia* désigne la « sagesse divine ». Chez Ibn Battuta, cette personne à l'origine de l'église devient Asaf, un nom phonétiquement proche. Or notre voyageur rencontre ainsi une seconde tradition, à la fois musulmane et byzantine, qui concerne Salomon. Il s'avère déjà éloquent qu'Asaf ben Barakhiyâ soit dans cette tradition le vizir fidèle de Salomon²⁰, qui, comme le dit S. Yerasimos, « joue un rôle primordial dans la dépossession de celui-ci par le démon ». En effet, Salomon constitue l'archétype du souverain puissant qui érige des palais avec

¹⁵ Ibn Rosteh dans A. A. VASILIEV, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II, 2, trad. M. CANARD (*Corpus Bruxellense historiae Byzantinae*, 2), Bruxelles, 1950, pp. 382-394, ici p. 391.

¹⁶ S. MÉTIVIER, *Note sur l'hippodrome de Constantinople vu par les Arabes*, dans *TM*, 13 (2000), pp. 175-180.

¹⁷ Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, p. 699.

¹⁸ S. YERASIMOS, *La fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques* (*Bibliothèque de l'Institut français d'études anatoliennes d'Istanbul*, 31), Paris, 1990, p. 127.

¹⁹ *Anecdota Bruxellensia*, I, *Chroniques Byzantines du manuscrit 11376* (*Université de Gand. Recueil de travaux publiés par la Faculté de philosophie et lettres*, 10), Gand, 1894, p. 26.

²⁰ Élément qui se trouve déjà dans Tabari, *Chronique*, I, trad. H. ZOTENBERG, Paris, 1867-1874, pp. 451-453.

l'aide des démons²¹. Il est significatif que la construction du temple de Dieu ait impliqué justement un combat contre le démon.

Mais il est intéressant de noter plus largement la place de Salomon dans cette légende. Elle se fonde évidemment sur l'exclamation attribuée à Justinien par un texte des *Patria* daté par G. Dagron de la seconde moitié du 9^e siècle : « Gloire à Dieu, qui m'a jugé digne de mener à bien une pareille œuvre : je t'ai vaincu, Salomon »²². Si le roi d'Israël constitue ainsi un modèle bien compréhensible, on perçoit plus difficilement comment la construction de l'église a pu lui être directement attribuée – même s'il s'agit plus exactement de son neveu. Or une légende s'est développée à partir d'un élément mentionné dans le même texte des *Patria* : l'utilisation de colonnes antiques de Cyzique pour la construction de l'église²³. À ce sujet, la *Chronique* d'Oruç bey, datée de 1468 par S. Yerasimos, contient une belle histoire résumée ainsi par ce dernier : « le cadre grandiose de Cyzique-Aydincik (...) attribué à Salomon, le plus grand bâtisseur légendaire, inspire à Salomon-Süleyman Pacha des desseins impériaux de conquête de la Roumélie, la terre des Romains »²⁴. On voit bien ainsi que le bâtisseur Salomon peut se voir attribuer la construction de Cyzique, et donc finalement de Sainte-Sophie, puisqu'il y aurait eu un transfert de matériaux²⁵. La difficulté réside dans le caractère tardif, postérieur à Ibn Battuta, de cette attestation légendaire. Mais on peut dire que, quelle que soit la source exacte de notre voyageur, la *Chronique* d'Oruç bey révèle la manière dont des textes, même antérieurs, ont pu en venir jusqu'à assigner à Salomon (ou à son entourage) la construction de Sainte-Sophie. Pour résumer, il est probable qu'Ibn Battuta avait une connaissance des traditions byzantines, ce qui expliquerait la recherche de l'étymologie *Asaf* pour *sophia* et une allusion à Salomon. Il disposait certainement également des traditions musulmanes, qui font de Asaf ben Barakhiyâ le pieux vizir de Salomon et peut-être déjà d'éléments sur la figure de Salomon bâtisseur de Cyzique et de Sainte-Sophie.

²¹ YERASIMOS, *La fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie*, p. 51.

²² « Récit sur la construction du temple de la Grande Église de Dieu nommée Sainte-Sophie », dans G. DAGRON, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des Patria (Bibliothèque byzantine, Études, 8)*, Paris, 1984, p. 208.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 197.

²⁴ YERASIMOS, *La fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie*, p. 59. Il faut rappeler que Süleyman Pacha, fils du sultan Orhan (1326-1362), fut en effet, le premier à partir à la conquête de la Roumélie ; c'est en outre un contemporain d'Ibn Battuta, qui évoque dans la *Rihla* l'émirat ottoman de Brousse.

²⁵ Ce processus, où le rôle ultime est accordé à Salomon, se trouve explicitement affirmé par un texte plus tardif, datant de 1491, le « Récit de l'histoire de Constantinople depuis le commencement jusqu'à la fin » : ce texte puise clairement dans les *Patria* byzantins. Au milieu du 17^e siècle, Evliya Tchelebi présente directement Salomon comme le premier fondateur de Sainte-Sophie.

En dehors de la cathédrale, Ibn Battuta évoque de nombreux monastères de Constantinople, qu'il compare directement à des *zâwiya*. Ce terme est fréquemment employé par l'auteur dans sa description de l'Asie Mineure, en particulier au sujet des villes de Bithynie²⁶. Mais il n'est pas dépourvu d'ambiguïtés. Dans le Maroc mérinide du 14^e siècle, une *zâwiya* est une fondation religieuse destinée à fournir une hôtellerie aux voyageurs aux portes des villes²⁷. Et en effet, cette définition semble bien s'appliquer à l'édifice rencontré par Ibn Battuta à Brousse :

Il y a là une *zâwiya* réservée aux voyageurs qui y logent et y sont nourris (...) ²⁸.

Mais l'auteur utilise aussi ce terme pour désigner la *zâwiye* du monde turc de cette époque, c'est-à-dire un édifice réunissant des soufis :

(...) cette demeure était une *zâwiya* de derviches et celui qui se tenait à la porte en était le supérieur²⁹.

La confusion des termes s'explique sans doute non seulement par une étymologie commune, mais aussi par une association des fonctions dans certains cas : les *zâwiye* turques peuvent en même temps servir d'hôtellerie. La désignation des monastères de Constantinople renvoie donc au second sens du mot *zâwiya*. Mais elle ne permet de les décrire qu'à première vue car les différences entre les communautés de moines et de soufis sont certainement plus profondes qu'il n'y paraît. L'intérêt du voyageur est faible pour la spécificité des moines chrétiens : l'état de perfection, l'obéissance à un règlement, la prière bénéficiant à tous ceux qui ne peuvent partager leur condition³⁰. Finalement, la comparaison est typique d'un savant qui aperçoit les points communs, mais aussi d'un musulman qui méconnaît la foi chrétienne.

Une visite d'Ibn Battuta à Andronic II retiré comme moine est absolument douteuse pour les raisons chronologiques évoquées. Mais l'auteur glisse dans ce passage romancé de son récit un dialogue sur les lieux saints de Palestine hautement évocateur du regard d'un musulman pieux. Le prétendu empereur aurait souhaité à la fois interroger et toucher son visiteur qui s'était rendu dans les sanctuaires chrétiens comme musulmans, en particulier à Jérusalem. Ibn Battuta met donc en scène l'intérêt que peut représenter un

²⁶ Je remercie Jean-Pierre Grélois de ses indications sur la question.

²⁷ Je remercie Michel Terrasse de m'avoir éclairé sur le sujet.

²⁸ Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, p. 656.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 661.

³⁰ MICHEAU, *Ibn Battuta à Constantinople*, p. 63, n. 33, retient que dans une *zâwiya* « il n'y a ni règle, ni vœux, ni obligation de célibat, ni astreinte à une résidence définitive ».

pèlerin musulman pour un chrétien lui-même. Il s'inscrit ainsi dans la tradition faisant de l'islam le « sceau de la Révélation » :

Dis à ce Sarrasin, c'est-à-dire ce musulman, que je touche la main qui est entrée à Jérusalem et le pied qui a marché sur le Rocher, dans la grande église appelée Qumâma et à Bethléem³¹.

Ces paroles attribuées à l'empereur constituent en fait un écho du propre récit de pèlerinage d'Ibn Battuta en Palestine³². Il y insiste évidemment sur le rocher d'où le Prophète est monté au ciel. Plus significatif est le développement concernant l'église appelée Qumâma, c'est-à-dire le Saint-Sépulcre :

On trouve aussi une autre église vénérée où les chrétiens vont en pèlerinage. Ils croient qu'elle renferme le tombeau de Jésus, en quoi ils se trompent³³.

Dans les deux passages, le musulman évoque d'abord les éléments chrétiens que l'islam peut retenir puis ceux qu'il refuse. Alors qu'Ibn Battuta aurait cherché à entrer dans Sainte-Sophie, le supposé Andronic II lui aurait fixé comme condition de se prosterner devant la sainte croix. Le musulman montre bien, pour conclure le passage, que le christianisme repose sur une base inacceptable pour lui : le sacrifice de son fils par Dieu.

2. – LE TÉMOIGNAGE D'UN CONTEMPORAIN

Nous entrâmes à Constantinople, la Grande, à midi ou après midi. Les cloches sonnaient à toute volée, si bien que l'air vibrait de leurs timbres mêlés³⁴.

La question des cloches à Byzance est des plus mal connues, et, dans sa sécheresse, le témoignage d'Ibn Battuta pourrait en constituer une référence importante. On sait quand même, grâce à un texte chronologiquement proche (du premier quart du 15^e siècle) et concernant les rites des deux églises Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople et de Thessalonique, que le nombre de sonneries de cloches renvoie au degré de solennité d'une fête religieuse³⁵. On ne peut savoir si Ibn Battuta fait allusion à un événement de ce genre ou si sa notation est beaucoup plus anodine.

³¹ Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, p. 702.

³² *Ibidem*, pp. 416-420.

³³ P. CHARLES-DOMINIQUE (dans *Voyageurs arabes*, p. 1155) rappelle que les musulmans croient que Jésus s'est élevé au ciel sans qu'il soit mort et qu'il ait été mis au tombeau (*Coran*, III, 55). Je remercie Henri Bresc de m'avoir indiqué le sens du mot Qumâma : « l'ordure » !

³⁴ Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, p. 696.

³⁵ J. DARROUZÈS, *Sainte-Sophie de Thessalonique d'après un rituel*, dans *REB*, 34 (1976), pp. 45-78, ici p. 76.

La réception de notre voyageur par l'empereur est narrée, nous l'avons vu, d'après un modèle de relation d'une ambassade prestigieuse, dont le cadre est nécessairement le grand palais. Il ne sera jamais possible de savoir dans quel palais Ibn Battuta a pu se rendre, mais le cérémonial en tant que tel semble en revanche renvoyer à quelques éléments contemporains attestés par ailleurs. Ibn Battuta nous livre cette description de l'empereur assistant à sa réception :

Le roi était assis sur son trône (...) à sa droite, on voyait six hommes et, à gauche, quatre, autant devant le roi ; ils étaient tous en armes³⁶.

Il est bien difficile d'identifier les dignitaires évoqués, ainsi que leur nombre précis. Mais la scène renvoie globalement à l'entourage de l'empereur lors d'une cérémonie. Or le *Traité des Offices* du Pseudo-Kodinos, un texte rédigé entre 1347 et 1354, donc très peu de temps après le voyage d'Ibn Battuta, rapporte que le grand domestique se tient en pareil cas à gauche du souverain avec l'épée de l'empereur³⁷. En dehors de cette indication ténue, l'épisode de l'interprète, tend à révéler quelque élément concret d'une réception impériale :

L'un d'eux était juif et me dit en arabe : « Ne crains rien ! C'est ainsi qu'on procède avec les étrangers. Je suis l'interprète étant d'origine syrienne »³⁸.

Un tel recours à un interprète juif arabophone est tout à fait plausible dans le contexte de la Constantinople du temps. En effet, on sait que la communauté des juifs karaïtes, issus du Proche-Orient, n'a cessé de s'y développer à l'époque des Croisades³⁹. Plus généralement, il est avéré que les juifs servaient fréquemment d'interprètes dans le monde byzantin⁴⁰. Ibn Battuta apporte lui-même un renseignement intéressant sur la fréquentation de Constantinople par les juifs arabophones, lorsqu'il évoque son séjour à Mâjar, ville proche du pays khazar :

Je rencontraï, dans le bazar de la ville, un juif qui me salua et me parla en arabe. Je lui demandai de quel pays il était originaire. Il m'apprit qu'il venait d'Andalousie d'où il était arrivé par voie terrestre, sans traverser une mer. Il était

³⁶ Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, p. 697.

³⁷ Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des Offices*, éd. et trad. J. VERPEAUX (*Le monde byzantin*), Paris, 1976, p. 191.

³⁸ Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, p. 697.

³⁹ D. JACOBY, *The Jewish Community of Constantinople from the Komnenan to the Palaiologan Period*, dans *VV*, 55 (80) (1998), pp. 31-40. Ibn Jubayr dans *Voyageurs arabes*, pp. 71-368, ici p. 359, faisait déjà sans doute allusion à la communauté juive karaïte de Constantinople en ces termes : « ses adeptes sont des gens du Livre qui parlent l'arabe, qui nourrissent une haine secrète pour les autres sectes grecques et qui ne mangent pas de porc ».

⁴⁰ *ODB*, s. v. Jews.

passé par Constantinople, le pays des Rûm, celui des Circassiens, il avait voyagé quatre mois depuis son départ. Les marchands itinérants qui connaissent les conditions de déplacement m'assurèrent que ce juif disait la vérité⁴¹.

Le témoignage d'Ibn Battuta sur la cour byzantine de son temps présente enfin un intérêt tout particulier au sujet des eunuques. Il les décrit ainsi dans l'entourage de la fille d'Andronic II, l'épouse du khan mongol, puis dans celui d'Andronic III :

[La *khâtûn*] était accompagnée de dix eunuques grecs et autant d'eunuques indiens dont le chef s'appelait Sunbul al-Hindî, le chef des Grecs se nommant Mikhâ'il, mais les Turcs l'appelaient Lu'lu' et c'était un vaillant guerrier⁴² (...) la *khâtûn* m'envoya l'eunuque Sunbul al-Hindî qui me prit par la main pour m'introduire dans le palais (...) À la cinquième porte, l'eunuque Sunbul m'abandonna, entra seul et revint avec quatre eunuques grecs qui me fouillèrent pour s'assurer que je n'avais pas de couteau⁴³.

Les eunuques sont très mal connus à l'époque byzantine tardive (13^e-15^e siècles), où ils semblent avoir perdu l'essentiel de leur rôle au service de l'empereur. Néanmoins, le seul règne où les eunuques sont attestés plusieurs fois dans un rôle politique et le cérémonial de la cour est justement celui d'Andronic III⁴⁴. La mention de quatre eunuques grecs du palais par Ibn Battuta ne peut donc guère relever du hasard, mais semble bien refléter une observation contemporaine. Le service de la princesse byzantine par des eunuques correspond bien à ce que nous savons par ailleurs : ils entouraient particulièrement l'impératrice Anne de Savoie, épouse d'Andronic III.

Après la description du palais vient celle des quartiers environnants se trouvant du même côté de la Corne d'Or :

Les marchés et les rues sont pavés et étendus. Chaque corps de métier est séparé du voisin dans ces marchés qui ont des portes qu'on ferme la nuit. La plupart des artisans et des marchands sont des femmes (...) Cette partie de la ville comporte treize villages peuplés⁴⁵.

Ce passage sur les activités économiques de Constantinople n'avait pas échappé à la perspicacité de N. Oikonomidès. Il a ainsi rapproché le jugement sur la présence de femmes parmi les commerçants des termes d'un

⁴¹ Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, p. 678.

⁴² *Ibidem*, pp. 691-692.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 697.

⁴⁴ N. GAUL, *Eunuchs in the late byzantine empire c. 1250-1400*, dans S. TOUGHER (éd.), *Eunuchs in antiquity and beyond*, Londres, 2002, pp. 199-219. Je remercie Georges Sidéris de m'avoir indiqué cette référence.

⁴⁵ Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, p. 698.

pamphlet byzantin du 15^e siècle⁴⁶. Ce texte utilise en effet le féminin pour désigner les personnes qui vendent les légumes (*lachanopôlides*). Le même texte semble bien montrer, comme Ibn Battuta, que le marché d'aliments était divisé en sections selon les marchandises mises en vente (poissons et fruits de mer, légumes, fromages, œufs de poisson salés, charcuteries, fruits, viandes). Le fait qu'Ibn Battuta voyait Constantinople comme une ville peuplée de treize villages inspire ce commentaire à N. Oikonomidès : « il parle sans doute des treize régions urbaines de la ville qui, avec le dépeuplement et l'abandon des édifices, finirent par former des agglomérations distinctes ; elles sont maintenant appelées des quartiers (*geitoniai*) et sont, chacune, placées sous un démarque, qui veille à l'administration locale, au bon ordre et qui est chargé des réparations et de la garde de la partie des murailles appartenant à son quartier »⁴⁷. Enfin, on sait que le grand marché central sur la Corne d'Or a été mentionné par l'*Anonyme Russe* certainement vers 1390⁴⁸. Il se pourrait que le témoignage d'Ibn Battuta soit une allusion encore antérieure à ce marché et donc sa première attestation documentaire.

C'est au niveau de ce marché situé en face de Péra que le lecteur d'Ibn Battuta est invité à franchir la Corne d'Or. Le regard porté par Ibn Battuta sur la communauté génoise de Péra comporte à la fois des éléments d'allure contemporaine et des notations passéistes. Le voyageur note ainsi :

Parfois, ils se révoltent contre lui et le souverain doit les combattre jusqu'à ce que le pape rétablisse la paix⁴⁹.

Il faut peut-être voir dans ce jugement une allusion au soutien systématique des Pérotés aux opposants à Andronic III dans les années 1333-1335, qui ne sont pas exactement celle où Ibn Battuta se serait rendu à Constantinople, mais suivraient quand même de peu son séjour⁵⁰. Mais le reste de sa vision des Génois est fort sujet à caution :

C'est le roi de Constantinople qui les administre et qui nomme à leur tête un des leurs qui leur agréé et qui est appelé al-Qumas. Ces gens doivent un tribut annuel au roi⁵¹.

⁴⁶ N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)*, Montréal-Paris, 1979, pp. 98-100 (citant le *codex* F 20 (grec 86) de la Bibliotheca Vallicelliana de Rome, ff. 277-292).

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 106-107.

⁴⁸ G. P. MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (DOS, 19)*, Washington, 1984, pp. 353-354. Le témoignage de l'*Anonyme Russe* associé à celui de Clavijo au 15^e siècle permet de préciser la localisation de ce marché. Il se trouvait à proximité de la porte *Basilikè* juste en face du quartier de Péra.

⁴⁹ Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, p. 699.

⁵⁰ M. BALARD, *La Romanie génoise (XII^e – début du XV^e siècle)*, I (*Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 235), Rome, 1978, p. 72.

⁵¹ Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, p. 699.

Le personnage nommé al-Qumas, le comte, n'est plus à cette époque à la tête des Pérotes : s'il existait au 12^e siècle un vicomte, celui-ci a fait place au 13^e siècle à un podestat. Quant à sa nomination, elle est le fait de la commune de Gênes et non de l'empereur⁵². Enfin, les Génois ne paient plus alors de « tribut » à l'empereur. Au 12^e siècle ils acquittaient le *kommerkion*, mais ce n'est plus le cas depuis le traité de Nymphée (1261). Au contraire, ce dernier prévoit le versement par le *basileus* de dons annuels traditionnels, 500 hyperpères et un *pallium*⁵³. Au total, le témoignage concernant les Génois pourrait s'expliquer par le recours à une source datant du 12^e siècle. Si l'on sait que le texte de la *Rihla* d'Ibn Battuta a pu puiser dans Ibn Jubayr pour certains passages⁵⁴, ce n'est toutefois pas le cas en ce qui concerne Byzance. Il faudrait donc envisager une autre source de la même époque.

Après ce tour des deux côtés de la Corne d'Or, le texte se concentre longuement sur Sainte-Sophie. L'église a déjà été évoquée comme l'objet d'un croisement de légendes concernant ses bâtisseurs. Mais la description de l'extérieur de l'édifice a tous les caractères de l'exactitude. Ibn Battuta prévient d'ailleurs qu'il ne parlera pas de l'intérieur de l'église, où il affirme ne pas être entré. En revanche, il évoque une enceinte ressemblant à

une *mashwâr*, dallé de marbre, traversé par un ruisseau qui sort de l'église et qui coule entre deux murettes hautes d'une coudée, faites en marbre veiné et sculptées avec beaucoup d'art. Des arbres bordent ce ruisseau⁵⁵.

Certes, Ibn Battuta s'inspire d'abord d'un modèle architectural bien connu de lui, le *mashwâr*, terme maghrébin désignant un grand carré entouré de murs, ordinairement découvert et orné⁵⁶. Mais justement, ces caractères concrets d'un *mashwâr* correspondent à ceux de l'*atrium* de Sainte-Sophie, bien que les deux édifices relèvent de destinations très différentes. Cet *atrium* est effectivement une cour carrée découverte à

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 359. Il est vrai que, selon *Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des Offices*, p. 235, le podestat génois détient une place enviable au sein des listes de préséance à la cour : comme le suggère BALARD, *La Romanie génoise*, p. 462, n. 20, cela pourrait expliquer qu'Ibn Battuta ait cru à sa nomination par l'empereur, à l'instar des autres dignitaires. Le voyageur remarque quand même que le magistrat doit « agréer » aux membres de la communauté.

⁵³ BALARD, *La Romanie génoise*, p. 44.

⁵⁴ R. E. DUNN, *The adventures of Ibn Battuta : a Muslim traveler of the fourteenth century*, Londres, 1986, pp. 313-314 : ce serait le cas en particulier pour les descriptions de Damas, La Mecque et Médine.

⁵⁵ Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, p. 699.

⁵⁶ Selon la définition d'une salle d'audience publique pour les souverains citée par MICHEAU, *Ibn Battuta à Constantinople*, p. 62, n. 27. Ainsi que me l'a fait remarquer Michel Terrasse, il est curieux que ce terme de *mashwâr* soit employé à propos d'un édifice qu'Ibn Battuta sait être religieux alors qu'il est clairement associé au pouvoir politique en pays d'Islam.

portiques⁵⁷. En outre, il comportait en son centre une phiale de jaspe avec un jet d'eau, à laquelle la description d'Ibn Battuta fait écho avec davantage de précision qu'on pourrait le croire à première vue. En effet, Ibn Battuta évoque bien la présence de marbre qui est confirmée par la *Description de la Grande Église*, œuvre de Paul le Siléntaire rédigée au 6^e siècle après la reconstruction de Justinien :

Au pied occidental du temple immortel, on verra une cour entourée par quatre portiques (...) Au cœur précieux de la cour allongée, se tient un très vaste bassin (...) Sur le mur en pierres de taille resplendissent de toutes parts les chefs d'œuvre de l'art pictural. C'est la vallée de Proconnèse couronnée de mer qui a enfanté ces marbres » (vers 590-607)⁵⁸.

Même la présence d'arbres pourrait se voir confirmée par une version persane du *Diegesis* datant de la fin du 15^e siècle : elle mentionne huit cyprès entourant la fontaine de l'atrium de Sainte-Sophie⁵⁹. On pourrait considérer que ce texte persan comme celui d'Ibn Battuta relèvent ensemble d'un tissu légendaire de la fin du Moyen Âge comparable aux récits sur la construction de l'édifice. Mais l'*Anonyme Russe* évoque également quatre cyprès et deux lauriers autour de cette fontaine⁶⁰. L'*atrium* de Sainte-Sophie est donc correctement décrit par Ibn Battuta, alors qu'Ibn Rosteh ne l'évoque pas, se limitant à parler de la colonne de Justinien⁶¹. À la suite de ce passage, Ibn Battuta signale un pavillon où se tiennent des juges et des notaires. M. Izzedin a pensé qu'il pouvait s'agir de la Basilique où les hommes de loi préparent les procès. Dans les sources byzantines, cette fonction n'est bien attestée que par Procope au 6^e siècle. Mais on peut dire que son évocation par Ibn Battuta dans un passage réaliste tend à accréditer sa permanence jusqu'au 14^e siècle. L'auteur ajoute la présence dans le même lieu d'un marché des droguistes, ce qui pourrait livrer une information originale.

Enfin, à propos de l'église Sainte-Sophie elle-même, Ibn Battuta rapporte plusieurs détails sur la relique de la Vraie Croix :

À la porte de l'église, on voit des galeries couvertes occupées par des employés qui ont à charge de balayer les travées, allumer les lampes et fermer les portes. Ces employés ne laissent entrer que ceux qui se prosternent devant la croix, très vénérée chez les Byzantins car ils prétendent que c'est ce qui reste des

⁵⁷ R. J. MAINSTONE, *Hagia Sophia. Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church*, Londres, 1997, pp. 135-136.

⁵⁸ Paul le Siléntaire, *Description de Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople*, éd. et trad. M.-Ch. FAYANT et P. CHUVIN, Die, 1997, p. 99.

⁵⁹ F. TAUER, *Les versions persanes de la légende sur la construction d'Aya Sofya*, dans *Bsl*, 15 (1954), p. 14.

⁶⁰ MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople*, p. 138. Ce texte renvoie certainement à la Constantinople des environs de 1390.

⁶¹ Ibn Rosteh dans VASILIEV, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II, 2, p. 392.

bois sur lesquels a été crucifié un homme qui aurait été Jésus. Cette croix se trouve à la porte de l'église et est placée dans un coffret en or de douze cou-dées de long sur lequel on a mis un autre coffret en or en tout point semblable perpendiculairement pour qu'ils forment une croix. La porte est recouverte de plaques d'argent et d'or et ses heurtoirs sont en or massif⁶².

La nature exacte de la relique en question est difficile à établir, car sa présence à Sainte-Sophie alterne dans les sources avec sa conservation dans un autre lieu. En ce qui concerne le fragment envoyé de Jérusalem à la fin de l'Antiquité, il se trouverait, selon l'historien Socrate, scellé dans la colonne du forum de Constantin⁶³. Mais d'après Alexandre le Moine, il servait à la cérémonie de l'Exaltation de la Croix à Sainte-Sophie le 14 septembre⁶⁴. S'agissant de la croix entière reprise aux Perses par Héraclius et transférée de Jérusalem à Constantinople en 635, elle serait conservée au palais impérial selon Sebêos, à Sainte-Sophie selon le patriarche Nicéphore⁶⁵. Ce débat nous importe assez peu dans ce cadre et nous nous bornons à suivre A. Frolov, qui estime très probable l'existence à Sainte-Sophie d'une relique de la Vraie Croix au plus tard au VII^e siècle, en raison d'attestations postérieures impliquant la translation d'un fragment à un moment ou à un autre. C'est ici que nous retrouvons le témoignage d'Ibn Battuta, corroboré par deux sources byzantines, l'une plus ancienne, l'autre plus tardive. Selon le *Livre des cérémonies* la relique était anciennement conservée dans le « petit *sekreton* » de l'église⁶⁶ : c'est ce lieu qui pourrait être décrit par Ibn Battuta. D'autre part, un inventaire de Sainte-Sophie de 1396 mentionne quatre croix qui, ou bien étaient taillées dans un morceau de la vraie croix, ou bien contenaient un fragment de cette relique⁶⁷. Ce dernier témoignage est le plus intéressant car il est quasiment contemporain d'Ibn Battuta et confirme le sien d'une manière plus précise : il s'agit probablement de la description du même reliquaire. En outre, l'*Anonyme Russe* évoque la présence d'un morceau de la Vraie Croix à Sainte-Sophie en 1349⁶⁸, ce qui

⁶² Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, pp. 699-700.

⁶³ A. FROLOW, *La relique de la Vraie Croix. Recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (*Archives de l'Orient Chrétien*, 7), Paris, 1961, p. 73.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 185.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 73.

⁶⁶ Constantin Porphyrogénète, *Le livre des cérémonies*, trad. A. VOGT, Paris, 1967, p. 116. Ce texte date du 10^e siècle, mais le cérémonial de la fête de l'Exaltation de la Croix pourrait y décrire l'époque de Michel III (842-867) : C. MANGO, *Introduction*, dans J. DURAND et B. FLUSIN (éd.), *Byzance et les reliques du Christ* (*Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies*, 17), Paris, 2004, p. 12.

⁶⁷ MM, II, pp. 567-570.

⁶⁸ MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople*, p. 222. G. Majeska ne croit pas à l'existence de cette relique, alors que le voyageur espagnol du 15^e siècle Pero Tafur la mentionne lui aussi (G. P. MAJESKA, *The relics of Constantinople after 1204*, dans DURAND et

nous rapproche chronologiquement de sa mention par Ibn Battuta. Le témoignage de notre voyageur s'avère donc confirmé par nombre de sources contemporaines. Dans ce cas précis, on dispose d'un moyen de vérifier qu'Ibn Battuta ne recopie pas un texte arabe antérieur. En effet, les principaux écrits où il aurait pu puiser datent d'une époque où la Vraie Croix ne se trouvait pas principalement à Sainte-Sophie, mais au palais impérial, dans la chapelle du Phare : le transfert a certainement eu lieu sous Basile 1^{er} (867-886)⁶⁹. On ne sait si une partie de la relique est restée à Sainte-Sophie ou bien si elle y est revenue à une date inconnue avant le 14^e siècle.

À propos des environs de Sainte-Sophie, Ibn Battuta cite plusieurs monastères sur lesquels on ne peut se livrer qu'à de vagues conjectures. On peut simplement rappeler qu'il existait bien plusieurs églises situées à proximité de la cathédrale et qui étaient desservies par les clercs de la Grande Église : la Théotokos des Chalkoprateia, Saint-Théodore *tôn Sphorakiou* et Sainte-Irène⁷⁰. Plus intéressante est la mention des hospices du même secteur :

Ils sont entourés d'ermitages dont l'un est réservé aux aveugles et un autre aux vieillards d'une soixantaine d'années qui ne peuvent plus travailler, chacun étant habillé et entretenu sur des legs pieux constitués à cet effet⁷¹.

La localisation précise de ces hospices est parfaitement correcte puisque Ibn Battuta les situe « en entrant, à gauche de la cathédrale », c'est-à-dire au nord, entre Sainte-Sophie et Sainte-Irène⁷². Comme l'avait vu M. Izzedin, le plus adéquatement décrit est l'hospice pour aveugles *tu Sampson*, bien connu par les *Miracles de saint Artémios*, et dont on aurait ainsi la preuve du fonctionnement jusqu'au 14^e siècle⁷³. Mais Ibn Battuta renvoie aussi certainement à deux autres hospices (*xenônes*) proches : *ta Arkadiou* et *ta Isidôrou*⁷⁴.

FLUSIN, *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, pp. 183-190, ici p. 188). Alors que l'*Anonyme Russe* situe la relique dans le sanctuaire, ce qui est très vague, Tafur la voit plus précisément dans le trésor de l'église : s'agit-il de la pièce décrite par le *Livre des cérémonies*, éventuellement identique à celle d'Ibn Battuta ?

⁶⁹ MANGO, *Introduction*, dans DURAND et FLUSIN, *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, p. 12.

⁷⁰ R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, 1^{ère} partie, *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique*, III, *Les églises et les monastères*, Paris, 1969², p. 469.

⁷¹ Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, p. 701.

⁷² W. MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls : Byzantion – Konstantinopel – Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen, 1977.

⁷³ M. IZZEDIN, *Ibn Battuta et la topographie byzantine*, dans *Actes du VI^e congrès international des études byzantines*, Paris, 1951, pp. 191-196 ; JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, p. 562.

⁷⁴ JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, pp. 557 et 559.

Beaucoup plus problématique est la mention des autres édifices religieux de Constantinople, et d'abord celle du monastère associé à la légende de l'empereur Andronic II :

Les monastères sont nombreux dans la ville. Citons celui qu'a édifié le roi Jirjîs, père du roi de Constantinople dont nous reparlerons. Il se trouve à l'extérieur d'Istanbul en face de Galata (...) Il a fait édifier un monastère à l'extérieur de la ville, sur le rivage comme nous l'avons dit⁷⁵.

À notre connaissance, il n'existe aucun monastère fondé par Andronic II répondant clairement à la description d'Ibn Battuta. Cependant, un monastère de cette époque était bien implanté sur le rivage en face de Galata, certes pas en dehors de Constantinople, mais quand même à l'extérieur de la muraille de Constantin, c'est-à-dire hors de la zone densément peuplée. Il s'agit du monastère du Christ Evergetès Sôter refondé par un personnage appelé Bartholomaios Atouemès⁷⁶. Le poète Manuel Philès mentionne que ce dernier est apparenté à la famille impériale⁷⁷, ce qui apporte du crédit à cette identification. Que la fondation revienne à un parent d'Andronic II ou à l'empereur lui-même, on est donc très proche de pouvoir identifier l'édifice à celui évoqué par Ibn Battuta. Un élément troublant peut cependant laisser penser que notre voyageur suit en la matière un modèle savant qui le hante épisodiquement. Ibn Rosteh affirme en effet :

(...) à la porte de Constantinople se trouve un couvent appelé monastère du sauveur (Dair satira) où habitent 500 moines⁷⁸.

Ce monastère est évidemment celui du Christ Sôter de Chôra, comme l'a identifié A. Miquel⁷⁹. Sans que l'on ne puisse rien établir de précis, il est donc possible que la tradition musulmane à propos de ce monastère et des observations sur une autre fondation du temps d'Andronic II aient conflué dans le récit d'Ibn Battûta. Il est également envisageable que notre voyageur ait été impressionné par la reconstruction du monastère de Chôra effectuée sous Andronic II par son ministre Théodore Métochitès : ce serait un moyen de résoudre l'énigme topographique. Il faut rappeler pour finir que la figure d'Andronic II constitue pour Ibn Battuta une sorte de prototype

⁷⁵ Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, pp. 700-702.

⁷⁶ V. KIDONOPOULOS, *Bauten in Konstantinopel, 1204-1328 : Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten (Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik, 1)*, Wiesbaden, 1994, p. 25.

⁷⁷ *Manuelis Philae Carmina ex codicibus Escorialensibus, Florentinis, Parisinis et Vaticanis*, II, éd. E. MILLER, Paris, 1855-1857, p. 206.

⁷⁸ Ibn Rosteh dans VASILIEV, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II, 2, p. 394.

⁷⁹ MIQUEL, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*, II, p. 420, n. 3.

d'un empereur byzantin et que l'on peine systématiquement à trouver dans son récit des traces précises de l'existence de ce souverain.

Enfin, à la suite de ces considérations très floues sur les monastères, Ibn Battuta livre quelques données particulièrement concrètes sur des réalités administratives et économiques.

Les Byzantins appellent le juge an-Najshî Kafâlî⁸⁰.

L'auteur évoque ainsi très certainement l'institution du *kephalè*⁸¹ : gouverneur de province (*katepanikion*) ou de forteresse (*kastron*), doté précisément de pouvoirs judiciaires⁸². Un passage antérieur à la description de Constantinople vient en apporter une confirmation éclairante, spécialement au sujet du commandement des forteresses :

Les Grecs avaient appris que la *khâtûn* arrivait dans son pays et Kafâlî Nicolas, le Grec, la rejoignit dans cette forteresse, à la tête d'une armée considérable et avec de nombreux vivres. Il était accompagné par des princesses et des nourrices de la maison de son père, roi de Constantinople (...) La *khâtûn* logeait dans un palais qui appartenait à son père. Arriva son frère utérin, Kafâlî Qarâs, à la tête de cinq mille cavaliers, tous en armes⁸³.

Le texte se termine par des données économiques d'une remarquable précision :

La princesse m'envoya chercher et me donna trois cents dinars-or du pays, dits al-barbara, qui ne valent pas cher, deux mille drachmes de Venise, une pièce de drap tissée par des filles esclaves, qui était de la meilleure qualité, dix vêtements de soie, de lin et de laine et deux chevaux de la part de son père⁸⁴.

La remarque d'Ibn Battuta est un bon témoignage sur un premier phénomène monétaire : la dévaluation de la monnaie d'or byzantine, l'hyperpère, dont le titre se situe depuis 1303 à moins de 12 carats, alors qu'il était de 18 carats au début du siècle précédent⁸⁵. Un second fait monétaire est rapporté par le voyageur : la modification de la proportion respective des espèces en circulation dans l'empire byzantin, bien mise en évidence par la comparaison des deux sommes. D'une part, depuis 1325, on assiste à une

⁸⁰ Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, p. 703.

⁸¹ À ma connaissance, le seul commentateur à avoir rapproché le terme d'Ibn Battuta du *kephalè* est S. FANJUL, *Bizancio visto por un viajero musulman de mediados del siglo XIV*, dans *Erytheia*, 2 (1983), pp. 31-37, ici p. 33.

⁸² L. MAKSIMOVIC, *The Byzantine Provincial Administration under the Palaiologi*, Amsterdam, 1988, pp. 117-166.

⁸³ Ibn Battuta dans *Voyageurs arabes*, pp. 693-694.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 703.

⁸⁵ C. MORRISON, *Byzantine Money : Its Production and Circulation*, dans A. LAIOU (éd.), *The Economic History of Byzantium, from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Washington, 2002, pp. 909-966, ici p. 933.

baisse très nette des quantités de numéraire frappées par Byzance. D'autre part, il se produit à cette époque une pénétration très sensible de la monnaie d'argent vénitienne (la « drachme » désignant en fait le « gros »), qui est alors préférée à la monnaie byzantine⁸⁶. Enfin, la mention des textiles produits dans des ateliers impériaux par des esclaves correspond absolument à ce que nous savons, pour une époque antérieure de l'histoire de Byzance il est vrai⁸⁷. Mais il est incontestable que l'esclavage subsistait dans la Constantinople du 14^e siècle, comme le montre en particulier l'attestation de nombreuses esclaves femmes tatares en 1350 dans la capitale⁸⁸.

Ainsi, la description de Constantinople dans la *Rihla* d'Ibn Battuta relève de deux veines plus souvent juxtaposées que mêlées. Une lecture hypercritique de ce texte a pu lui ôter toute valeur documentaire : il apparaît au contraire témoigner avec précision de nombreux détails concrets. On peut à tout le moins affirmer que, si le voyageur ne s'est pas rendu à Constantinople, lui-même ou le rédacteur de l'ouvrage ont bénéficié d'un excellent informateur ! Mais ce passage a parfois été l'objet d'une approche positiviste : tout élément manifestement contraire aux réalités contemporaines en perdrait du même coup son intérêt. Or ce texte s'avère d'autant plus intéressant qu'il renseigne aussi bien sur la ville de Constantinople à une époque tardive que sur la vision du monde byzantin par un savant musulman du 14^e siècle.

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RÉSUMÉ

Le voyageur marocain Ibn Battuta, né en 1304, a consigné dans sa relation de voyage, connue sous le nom de *Rihla*, de nombreux éléments sur Constantinople. Le caractère tardif de l'auteur, vivant à une époque où Byzance est censée décliner, a longtemps conduit à négliger son apport. En outre, des invraisemblances chronologiques et les préjugés d'un musulman face à une ville chrétienne ont parfois laissé penser que cette description ne reposait pas sur un séjour réel. Or la confrontation

⁸⁶ C. MORRISSON, *Monnaie et finances dans l'Empire byzantin, X^e-XIV^e siècle*, dans V. KRAVARI, J. LEFORT et C. MORRISSON (éd.), *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*, II, VIII^e-XV^e siècle (Réalités byzantines, 3), Paris, 1991, pp. 291-315, ici pp. 311 et 315.

⁸⁷ A. HADJINICOLAOU-MARAVA, *Recherches sur la vie des esclaves dans le Monde Byzantin* (Collection de l'Institut Français d'Athènes, 45), Athènes, 1950, pp. 35 et 47.

⁸⁸ C. MORRISSON et J.-Cl. CHEYNET, *Prices and Wages in the Byzantine World*, dans LAIOU, *The Economic History of Byzantium*, pp. 815-878, ici p. 849.

du texte avec les sources byzantines permet d'accréditer plusieurs détails fournis par le voyageur sur la topographie et la vie quotidienne. Bien plus, l'insertion de certaines notations concrètes dans des passages crédibles fait d'Ibn Battuta une source nouvelle précieuse sur certains points. Il apparaît donc que le voyageur s'est effectivement rendu à Constantinople. Il n'en reste pas moins que son regard est marqué par la culture d'un savant musulman. Il importe donc de déceler ce que sa vision doit au jugement porté sur une religion du Livre et à la tradition de la géographie arabe, proluxe sur le monde byzantin. On aboutit finalement à l'idée que la description de Constantinople par Ibn Battuta relève d'un genre double, de deux veines davantage juxtaposées que mêlées : d'une part, un témoignage rapportant des éléments objectifs, et, d'autre part, un regard subjectif imposant une grille de lecture de ces éléments.

CHRISTOPHE BUONDELMONTI,
DOYEN DE L'ÉGLISE CATHÉDRALE DE RHODES
(1430)*

Christophe (Cristoforo) Buondelmonti, « voyageur, géographe, cartographe », est l'auteur dans les premières décennies du xv^e siècle de descriptions des îles grecques et de Constantinople qui furent très appréciées. Lui-même s'intitulait prêtre de Florence. Il quitta sa ville natale pour passer les dernières années de sa vie à Rhodes, qu'il qualifiait de « la plus agréable de toutes les îles de la Méditerranée » et d'où il fit de longs voyages dans la mer Égée.

Buondelmonti a bénéficié ces dernières années de travaux importants, qui ont rappelé les rares repères chronologiques précis sur sa vie dont nous disposons. Cependant, ils n'indiquent pas qu'il fut doyen du chapitre cathédral de Rhodes en 1430.

Après avoir rappelé ces études, l'essentiel de ce qu'on sait de l'Église latine de Rhodes, en particulier de son chapitre cathédral, dans les premières années du xv^e siècle, on présente ici deux actes de 1430 sur Buondelmonti, doyen de ce chapitre. Le 18 mars le pape Martin V le nomma à la tête du modeste chapitre de son île d'élection : acte analysé en 1980 mais qui n'a pas été repris par les biographes de Buondelmonti. En cette qualité de doyen de l'église cathédrale de Rhodes, Christophe *de Bondelmonte* y fut témoin le 24 juin suivant d'une charte pour l'ordre de l'Hôpital.

* J'ai plaisir à remercier Albert Failler et Peter Van Deun pour leurs conseils, Jean-Pierre Grélois pour ses observations, Anna-Maria Kasdagli, archéologue à la IV^e éphorie des Antiquités byzantines à Rhodes, pour son aide amicale, Stefania Taurino, des Archives vaticanes, et Christian Vignaud, photographe des musées de Poitiers, pour leur obligeance.

I. – CHRISTOPHE BUONDELMONTI, PRÊTRE DE FLORENCE

Christophe (Cristoforo) Buondelmonti¹ a laissé trois ouvrages : les *Liber insularum Archipelagi*², *Descriptio insule Crete* (version brève) ou *Descriptio insule Candie*³ (version longue) et *Nomina virorum illustrium*⁴.

Les deux premiers eurent un grand succès comme le montre le nombre des manuscrits qui conservent les textes de la *Descriptio insule Cretae* et surtout du *Liber insularum Archipelagi*, dont soixante-cinq ont été recensés⁵. Buondelmonti rédigea plusieurs versions successives de chacun de ces

¹ Lui-même écrit son nom « Bondelmont » dans la dédicace de son *Liber* à Jourdain Orsini, sur des mentions d'achat de manuscrits (ci-dessous, n. 28 et 30) comme dans l'incipit de son *Nomina virorum illustrium* (ci-dessous, n. 31) ; il est appelé *de Bondelmonte* dans la charte du 24 juin 1430 (ci-dessous, pp. 22-24). La brève esquisse biographique ci-dessous reprend dans une large mesure l'article de G. RAGONE, *Il Liber insularum Archipelagi di Cristoforo dei Buondelmonti : filologia del testo, filologia dell'immagine*, dans *Humanisme et culture géographique à l'époque du Concile de Constance autour de Guillaume Fillastre. Actes du colloque de l'université de Reims, 18-19 novembre 1999 (Terrarum Orbis, 3)*, Turnhout, 2002, pp. 177-217.

² Connue pendant plus d'un siècle par les éditions de L. DE SINNER, *Christophori Bondelmontii, Florentini, Librum insularum Archipelagi e codicibus Parisinis regii nunc primum totum edidit, praefatione et annotatione instruxit...*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1824, et É. LEGRAND, *Description des îles de l'Archipel par Christophe Buondelmonti. Version grecque par un anonyme publiée d'après le manuscrit du Sérail avec une traduction française et un commentaire, Première partie* [seule parue] (*Publications de l'École des Langues orientales*, 4^e série, t. XIV), Paris, 1897.

³ Éd. LEGRAND, *Description*, pp. 101-156 ; M.-A. VAN SPITAEEL, *Cristoforo Buondelmonti, Descriptio insule Crete et Liber Insularum, cap. XI : Creta*, Herakleion, 1981.

⁴ Conservé dans un seul manuscrit : *Rimini, Biblioteca Gambalunghiana*, SC-MS 47, fol. 188 r^o-204 v^o (voir ci-dessous, n. 31).

⁵ Sur ses manuscrits et son texte, J. PÂRIS, *De Sinner et Legrand ont-ils publié le véritable texte du « Liber Insularum Archipelagi » ?*, dans *Ξένια, Hommage international à l'université nationale de Grèce à l'occasion du soixante-quinzième anniversaire de sa fondation (1837-1912)*, Athènes, 1912, pp. 115-120 ; G. GEROLA, *Le tredici Sporadi nel codice Classense di Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, dans *Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna*, 4^e série, t. IV (1914), pp. 450-485 ; A. CAMPANA, *Da Codici del Buondelmonti*, dans *Silloge bizantina in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati*, Rome, 1957, pp. 35-52 ; M.-C. GARAND, *La tradition manuscrite du Liber Archipelagi insularum à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris*, dans *Scriptorium*, 29 (1975), pp. 69-76 ; A. LUTTRELL, *The Later history of the Maussolleion and its utilization in the Hospitaller castle at Bodrum (The Maussolleion at Halikarnassos. Reports of the Danish archaeological expedition to Bodrum [Jutland archaeological Society Publications, 15]*, t. 2, *The written sources and their archaeological background*, Aarhus, 1986, 2^e partie, pp. 114-214), pp. 189-194 (pour Kos et le château Saint-Pierre) ; CI. BARSANTI, *Costantinopoli e l'Egeo nei primi decenni del XV secolo : la testimonianza di Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, dans *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, 56 (III^e série, t. XXIV) (2001), pp. 83-253 ; EADEM, *Rodi descritta e illustrata nel Liber insularum archipelagi di Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, dans *Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου « 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου »*, Athènes, 2007, t. I^{er}, pp. 266-278, et II (pl.), fig. 258-263 ; repris et augmenté par EADEM, *L'isola di Rodi nel Liber insularum Archipelagi di Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, dans *Νέα Ρώμη*, 5 (2008), pp. 357-380 (avec 27 photographies en couleurs entre les p. 366 et 367).

deux ouvrages : on convient qu'il en écrivit quatre du *Liber insularum Archipelagi* – avant 1420⁶, en 1420⁷, 1422⁸, 1430⁹. Cette ample description des îles de la mer Égée, qu'il visita pendant quatre ans, et de Constantinople, accompagnée de cartes, est dédiée à son protecteur, le cardinal Jourdain (Giordano) Orsini¹⁰ : cette dédicace est soulignée par l'acrostiche constitué des initiales des chapitres de la version de 1420, *CRISTOFORVS BONDELMONT DE FLORENCIA PRESBITER HVNC MISIT CARDINALI IORDANO DE VRSINIS MCCCCXX*, et l'incipit de celle de 1422, *Incipit Liber insularum Archipelagi editus per presbyterum Christophorum de Bondelmontibus de Florentia, quem misit de civitate Rodi Romam domino Jordano, cardinali de Ursinis, anno Domini M° CCC° XX° II°*.

On ne sait presque rien d'autre sur Buondelmonti que ce que lui-même a écrit dans ses œuvres et sur les manuscrits qu'il acquit¹¹. Voici, résumé en quelques lignes, l'essentiel de ce qu'ont établi ses biographes¹².

⁶ Ce qui découle de la seconde version (n. suivante).

⁷ Désormais *LIA* 1420. Le manuscrit G 13 de Düsseldorf du *Liber insularum Archipelagi* a été reproduit en fac-similé par I. SIEBERT et M. PLASSMANN, avec contributions d'A. EFFENBERGER, M. PLASSMANN et F. RIJKERS (*Schriften der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf*, 38), Wiesbaden, 2005 ; transcrit, traduit en allemand et commenté par K. BAYER, Wiesbaden, 2007 – si soignée que soit cette édition de prestige, p. 20, chap. 15, §25, se lit sans difficulté sur le fac-similé *gratiarum* et non *grurum* : Notre-Dame de Philermes était Dame de toutes les Grâces (*Domina omnium Gratiarum*) – appellation traditionnelle : H. BALDUCCI, *Il santuario di Nostra Signora di Tutte le Grazie sul Fileremo presso Rodi*, Pavie, 1931 –, et non ... grues (*Kraniche*). En épilogue de cette version Buondelmonti écrit (*ibidem*, p. 59, chap. 82, §2) : *nunc vero, postquam magis in partibus perscrutatus fui, secundam copiosorem etiam tibi desculpationem volui destinare* : il y eut donc une première version, moins développée.

⁸ Désormais *LIA* 1422. Éd. DE SINNER, *op. cit.* (n. 2). Cette version est celle de la grande majorité des manuscrits conservés. Cf. BARSANTI, *Rodi descritta e illustrata nel Liber insularum archipelagi di Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, t. II, fig. 258a, reproduit le C initial de *Constitui* du ms. 475 de la bibliothèque de Holkham Hall, où Buondelmonti est figuré tonsuré, vêtu d'une longue robe traînante, main gauche posée sur son *Liber*.

⁹ Dont il ne reste qu'une traduction en italien, « remaniée et interpolée », Bibl. vaticane, Ross. 704, fol. 16 v°-17 r° (RAGONE, *Il Liber insularum Archipelagi*, p. 178, n. 3).

¹⁰ Sur cet important cardinal humaniste, décédé le 29 mai 1438, voir E. KOENIG, *Kardinal Giordano Orsini († 1438). Ein Lebensbild aus der Zeit der großen Konzilien und des Humanismus (Studien und Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte, V, 1)*, Fribourg-en-Brigau, 1906 ; W. A. SIMPSON, *Cardinal Giordano Orsini († 1438) as a prince of the Church and a patron of the arts. A contemporary panegyric and two descriptions of the lost frescoes in Monte Giordano*, dans *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 29 (1966), pp. 135-159. Voir aussi ci-dessous, p. 338.

¹¹ RAGONE, *Il Liber insularum Archipelagi*, p. 191 : *Tolto quanto le opere dicono su contatti personali, itinerari di navigazione e minuta aneddotica di viaggio, quasi nient'altro si conosce della biografia del Buondelmonti...*

¹² L'article de RAGONE, *Il Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, est une excellente synthèse critique des biographies et études antérieures, dont, outre celles de Sinner et Legrand dans leurs éditions du *LIA*, E. JACOBS, *Cristoforo Buondelmonti. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis seines Lebens und seiner Schriften*, dans *Beiträge zur Bücherkunde und Philologie August Willmanns zum*

Issu d'une vieille famille de Florence¹³, une des principales du parti guelfe dans cette ville¹⁴, il y naquit sans doute vers 1385, fils de Ranieri. Il y fit ses humanités, dans l'esprit de la Renaissance, en bénéficiant de l'enseignement de Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406) et Domenico Bandini da Arezzo (1335-1418). Il y a tout lieu de penser qu'il y reçut les ordres sacrés : en maintes occasions il se dit Christophe Bondelmonti, de Florence, prêtre ; il qualifie de sienne (*mea*) l'église de Santa Maria sopr'Arno¹⁵ à Florence, dont, d'après Flaminio Cornaro, il fut archiprêtre¹⁶. Six ans après la fin de son adolescence, peut-être en 1414¹⁷, il quitta « sa » Florence pour Rhodes¹⁸, « la plus agréable de toutes les îles de la Méditerranée »¹⁹. Le 5 mai 1415, en Crète, il se dit *scolaris in græcis scientiis*²⁰.

Buondelmonti avait des liens familiaux avec des îles grecques. À propos de Zante (Ζάκυνθος) il écrit qu'une duchesse (*ducissa*) de sa famille

25. März gewidmet, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 313-340, et *Neues von Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, dans *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlichen deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, 20 (1905), pp. 39-45 ; *DHGE*, X, 1938, coll. 1219-1221 (L. BRÉHIER) ; R. WEISS, *Un umanista antiquario : Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, dans *Lettere italiane*, 16 (1964), pp. 105-116, et *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* [désormais *DBI*], XV, 1972, pp. 198-200 (R. WEISS) ; H. L. TURNER, *Christopher Buondelmonti : adventurer, explorer and cartographer*, dans *Géographie du monde au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance (Mémoires de la section de géographie, 15)*, Paris, 1989, pp. 207-216.

¹³ Le *DBI*, t. XV, pp. 190-230, consacre des notices à vingt-sept membres de cette famille, dont, pp. 209-211 (G. RILL), Jean de *Buondelmontibus*, de la branche d'Estimo, que Martin V nomma le 15 novembre 1424 archevêque de Kalocsa, en Hongrie (C. EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica Medii Aevi*, t. I^{er}, 2^e éd., Münster, 1913, p. 197 ; RAGONE, *Il Liber insularum Archipelagi*, p. 215).

¹⁴ Une autre branche s'établit en Sicile avec Nicolò di Rosso Buondelmonti, † en 1394 : F. P. TOCCO, *Tra memoria e identità. La parabola insediativa di una famiglia fiorentina nella Sicilia tardomedievale : i Buondelmonti di Sciacca (Collana di testi e studi storici, 11)*, Messine, 2006, qui étudie aussi les Buondelmonti de Florence mais ne fait pas mention de Christophe.

¹⁵ Chr. BUONDELMONTI, *Descriptio insule Crete et Liber insularum, cap. XI : Creta*, éd. M.-A. VAN SPITAËL, p. 184 : *una sicut mea ecclesia Sancte Marie supra Arnun Florentie*.

¹⁶ Fl. CORNER, *Creta sacra*, Venise, 1755, t. I^{er}, préface, p. 5 : *ecclesie Sanctæ Mariæ supra Arnun archipresbyter*.

¹⁷ RAGONE, *Il Liber insularum Archipelagi*, pp. 186 et 187, n. 30.

¹⁸ *LIA* 1420, éd. BAYER, p. 7, Préface, chap. 01, §2 : *Qui postquam periculis infidelium parvisque procelis omnia in sex percensita annis jam exacta adolescentia atque mea Florentia derelicta Colocensem amenissimam petii civitatem, ut finis a modo esset meorum jam laborum et aliorum hinc inde scalarum ascendere*. R. WEISS, *DBI*, t. XV, p. 198, écrit : *Sua prima meta fu la città di Colossi nell'isola di Rodi, e Colossi rimase la sua base principale, donde partiva per i suoi frequenti viaggi nell'Egeo* : par Colossi s'entend la cité de Rhodes (en latin médiéval *Colossensis*, du nom du fameux Colosse).

¹⁹ *LIA* 1420, éd. BAYER, p. 19, chap. 15, §14 : *ubique est et enim amenissima omnium insularum maris Mediterranei*. Il fut particulièrement séduit par le « paradis » des Florentins, ses compatriotes : *ubi tanta est viriditas arborum atque amenitas locorum quod est mirabile ad videndum et presertim paradisum a Florentinis factum* (*ibidem*, p. 20, §22).

²⁰ LEGRAND, *Description*, p. XXIV : *presbyter Christophorus Raynerii de Bondelmontibus, de Florentia, scolaris in græcis scientiis*.

paternelle y a été inhumée²¹ : il s'agit de Madeleine (Maddalena) Buondelmonti²², fille de Manente Buondelmonti et de Lapa Acciaiuoli²³, mariée vers 1381 avec Léonard Tocco, comte palatin de Céphalonie, Ithaque et Zante, duc de Leucade.

Les mentions manuscrites que Buondelmonti apposa sur des manuscrits acquis par lui précisent la date de ses voyages et séjours dans quelques îles de la mer Égée : ainsi en Crète en 1415 le 5 mai²⁴ comme le 5 septembre²⁵, en Crète à nouveau en 1416²⁶ et à Candie en 1418²⁷, à Andros en juin 1419²⁸, à Imbros²⁹ cette même année 1419³⁰. Dans l'*incipit* de son *Nomina virorum illustrium*³¹ il précise avoir rédigé cet ouvrage en la cité de Rhodes en 1423, à la demande du roi de Chypre, Janus de Lusignan³².

Buondelmonti était un humaniste, nourri des lettres classiques. Dans son *Liber insularum Archipelagi* il met l'accent sur la maxime antique *Nosce te ipsum* (Γνώθι σαυτόν)³³. Cette nécessité de la connaissance de soi-même était profondément ancrée chez lui : c'est une des quatre maximes que

²¹ LIA 1422, chap. 6 : *ibique ducissa Cefalonie una mechum in progenie atque cum meo patruo Raynerio de Bondelmontibus de Florentia sepulti jacent* (RAGONE, *Il Liber insularum Archipelagi*, p. 188, n. 33).

²² *Ibidem*, pp. 188-189.

²³ Lapa était sœur de Nicolas, sénéchal du royaume angevin de Naples de 1348 à sa mort, en 1365 (F. P. TOCCO, *Niccolò Acciaiuoli. Vita e politica in Italia alla metà del XIV secolo*, Rome, 2001, et *Tra memoria e identità*, pp. 27-28).

²⁴ Ci-dessus, n. 20.

²⁵ LEGRAND, *Description*, p. XXV : *ego, presbyter Christophorus de Bondelmontibus, de Florentia*.

²⁶ B. L. ULLMAN et Ph. A. STADTER, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence : Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici and the library of San Marco (Medioevo e umanesimo)*, Padoue, 1972, pp. 95-96.

²⁷ LEGRAND, *Description*, p. XXV : *ego, presbyter Christophorus*.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. XXV : *ego, Christophorus presbyter de Bondelmont, de Florentia*.

²⁹ Auj. Gökçe Adasi (Turquie).

³⁰ LEGRAND, *Description*, pp. XXV-XXVI : *ego, Christophorus presbyter de Bondelmont, de Florentia*.

³¹ Fol. 188 r° : *Incipiunt Nomina virorum illustrium libri presbyteri Christophori Bondelmont de Florentia quem ordinavit et composuit in Rodiana civitate ad instanciam illustrissimi Regis Iani Cyprici anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo vicesimo tercio* (JACOBS, *Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, p. 340, n. 3 ; WEISS, *Un umanista antiquario : Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, p. 109, n. 46).

³² Fils du roi Jacques I^{er} et d'Héloïse de Brunswick ; roi de Chypre en 1398, marié en secondes noces, le 25 août 1411, avec Charlotte de Bourbon († 1422), il tint une cour brillante mais fut fait prisonnier le 6 juillet 1426 à la bataille de Chirokitia, catastrophe dont Chypre ne put se relever ; il mourut le 29 juin 1432 (G. GRIVAUD, *Un état des comptes du royaume de Chypre en 1412-1413*, dans *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 122 [1998], pp. 377-401).

³³ À propos de l'île de Céphalonie (Κεφαλλωνία) : LIA 1420, éd. BAYER, p. 11, ch. 7, §14-15.



Fig. 1

« messire le prêtre Christophe de Bondelmontibus, de Florence », fit graver en belles lettres à Rhodes sur un cippe cylindrique de marbre³⁴ (fig. 1) :

PER·SE·COGITAT ESSE·MORITURUM
 NICHIL TAM·MOBILE QUAM FEMIN
 ARUM VOLUNTAS·AUDI MULTUM·LO
 QUERE PAUCA + COGNOSCE·TE·IPSUM
 + DOMINUS PRESBITER CRISTOFORUS DE BOND
 ELMONTIBUS DE·FLORENCIA

II. – LE CHAPITRE CATHÉDRAL DE RHODES

L'Église latine de Rhodes

Buondelmonti se qualifiait lui-même de prêtre (*presbyter*), de Florence. En s'établissant à Rhodes³⁵ pour la fin de ses jours, il venait habiter une ville peuplée en grande majorité de Grecs orthodoxes³⁶ mais où, du fait de la domination de l'ordre de l'Hôpital, l'Église latine tenait une place éminente.

³⁴ Musée archéologique de Rhodes, F 214 ; G. JACOPI, *Italiani insigni nella Rodi del passato. Il ritrovamento d'una epigrafe di Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, dans *L'Universo*, t. XI, janvier 1930, pp. 17-21 ; A.-M. KASDAGLI, *Hospitaller Rhodes : The epigraphic evidence (The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe. Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, Aldershot, 2007, 10, pp. 109-129), p. 114 ; BARSANTI, *L'isola di Rodi nel Liber insularum Archipelagi di Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, fig. 27. Cette inscription n'occupe que le bas du cippe : tout le haut est effacé ; les abréviations ont été résolues en italique dans cette transcription. Le cippe est aujourd'hui exposé au palais des grands maîtres de Rhodes dans l'exposition *H Ρόδος από τον 4ο αιώνα μέχρι την κατάληψη της από τους Τούρκους (1522)* : catalogue, *Rhodes from the 4th c. AD to its capture by the Ottoman Turks (1522)*. Palace of the Grand Master, Athènes, 2005, fig. 105, p. 91.

³⁵ Sur Rhodes sous les magistères de f. Philibert de Naillac (1396-1421) et Antoine Fluvian (1421-1437), voir, entre autres, J. DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la mort de Philibert de Naillac (1310-1421)*, Paris, 1913 ; Z. N. TSIRPANLIS, *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα για τη Ρόδο και τις Νότιες Σποράδες από το Αρχείο των Ιωαννιτών Ιπποτών (1421-1454)*, Rhodes, 1995 ; J. SARNOWSKY, *Macht und Herrschaft im Johanniterorden des 15. Jahrhunderts. Verfassung und Verwaltung der Johanniter auf Rhodos (1421-1522)*, Münster - Hambourg - Londres, 2001 (*Vita regularis*, 14) ; J.-M. ROGER, *Nouveaux regards sur des monuments des Hospitaliers à Rhodes. Bartholino da Castiglione, architecte de Pierre d'Aubusson ; monuments dépendant de la langue de France ; loge ; chapelle Saint-Michel*, dans *Journal des savants*, 2007, pp. 113-170 et 359-433, et *Nouveaux regards sur des monuments des Hospitaliers à Rhodes (II)*. *Les auberges, le bailliage du commerce, la maison de f. Hieronimo de Canel*, Poitiers, 2010.

³⁶ Comme le relève, entre autres, au mois d'août 1403 Ruy GONZÁLEZ DE CLAVIJO, *Embajada a Tamorlán*, éd. Fr. LÓPEZ ESTRADA, Madrid, 1999, chap. I, §22, p. 99 : *E la generacón de la gente d'esta ciudat e d'esta isla son griegos e a la fee griesga todos los más*.

Tout au long du premier millénaire chrétien Rhodes fut la métropole de la vaste province ecclésiastique des Cyclades, dont le ressort s'étendit sur une dizaine d'îles de la mer Égée : l'archevêque de Rhodes eut jusqu'à quatorze évêques suffragants, d'Astypaléa (Ἀστυπάλαια) à Samos et Chio³⁷. Après le schisme de 1054 les Cyclades ressortirent à l'Église grecque. Dès la fin du XI^e siècle des Latins, surtout des marchands, s'y établirent, en particulier à Rhodes³⁸, mais en petit nombre.

La conquête par l'Hôpital de Rhodes et du Dodécanèse et de la plupart des îles du Dodécanèse y bouleversa les structures ecclésiales aussi bien que politiques.

L'Hôpital, réfugié en Chypre à la suite de la chute de Saint-Jean d'Acre, le 18 mai 1291, y était en situation précaire, inconfortable. Le maître de l'Hôpital, f. Foulques de Villaret, voulut quitter le royaume des Lusignan. Le 27 mai 1306³⁹, il passa un contrat avec le corsaire génois Vignolo de Vignoli pour la conquête « d'îles de Romanie » (*ad acquirendum aliquas de insulis Romanie*), en fait de Rhodes⁴⁰. Hospitaliers et Génois prirent le château de Féracle le 20 septembre 1306, celui de Philerme le 11 septembre suivant. Le château de Rhodes, « mout fort », se rendit le 15 août 1310 d'après Albert Failler⁴¹, 1309 d'après Anthony Luttrell⁴².

Le 5 septembre 1307, par sa bulle *Dum Sedes apostolica*, le pape Clément V confirma à f. Foulques de Villaret et à l'Hôpital la possession

³⁷ J. DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae episcopatum Ecclesiae constantinopolitanae (Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin, t. I)*, Paris, 1981, not. 10, n° 38, pp. 328-329 ; É. MALAMUT, *Les îles de l'empire byzantin VIII^e-XII^e siècles (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 8)*, Paris, 1988, t. I^{er}, pp. 337-338, 342, 344, 346-347, 349-350, 354-355, 356-357, 359, 365-366.

³⁸ É. MALAMUT, *ibidem*, t. I^{er}, pp. 171-175.

³⁹ Éd. J. DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre sainte et à Chypre (1100-1310)*, Paris, 1904, pp. 274-276, n. 2.

⁴⁰ Sur la conquête de Rhodes, on suit ici dans une large mesure A. LUTTRELL, *The Town of Rhodes : 1306-1356*, Rhodes, 2003, pp. 75-77 et 171-173. Études plus détaillées dans DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre sainte et à Chypre*, pp. 272-283 ; A. LUTTRELL, *The Genoese at Rhodes : 1306-1312*, dans *Oriente e Occidente tra Medioevo ed Età moderna : Studi in onore di Geo Pitarino*, vol. 2, Acqui Terme, 1997, pp. 737-761 ; reproduit dans *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306-1462*, Aldershot, 1999, I (et *Addenda et corrigenda*, p. 2) ; IDEM, *The Hospitallers and the Papacy, 1305-1314*, dans *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte : Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart, 1998, t. II, pp. 595-622 ; reproduit dans IDEM, *Studies on the Hospitallers after 1306. Rhodes and the West*, Aldershot, 2007, V et XXV, *Addenda et corrigenda*, p. 3.

⁴¹ A. FAILLER, *L'occupation de Rhodes par les Hospitaliers*, dans *REB*, 50 (1992), pp. 113-135, et *Pachymeriana alia, ibidem*, 51 (1993), pp. 237-260 (pp. 258-260).

⁴² LUTTRELL, *The Town of Rhodes*, 4, pp. 172-173.

de l'île de Rhodes⁴³. Cette bulle maintenait les droits des autorités ecclésiastiques latines de l'île⁴⁴ mais ne donnait aucune précision quant à leur organisation.

Voués à la « tuition » et défense de la foi chrétienne, les Hospitaliers rétablirent au Dodécanèse à côté du culte orthodoxe le culte catholique romain, firent restaurer une hiérarchie ecclésiastique latine.

Ils étaient répartis en trois « rangs » : chevaliers, qui combattaient par les armes, chapelains, qui « combattaient par la prière », et sergents. Les chevaliers dominaient l'Hôpital, accaparaient presque tous les offices importants, à commencer par le magistère, qui leur était réservé. Beaucoup d'entre eux servaient au « couvent » de Rhodes, voués à la « tuition » et défense de la foi chrétienne. Mais les chapelains constituaient une forte proportion des Hospitaliers : d'après l'enquête pontificale de Grégoire XI de 1373, « en 1373, sur 180 frères du prieuré de France, on dénombrait 5 chevaliers, 124 prêtres, 49 sergents, 1 diacre »⁴⁵.

Les religieux qu'étaient les Hospitaliers avaient leur propre église à Rhodes : l'église conventuelle Saint-Jean⁴⁶. Ils y avaient leur propre clergé : ceux de leurs chapelains qui résidaient au « couvent » de Rhodes, dont le supérieur était le prieur de l'église conventuelle, second dignitaire de l'Hôpital, juste après le « maître de Rhodes ».

Pendant l'ίπποτοκρατία la cité de Rhodes était divisée par un mur entre « Collac », réservé aux Hospitaliers, et Bourg, où habitaient Grecs et Latins⁴⁷. Sous la protection et au service des Hospitaliers vinrent s'y établir de nombreux marchands originaires de toute l'Europe occidentale et aussi des hommes de loi, gens de justice et notaires comme Guillaume de

⁴³ J. DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem*, n° 4751, t. IV, Paris, 1906, pp. 144-145.

⁴⁴ *quibuslibet juribus tam diocesanorum antistitum catholicorum, gratiam et communionem dicte sedis habentium, quam aliorum quorumcunque fidelium, si qua forsan eis vel eorum alicui in premissis vel aliquo premissorum competerent, in omnibus et per omnia semper salvis (ibidem).*

⁴⁵ *L'Enquête pontificale de 1373 sur l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, vol. I, *L'Enquête dans le prieuré de France*, Paris, 1987, p. 104.

⁴⁶ A. GABRIEL, *La Cité de Rhodes (MCCCX-MDXXII)*, t. II, *Architecture civile et religieuse*, Paris, 1923, pp. 167-170 (n° 1) ; P. LOJACONO, *La chiesa conventuale di San Giovanni dei Cavalieri in Rodi*, dans *Clara Rhodos*, 8 (1936), pp. 247-274 ; LUTTRELL, *The Town of Rhodes*, 7, pp. 94-99 ; G. NTELLAS, *Οι μεγάλες ιπποτικές εκκλησίες της Ρόδου. Παναγία του Κάστρου, Άγιος Ιωάννης του Κολλάκιου, Παναγία του Μπούργκου*, dans *Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου « 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου »*, t. I^{er}, pp. 370-395, et II (pl.), fig. 325-354.

⁴⁷ LIA 1420, éd. BAYER, p. 19, chap. 15, §13 : la cité de Rhodes était divisée en quatre parties, dont *quarta et ultima a mercatoribus una cum Grecis habitata est, que a Coloso Colosensis scribitur.*

Formageriis, de Pavie, *jurisperitus* et juge de la *curia* de Rhodes les 1^{er} avril 1354⁴⁸, 23 et 28 avril 1355⁴⁹.

Ne fût-ce que pour ces Latins l'Hôpital, ordre religieux, avait besoin à Rhodes et au Dodécanèse d'une Église latine locale⁵⁰.

On ne connaît pas de texte restaurant la hiérarchie latine à Rhodes à la suite de sa conquête par l'Hôpital. Du moins était-ce chose faite le 8 décembre 1316⁵¹. Relevant – comme de nos jours – du patriarche de Constantinople, l'archevêque latin de Rhodes⁵² était appelé en latin, du nom du Colosse de l'Antiquité, *archiepiscopus Colossensis*⁵³. Il avait deux suffragants⁵⁴ : les évêques des îles voisines de Kos – appelée au Moyen Âge le « Lango » –⁵⁵ et Nisyros⁵⁶, appartenant toutes deux à l'Hôpital.

⁴⁸ LUTTRELL, *The Town of Rhodes*, 33, p. 185.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, 34, p. 186.

⁵⁰ Sur l'Église latine de Rhodes, voir G. FEDALTO, *La Chiesa latina in Oriente (Studi religiosi)*, 3), vol. I, 2^e éd., Vérone, 1981, pp. 449-451 ; J. SARNOWSKY, *Die Kirche auf Rhodos im 15. Jahrhundert*, dans *Ritterorden und Kirche im Mittelalter (Colloquia Torunensia historica, Ordines militares, IX)*, Toruń, 1997, pp. 195-224 ; IDEM, *Macht und Herrschaft*, V 4 a, pp. 455-462.

⁵¹ Arch. vat., Reg. Vat. 63, ep. 167 A de *curia*, fol. 412 v^o (JEAN XXII (1316-1334), *Lettres communes*, par G. MOLLAT, n^o 4952, t. I^{er}, 1904, p. 456) : *venerabilibus fratribus.. archiepiscopo Colosensi ejusque suffraganeis et dilectis filiis electis abbatibus etc. (ut in prima Treverensi usque « eorumque loca tenentibus ») per civitatem et diocesim ac provinciam Colosenses constitutis.*

⁵² Listes des archevêques latins de Rhodes durant l'ἱπποκρατία dans G. FEDALTO, *La Chiesa latina in Oriente*, vol. II, *Hierarchia latina Orientis*, Vérone, 1976, pp. 88-89 ; SARNOWSKY, *Die Kirche auf Rhodos im 15. Jahrhundert*, tableau 1, p. 207.

⁵³ La chancellerie pontificale usait du même adjectif, *Colocensis* ou *Colosensis*, pour désigner les archevêchés de Rhodes et de Kalocza, en Hongrie, ce qui a entraîné des méprises.

⁵⁴ En outre, en 1355 ou au début de 1356 Hugues, archevêque de Rhodes, prétendit se mêler comme métropolitain de la succession de feu Nicolas, évêque de Milo, dont Hugues prétendait ignorer que le siège épiscopal de Milo avait été réservé à Blaise, de l'ordre des ermites de Saint-Augustin, qu'Innocent VI y nomma le 2 mars 1356 (*Archives de l'Orient latin*, t. I^{er}, 1881, n^o CXXIII, pp. 280-281 ; R.-J. LOENERTZ, *Athènes et Néopatras. Régestes et documents pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des duchés catalans [1311-1395]* [*Archivum fratrum praedicatorum*, 28 [1958], pp. 5-91], p. 8).

⁵⁵ Liste des évêques latins de Kos ou du Lango durant l'ἱπποκρατία dans FEDALTO, *Hierarchia latina Orientis*, p. 137. Le premier, Bernard, de l'ordre des frères mineurs, attesté en 1315 (A. LUTTRELL, *Cos after 1306 (Ιστορία – Τέχνη – Αρχαιολογία της Κώ)*, Athènes, 2001, p. 403), fut promu à l'archevêché de Rhodes le 13 novembre 1324 (JEAN XXII, *Lettres communes*, par MOLLAT, n^o 20998, t. V, 1909, p. 254). Il mourut le 13 août 1335 à Rhodes ; sa grande pierre tombale y est conservée au musée archéologique (F 37) ; l'épithaphe est publiée par LUTTRELL, *The Town of Rhodes*, 5, p. 44.

⁵⁶ Listes des évêques latins de Nisyros durant l'ἱπποκρατία dans FEDALTO, *Hierarchia latina Orientis*, pp. 181-182 ; SARNOWSKY, *Die Kirche auf Rhodos im 15. Jahrhundert*, tabl. 3, p. 207.

Au début du XIV^e siècle la population latine de l'île était peu nombreuse. De ce fait, l'Église de Rhodes était si pauvre⁵⁷ que, le 24 août 1322⁵⁸, par sa bulle *Fide digna relatione*, le pape Jean XXII accorda à Balian⁵⁹, premier archevêque latin connu de Rhodes sous l'ἵπποτοκρατία, l'usage du mobilier liturgique de l'église de Beyrouth, alors déposé à Nicosie⁶⁰.

Seul l'Hôpital, qui possédait l'île, pouvait assurer à l'Église latine de Rhodes un état décent. Ce fut l'objet d'âpres discussions. Le 1^{er} mars 1322, par sa bulle *Apostolice Sedis*⁶¹, Jean XXII confirma l'accord intervenu par l'entremise de deux cardinaux entre l'archevêque de Rhodes, d'une part, le maître et les frères de l'Hôpital, de l'autre. Il assignait à l'Église de Rhodes 8 000 besants de Rhodes, valant 1 231 florins d'or, de revenu annuel sur les biens de l'Hôpital en l'île. L'archevêque aurait la libre disposition de la moitié des églises de l'île, ainsi que la part canonique des funérailles de ceux qui éliraient leur sépulture dans les églises de l'Hôpital ; l'archevêque aurait aussi toute juridiction sur les Grecs de l'île. Jean XXII donnait à l'archevêque la cathédrale, *ecclesiam cathedralem positam in civitate seu castro Rhodi*, c'est-à-dire l'église Notre-Dame du Château⁶², ainsi que l'archevêché, ancienne habitation du métropolitain grec, et autres maisons attenantes : *domum archiepiscopalem in qua archiepiscopus grecus consueverat habitare superius et inferius, cum balneo et clibano existentibus in*

⁵⁷ Selon la bulle de Jean XXII : *tu et tua ecclesia Colosensis magna gravemini paupertate ac ornamentis et rebus predictis ad divinum ministerium deputatis noscamini plurimum indigere.*

⁵⁸ *Acta Ioannis XXII (1317-1334) (Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis, Fontes, ser. III, vol. VII, t. II)*, éd. A. L. TĀUTU, Rome, 1952, n° 130, pp. 241-243. Le 11 septembre 1436, Eugène IV confia à André Chrysogonès, archevêque de Rhodes, l'église de Nisyros, vacante par la mort de Guillaume *Cappellerius* ; son revenu annuel ne valait pas plus de 50 florins (*Acta Eugenii Papae IV (1431-1447) (Pontificia commissio codici iuris canonici orientalis recognoscendo, Fontes, ser. III, vol. XV)*, éd. G. FEDALTO, Rome, 1990, n° 462, pp. 461-462).

⁵⁹ Prénom de plusieurs membres de la famille d'Ybelin. Il était en Avignon le 22 mai 1322 (LUTTRELL, *The Town of Rhodes*, p. 199). Le 24 août 1322, Jean XXII lui permit de tester et écrivit à f. Géraud de Pins, lieutenant de magistère, qu'il regagnait son archevêché (JEAN XXII, *Lettres communes*, par MOLLAT, n°s 16030-16031, t. IV, 1910, p. 150). Promu à l'archevêché de Split avant le 13 novembre 1324, jour où Jean XXII le remplaça à Rhodes par Bernard, évêque du Lango (ci-dessus, n. 55), il mourut avant le 17 octobre 1328, jour où Jean XXII nomma son successeur à Split (JEAN XXII, *Lettres communes*, par MOLLAT, n° 43142, t. VIII, 1924, p. 47).

⁶⁰ *pontificalia tamen et alia ornamenta ad usum et decorem pontificii deputata, necnon libri, calices, cruces, thu(r)ribula [encensoirs] et alia ministerio dedicata altaris.*

⁶¹ Éd. LUTTRELL, *The Town of Rhodes*, texte 4, pp. 199-202. Voir LUTTRELL, *The Greeks of Rhodes under Hospitaller rule : 1306-1421*, pp. 208-209.

⁶² Sur l'église Notre-Dame du Château, voir GABRIEL, *La Cité de Rhodes*, t. II, pp. 170-174 (n° 2) ; LUTTRELL, *The Town of Rhodes*, 9, pp. 100-109 ; NTELLAS, *Οι μεγάλες ιπποτικές εκκλησίες της Ρόδου. Παναγιά του Κάστρου, Άγιος Ιωάννης του Κολλάκιου, Παναγιά του Μπούργκου.*

eadem, necnon hospicia seu domos que confinantur ex duabus partibus cum dicta ecclesia cathedrali usque ad muros civitatis seu castris predicti.

Dans cette longue bulle Jean XXII ne cite qu'une fois le chapitre cathédral : il explique à l'archevêque avoir confirmé cet accord *pro sustentatione tua et capituli tui*. Naturellement, ce chapitre était reconnu par le Saint-Siège⁶³ : comme pour d'autres diocèses, une bulle pontificale à l'archevêque de Rhodes s'accompagnait d'autres, *mutatis mutandis*, au chapitre cathédral, au clergé de la cité et diocèse, au peuple de la cité et diocèse, aux suffragants de l'archevêque de Rhodes⁶⁴.

Le monastère des ermites de Saint-Augustin à Rhodes, attesté avec son prieur dès le 5 novembre 1326⁶⁵, au centre du Bourg⁶⁶, dut être érigé peu après la conquête de l'île par l'Hôpital⁶⁷. Le couvent des Cordeliers semble

⁶³ L'archevêque de Rhodes et ses suffragants sont les premiers dignitaires d'Orient auxquels Jean XXIII annonça son élection, le 25 mai 1410 (*Acta pseudopontificum Clementis VII (1378-1394), Benedicti XIII (1394-1417), Alexandri V (1409-1410) et Johannis XXIII (1406-1415) (Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis, Fontes, ser. III, vol. XV, t. II), éd. A. L. TĀUTU, Rome, 1971, n° 104, pp. 168-170 : venerabili fratribus archiepiscopo Rhodiensi et ejus suffraganeis*).

⁶⁴ Ainsi le 15 janvier 1365 (URBAIN V (1362-1370), *Lettres communes*, par M. et A.-M. HAYEZ, n° 15659, t. IV, 1978, p. 519) : promotion de Guillaume, évêque de Nisyros, à l'archevêché de Rhodes, vacant par la mort de l'archevêque Manuel ; le même jour furent expédiées des bulles à Guillaume et, *mutatis mutandis*, au chapitre cathédral, au clergé de la cité et diocèse, au peuple de la cité et diocèse, aux suffragants de l'archevêque de Rhodes. Le 3 mars 1365, Urbain V promu comme successeur de Guillaume à la tête de l'évêché de Nisyros Thomas de Négrepont, profès de l'ordre des Cordeliers, prêtre (*ibidem*, n° 15669, t. IV, p. 521) ; celui-ci demeurerait à Rhodes le 23 mars 1373 (*Acta Gregorii P.P. XI (1370-1378) (Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis, Fontes, ser. III, vol. XII), éd. A. L. TĀUTU, Rome, 1966, n° 65, pp. 122-124 : Thomae, episcopo Nisariensi, in civitate Colosensi moram trahenti*) ; il fut promu à l'archevêché de Thèbes par Clément VII le 8 juin 1387 (FEDALTO, *Hierarchia latina Orientis*, p. 224), nommé collecteur de Rhodes le 8 juillet 1392 (J. FAVIER, *Les finances pontificales à l'époque du Grand Schisme d'Occident (1378-1409) (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 211), Paris, 1966, pp. 288 et 719*).

⁶⁵ Mandement *dilecto filio.. priori fratrum ordinis Heremitarum Sancti Augustini de Burgo ville Roddi* de remettre le *pallium, insigne videlicet pontificalis officii*, à Bernard, ex-évêque du Lango, élu de Rhodes (Arch. vat., Reg. Vat. 82, ep. 283, fol. 119 v° ; JEAN XXII, *Lettres communes*, par MOLLAT, n° 26948, t. VI, 1912, p. 360 ; lettre du même jour à Bernard, *ibidem*, n° 26949). L'église de ce monastère fut qualifiée le 2 octobre 1518 de « petite eglise de Saint Augustin » par Jacques Le Saige (*Voyage*, éd. H.-R. DUTHILLEUL, Douai, 1851, p. 155).

⁶⁶ G. NTELLAS, *Néa στοιχία για ένα μοναστήρι στη μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου*, dans *ΔΧΑΕ*, 2000, pp. 43-54, l'a identifié comme le monument considéré jusque-là comme l'église Saint-Bernardin, entre les actuelles rues Ομήρου et Αβδρονίκου.

⁶⁷ Cette bulle est antérieure de près de treize ans au 15 juillet 1339, date d'un legs aux Augustins de Guido Donati, facteur des Peruzzi à Rhodes, signalé par LUTTRELL, *The Town of Rhodes*, pp. 145 et 179. Les ermites de Saint-Augustin qui furent nommés archevêque de Rhodes – Boèce de Tolentino, le 11 mai 1425 (FEDALTO, *Hierarchia latina Orientis*, p. 88) –,

avoir été plus tardif, du milieu du xv^e siècle⁶⁸. Il y eut aussi à Rhodes un clergé séculier de prêtres distincts des chapelains de l'Ordre résidant au siège ou « couvent » de Rhodes. Ils desservait la cathédrale de Notre-Dame du Château mais aussi d'autres lieux de culte latin. Pour les marchands, hommes de loi et autres Latins, qui vinrent s'établir au Bourg, fut construite l'église de Notre-Dame du Bourg⁶⁹, au cœur de celui-ci : c'était la paroisse des fidèles appartenant à l'Église romaine comme, à la fin du xv^e siècle et au début du xvi^e, le vice-chancelier de l'Hôpital, Guillaume Caoursin⁷⁰. Le 20 avril 1391, f. Dominique d'Allemagne, alors bailli de Naples et de Saint-Étienne de Monopoli, fonda l'hospice Sainte-Catherine, jouxte les murs de la porte du Môle ; destiné à héberger des pèlerins de marque, il comprenait une chapelle, dédiée à sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie⁷¹. En 1435, le revenu de l'église Notre-Dame du Bourg n'excédait pas soixante florins d'or⁷², tandis que celui de l'archevêché de Rhodes était évalué à peine cent florins⁷³. En commémoration de la grande victoire de 1480, le grand maître Pierre d'Aubusson (1476-1503) érigea l'église Notre-Dame de la Victoire⁷⁴. Dans le Collac, la chapelle Saint-Michel, en la grand'rue⁷⁵, est maintes fois citée dans les archives de l'Hôpital ; ayant à sa tête un prieur, elle semble ne pas avoir dépendu du clergé séculier. Toujours dans le Collac, la chapelle

évêques du Lango – Mathieu, le 23 octobre 1349 (*ibidem*, p. 137) – et de Nisyros – Jean, le 16 février 1407, et Guillaume *Cappellerius*, le 30 août 1426 (*ibidem*, p. 182) – sortaient-ils de ce monastère ?

⁶⁸ GABRIEL, *La Cité de Rhodes*, t. II, p. 163 ; SARNOWSKY, *Die Kirche auf Rhodos im 15. Jahrhundert*, p. 206.

⁶⁹ GABRIEL, *La Cité de Rhodes*, t. II, pp. 179-180 (n° 25) ; H. BALDUCCI, *La Chiesa di S. Maria del Borgo in Rodi, fondata dal gran maestro Hélon de Villeneuve, la cattedrale di Rodi, la chiesa di Santa Caterina della lingua d'Italia*, Pavie, 1933 ; LUTTRELL, *The Town of Rhodes*, pp. 141-144 ; NTELLAS, *Οι μεγάλες ιπποτικές εκκλησίες της Ρόδου. Παναγιά του Κάστρου, Άγιος Ιωάννης του Κολλάκιου, Παναγιά του Μπούργκου*.

⁷⁰ Dont la maison, portant un écu à ses armes, subsiste 1, rue Συμμίου, non loin de Notre-Dame du Bourg.

⁷¹ GABRIEL, *La Cité de Rhodes*, t. II, pp. 102-106 et p. j. XIV, pp. 227-228 : *quoddam hospitale ac quamdam capellam interius fabricatam sub nomine Virginis Catherine fondavit, edificavit et instrui fecit in burgo Rodi, juxta menia porte scilicet Moduli*.

⁷² *Acta Eugenii Papae IV*, éd. G. FEDALTO, n° 127, pp. 80-81.

⁷³ D'après André Chrysogonès, le 11 septembre 1436, ses revenus étaient insuffisants pour permettre à l'archevêque de Rhodes de vivre décemment : *cum fructus ecclesie Colossensis fere ad summam centum florenorum auri commune extimatione perveniant annuatim, archiepiscopus Colossensis qui est pro tempore commode sustentari et justa archiepiscopalis dignitatis decemtam vivere nequit* (*ibidem*, n° 462, p. 461).

⁷⁴ GABRIEL, *La Cité de Rhodes*, t. II, pp. 180-182 (n° 27).

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, t. II, pp. 174-176 (n° 3) ; LUTTRELL, *The Town of Rhodes*, pp. 27-29, 110-111, 282-284 ; ROGER, *Nouveaux regards*, I, pp. 169-170.

Saint-Démétrios⁷⁶ fut érigée en 1499 par le chevalier italien Ludovic de Scalinghe, amiral de Rhodes⁷⁷.

L'Église latine avait dans l'île de Rhodes, hors la cité, d'autres lieux de culte, églises et chapelles, mais elles sont mal connues : au moins la chapelle du château d'Asklipio (Ασκληπιείο), appartenant aux Hospitaliers ; peut-être aussi l'église de Gennadi (Γεννάδι)⁷⁸ et la chapelle Saint-Luc de Soroni⁷⁹. Le 6 juin 1410, une chapellenie de Saint-Antoine des Latins (*capellanie beati Anthonii Latinorum*) venait d'être construite en la châtellenie de Kattavia, hors le *castrum*⁸⁰. Notre-Dame de Philermé était un prieuré de l'Hôpital, dont le prieur était un de ses chapelains⁸¹.

Le chapitre cathédral de Rhodes

Deux bulles de Benoît XIII, des 5⁸² et 9⁸³ septembre 1404, montrent que le chapitre cathédral de Rhodes était constitué de sept bénéfices : les dignités de doyen, d'archidiacre et cinq canonicats et prébendes :

in ecclesia Collocensi unus decanatus et unus archidiaconatus et quinque canonicatus et praebendae dumtaxat et non alia beneficia existant.

En d'autres termes, les membres du chapitre étaient le doyen, l'archidiacre et cinq simples chanoines. À cette date de 1404 deux seulement étaient prêtres et peu résidaient, si bien qu'il fallait souvent avoir recours à des prêtres d'ordres mendiants de diverses parties du monde pour assurer le service divin.

Constitué de sept membres, le chapitre cathédral de Rhodes, ayant à sa tête le doyen, était un très petit chapitre.

⁷⁶ GABRIEL, *La Cité de Rhodes*, t. II, pp. 176-177 (n° 4) et p. j. XVII, pp. 229-230. Elle a été déplacée pendant l'occupation italienne.

⁷⁷ L. SCHIAVONE, *Ludovico di Scalinghe e la cappella di S. Demetrio a Rodi*, dans *Il Delphino*, n° 66 (juillet-août 1982), pp. 16-24.

⁷⁸ KASDAGLI, *Hospitaller Rhodes : The epigraphic evidence*, pp. 114 et 128.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 114 et pl. 2, p. 115.

⁸⁰ LUTTRELL, *The Greeks of Rhodes under Hospitaller rule : 1306-1421*, pp. 210-211 ; IDEM, *L'œuvre religieuse des Hospitaliers à Rhodes : 1309-1439 (Orient et Occident du IX^e au XV^e siècle. Actes du colloque d'Amiens, 8, 9 et 10 octobre 1998, Paris, 2000, pp. 105-119 ; reproduit dans IDEM, *Studies on the Hospitallers after 1306. Rhodes and the West*, Aldershot, 2007, XXIV), pp. 113 et 117.*

⁸¹ ROGER, *Nouveaux regards*, I, p. 153, n. 218.

⁸² Bulle *Injunctum nobis (Acta pseudopontificum Clementis VII...*, éd. TĀUTU, n° 80, pp. 115-116).

⁸³ Bulle *Personam tuam (ibidem*, n° 81, pp. 116-118).

Peu de noms de doyens sont connus. Bernard Ribe, doyen du chapitre, mourut avant le 4 juillet 1391, sans doute quelques mois plus tôt⁸⁴. Pierre *de Percivallis* – dont le nom suggère une origine occidentale – était doyen le 14 juin 1425, quand le pape Martin V lui accorda en plus l'église paroissiale de Notre-Dame du Bourg de Rhodes⁸⁵.

Nous connaissons quelques archidiaques de Rhodes⁸⁶. Le 23 septembre 1383, le pape Clément VII, sur plainte de Guillaume de Procida, recteur de l'église Notre-Dame du Bourg, *capellani nostri*, prescrivit que fût abolie la coutume que les archidiaques de Rhodes perçoivent cinq sous des mariages, même si les mariés étaient en état de pauvreté⁸⁷. En outre, un chapelain de l'Église de Rhodes est attesté le 24 juin 1430⁸⁸.

Quelques noms de chanoines de Rhodes sont conservés. Un des premiers connus est André de Négrepont, cité dans la bulle de Jean XXII du 1^{er} mars 1322⁸⁹. François Brossa, cousin du trésorier royal de Chypre, était archidiaque et chanoine de Rhodes en 1344⁹⁰. En 1347, Georges *Homodei* de Beyrouth, alias de Chypre, tenait un canonicat de Rhodes, *de quo nil percipit*⁹¹. Le 30 juin 1367, Urbain V manda à l'official de Rhodes de pourvoir d'un canonicat et d'une prébende de l'église de Rhodes Antoine de *Bonavennia*, prêtre du même diocèse⁹².

Le 23 mars 1373, Grégoire XI expédia un mandement à Antoine de Formageriis, chanoine de l'église de Rhodes⁹³ ; le 28 janvier 1376⁹⁴, il promut

⁸⁴ BnM, Arch. 325, fol. 160 v^o-161 : *hospicia quedam que fuerunt quondam domini Bernardi Ribe, decani ecclesie Colocensis, nuper nostro mandato et nomine* [f. Jean Fernández de Heredia, maître de l'Hôpital de 1377 à 1396] *empta ab ipsius hereditibus*.

⁸⁵ *Acta Martini P.P. V (1417-1431)*, éd. A. L. TĀUTU, Rome, 1980, t. II, n^{os} 315, pp. 807-808, et 315 a, pp. 809-811. Cette église vaquait officiellement par la mort, quelque vingt ans plus tôt, d'André *de Orsano*, collecteur de la Chambre apostolique aux cités, diocèse et province de Rhodes. Sur intervention des rois de France et de Chypre – Charles VI et Janus – Hugolin de Lippo, prêtre du diocèse de Rhodes, s'en était fait pourvoir par le pape Benoît XIII et la détint pendant plus de vingt ans, jusqu'à son éviction par Martin V. Les revenus de cette cure étaient estimés à une cinquantaine de florins d'or. Le 27 septembre 1425, Martin V manda au prieur de Sainte-Catherine du Bourg de Rhodes de mettre en possession Pierre *de Percivallis* de cette église paroissiale avec son doyen^{né} (*ibidem*, p. 811).

⁸⁶ Ainsi François Brossa, archidiaque et chanoine de Rhodes, cousin du trésorier royal de Chypre en 1344 (LUTTRELL, *The Town of Rhodes*, p. 101, n. 369) ; Barthélemy Roland le 24 juin 1430 (ci-dessous, p. 344) ; Nicolas Robert, originaire de la Champagne, le 4 mai 1451 (BnM, Arch. 363, fol. 244) ; André Constantin en 1486 et 1490 (ci-dessous, p. 340).

⁸⁷ *Acta pseudopontificum Clementis VII*, éd. TĀUTU, n^o 38, pp. 54-55.

⁸⁸ *Rodericus de Acry* le 24 juin 1430 (ci-dessous, p. 340).

⁸⁹ LUTTRELL, *The Town of Rhodes*, texte 4, p. 200.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 101, n. 369.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*.

⁹² URBAIN V, *Lettres communes*, par M. et A.-M. HAYEZ, n^o 19179, t. VI, 1980, p. 108.

⁹³ Bulle *Exhibita nobis*, éd. *Acta Gregorii P.P. XI*, éd. TĀUTU, n^o 65, pp. 122-124.

⁹⁴ EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica Medii Aevi*, t. I^{er}, 2^e éd., p. 198.

le même Antoine, *legum doctor*⁹⁵, à l'archevêché de Rhodes. Le 12 octobre 1383, le pape d'Avignon Clément VII nomma archevêque de Rhodes Manuel de Lippo, chanoine de Notre-Dame de Rhodes⁹⁶. Mais le 5 septembre 1404⁹⁷, sous son successeur Benoît XIII, Antoine de Formageriis⁹⁸ était encore ou à nouveau archevêque de Rhodes. Très âgé, sénile, à bout de forces, il était incapable d'administrer son archevêché le 31 mars 1424⁹⁹, quand Martin V manda au protecteur de Buondelmonti, le cardinal Jourdain Orsini, alors évêque d'Albano, de faire une enquête sur Antoine de Formageriis et, si elle confirmait les faits qui lui étaient reprochés, de lui donner comme coadjuteur Bertrand de l'Isle, évêque d'Égine¹⁰⁰. Antoine de Formageriis garda son siège jusqu'à sa mort, environ un an plus tard, sans doute au début de 1425¹⁰¹.

Salvus de Erbleto, prêtre, était chanoine de Rhodes le 9 mars 1382, quand, Guillaume de Procida, chanoine de Rhodes et recteur de l'église Notre-Dame du Bourg, ayant fait l'objet de graves accusations, Clément VII

⁹⁵ Certainement parent, sans doute fils de Guillaume, homme de loi à Rhodes en 1354-1355 (ci-dessus, pp. 331-332).

⁹⁶ *Acta pseudopontificum Clementis VII*, éd. TĀUTU, n° 41, p. 58. Manuel de Lippo était d'une famille noble originaire de Gênes (Éd. BARATIER, *Histoire du commerce de Marseille*, t. II, Paris, 1951, p. 240, n. 1), établie à Rhodes (*Acta pseudopontificum Clementis VII*, éd. TĀUTU, n° 41, p. 58 ; LUTTRELL, *The Greeks of Rhodes under Hospitaller rule : 1306-1421*, pp. 195-196) ; le 23 février 1373, le pape Grégoire XI écrivit à f. Raymond Bérenger, maître de l'Hôpital, de recevoir en frère chevalier de son ordre *nobilis vir Georgius de Lippo, domicellus Collocensis* (*Acta Gregorii P.P. XI*, éd. TĀUTU, n° 59, pp. 112-113). En 1393, Nicolin de Lippo était patron d'une nef de l'Hôpital (Éd. BARATIER, *Histoire du commerce de Marseille*, t. II, p. 235). Nicolin de Lippo, lui aussi *domicellus Collocensis*, avait trois fils (*Acta pseudopontificum Clementis VII*, éd. TĀUTU, n° 75, p. 108, 14 juillet 1396 et 18 avril 1397, et 77, pp. 109-110, 14 juillet 1396) : Manuel et Jean, clercs, et Hugolin (sans doute le même que ci-dessus, n. 85).

⁹⁷ *Acta pseudopontificum Clementis VII*, éd. TĀUTU, n° 80-81, pp. 115-118.

⁹⁸ Qui était collecteur de Rhodes le 27 août 1403 (FAVIER, *Les finances pontificales à l'époque du Grand Schisme d'Occident*, p. 719).

⁹⁹ Bulle *Divina disponente clementia*, *Acta Martini P.P. V*, éd. TĀUTU, n° 273 b, p. 711 : *Cum itaque, sicut accepimus, venerabilis frater noster Antonius, archiepiscopus Colocensis, adeo senio confractus et sui corporis viribus destitutus existat, quod curam, regimen et administrationem ecclesiae Colocensis, cui praeesse dinoscitur, solus utiliter amplius gerere et exercere non valet ipsaque ecclesia, partibus infidelium proxima, in spiritualibus et temporalibus propterea, in christianae fidei obprobrium et scandalum multorum, hactenus laesa...*

¹⁰⁰ Attesté comme évêque d'Égine (Αἴγινα) depuis le 15 janvier 1420, il mourut en 1428 (FEDALTO, *Hierarchia latina Orientis*, p. 30). Noble de père et de mère (*de nobili genere ex utraque parte procreatum*), de l'ordre des Frères mineurs, maître en théologie, il avait passé quelque temps à Rhodes, où il avait édifié le clergé et le peuple par sa prédication et ses bonnes mœurs (*qui alias in civitate et insula Collocensi per aliqua tempora mansit et, inibi praedicationibus insistendo, clerum et populum illarum partium, prout fidedignorum relatibus fertur, aedificavit et bonis moribus instruxit*) (*Acta Martini P.P. V*, éd. TĀUTU, n° 273, t. II, pp. 709-710).

¹⁰¹ Il fut remplacé sur le siège de Rhodes le 11 mai 1425 par Boèce de Tolentino (FEDALTO, *Hierarchia latina Orientis*, p. 88, d'après Arch. vat., Reg. Lat. 255, fol. 77 r°-v°).

lui conféra cette église¹⁰² ; après enquête, le vicaire général de Rhodes déclara Guillaume de Procida innocent de ces accusations¹⁰³.

Le 9 septembre 1404, Benoît XIII enjoignit à l'archevêque de Rhodes d'indiquer aux collecteurs ou sous-collecteurs de la Chambre apostolique les noms des chanoines qu'il nommerait et la date de leurs collations¹⁰⁴.

André *de Orsano*, bachelier en décrets, chanoine de Rhodes, fut nommé le 25 mars 1406 collecteur de Rhodes¹⁰⁵. Le 13 septembre 1421, Martin V pourvut *Jacobus Bartholomei de Pistorio*, collecteur de la Chambre apostolique aux îles de Chypre et de Rhodes, des canonicat et prébende de l'église de Rhodes vacants par la mort de feu le chanoine Roger de Vaesia¹⁰⁶. Le 15 mai 1427, Guillaume de Formageriis, chanoine de Rhodes – certainement parent de l'homme de loi Guillaume et de l'archevêque Antoine –, fut nommé par Martin V envoyé du Saint-Siège et son collecteur général aux cité et île de Rhodes¹⁰⁷.

Ainsi, un archevêque – Antoine de Formageriis (1403) – et au moins trois chanoines de Rhodes – André *de Orsano* (1406), *Jacobus Bartholomei de Pistorio* (1421), Guillaume de Formageriis (1427) – furent collecteurs de la Chambre apostolique en la province de Rhodes : les chanoines étaient des hommes instruits et relativement aisés. La collectorie de Rhodes n'était pas pour autant un monopole de l'*ecclesia Colossensis* : d'autres prêtres que des chanoines du chapitre cathédral furent nommés collecteurs de Rhodes¹⁰⁸.

Sur ces chanoines de Rhodes le principal document conservé est sans doute la très précieuse inscription, provenant du château d'Asklipio¹⁰⁹, des

¹⁰² *Acta pseudopontificum Clementis VII*, éd. TĀUTU, n° 30, pp. 43-44. Guillaume de Procida fut accusé d'avoir défloré deux jeunes filles, l'une en la sacristie de Notre-Dame du Bourg, l'autre dans un casal de l'archevêque de Rhodes, et d'avoir contracté mariage selon le rite grec au diocèse de Négrepont ; il aurait été *publice super asinum ductus ac scophis et virgis cesus*. Par cette bulle du 9 mars 1382 Clément VII manda à l'official de Rhodes de faire une enquête sur ces accusations.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, n° 40, p. 57 (23 septembre 1383).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, n° 81, p. 118.

¹⁰⁵ FAVIER, *Les finances pontificales à l'époque du Grand Schisme d'Occident*, p. 719.

¹⁰⁶ *Acta Martini P.P. V*, éd. TĀUTU, n° 21 b, t. I, p. 65.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, n° 397 a, t. II, p. 1020. Il mourut avant le 8 mai 1432, date à laquelle Eugène IV conféra ses canonicat et prébende à Christophe *Trapezuntius*, clerc de Crète ; leur revenu annuel n'excédait pas 40 florins d'or (*Acta Eugenii Papae IV*, éd. FEDALTO, n° 128, p. 81).

¹⁰⁸ FAVIER, *Les finances pontificales à l'époque du Grand Schisme d'Occident*, p. 719, en indique trois : Pierre Budana, archevêque de Corfou, nommé collecteur de Grèce, Crète, Rhodes et Chypre le 17 juin 1382, Thomas de Négrepont (ci-dessus, n. 64), archevêque de Thèbes, ancien évêque de Nisyros, nommé collecteur de Rhodes le 8 juillet 1392, et Francesco Virgili, collecteur de Rhodes et Chypre le 20 septembre 1408.

¹⁰⁹ G. GEROLA, *I monumenti medioevali delle Tredeci Sporadi*, dans *Annuario della Regia Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente*, 1 (1914), pp. 351-352 ; *Rhodes from the 4th c. AD to its capture by the Ottoman Turks (1522)*, pp. 78-79 (fig. 92) ; KASDAGLI, *Hospitaller Rhodes : The epigraphic evidence*, p. 114 et pl. 3, p. 115.

Hospitaliers, où les sept membres du chapitre de Rhodes (*tempore dominorum canonicorum Rodi*) sont représentés agenouillés devant la Vierge et l'Enfant. Cette inscription, en latin, datée de 1473, donne le nom de quatre de ces sept chanoines de Rhodes¹¹⁰ : Jean de *Terranova*, *Rodericus* d'Acrici, Antoine Constantin, Jean Cafuri. Antoine Constantin était chanoine et archidiacre de Rhodes le 4 janvier 1486 comme le 9 février 1490, date à laquelle le maître, f. Pierre d'Aubusson, le prit comme chapelain ; la bulle du 4 janvier 1486 donne acte à Antoine Constantin de la pauvreté de sa prébende (*actenta paucitate introitus et prebende vestri canonicatus*)¹¹¹. Le premier des chanoines de 1473, Jean de *Terranova*, représenté avec ses armes – un chevron accompagné de trois roses – fut le 3 décembre 1495¹¹² et dans les premières années du XVI^e siècle doyen du chapitre cathédral et vicaire général de l'archevêque de Rhodes¹¹³. Comme Antoine de Formage-riis en 1376, Marc de Monte était chanoine de Rhodes quand il fut promu à l'archevêché de Rhodes, le 23 octobre 1475¹¹⁴.

III. – BUONDELMONTI, DOYEN DE L'ÉGLISE CATHÉDRALE DE RHODES (1430)

Le 18 mars 1430, Martin V pourvut Christophe Buondelmonti, prêtre de Florence, des décanat et canonat de l'Église de Rhodes vacants par la mort de Pierre *de Percevallis*¹¹⁵. L'essentiel de la supplique de Buondelmonti, agréée par Martin V, est transcrit ci-dessous :

Supplicat Sanctitatem Vestram devotus vester Cristoforus de Bondalmontibus, de Florentia, presbyter florentinus, quatenus sibi gratiam faciendo specialem de decanatu necnon canonicatu et prebenda ecclesie Colocensis, vacantibus

¹¹⁰ Pour les trois autres, l'inscription porte seulement : *et ceterorum*. Peut-être y avait-il parmi eux Marc de Monte, chanoine de Rhodes quand il fut promu à l'archevêché de Rhodes (ci-dessous, n. 114).

¹¹¹ Bibl. nat. Malte, Arch. 390, fol. 192 v^o-193 ; éd. SARNOWSKY, *Die Kirche auf Rhodos im 15. Jahrhundert, Quellen*, 4, p. 212.

¹¹² Bibl. nat. Malte, Arch. 392, fol. 197.

¹¹³ Dans un article ultérieur je reviendrai sur Jean de *Terranova* et l'inscription de 1473.

¹¹⁴ Il succédait à Julien de Ubaldinis, de l'ordre des Jacobins, *magister theologie* (FEDALTO, *Hierarchia latina Orientis*, p. 89, d'après Arch. vat., Reg. Vat. 636, fol. 9 v^o-10 v^o). Sur sa nomination, voir SARNOWSKY, *Die Kirche auf Rhodos im 15. Jahrhundert*, p. 194. F. Raymond Ricard, prieur de Saint-Gilles (1449-1482), l'avait envoyé faire à ses frais des études à Paris (BnM, Arch. 374, fol. 35, 19 août 1463 : autorisation à f. Raymond Ricard de léguer *per vestrum disproprium in mortis articulo dilecto nostro Marco de Monte, Rhodio, quem nuper mittitis ad studium Parisiense, quo studium suum prosequi valeat, usque ad summam scutorum novorum centum quinquaginta*).

¹¹⁵ Arch. vat., Reg. Suppl. 253, fol. 120 v^o. Indiqué dans *Acta Martini P.P. V*, éd. TÄUTU, t. II, p. 1420.

per obitum quondam domini Petri de Percivallis, ultimi eorumdem possessoris, extra Romanam curiam defuncti, quorum fructus etc. vigintiquatuor florenorum auri de camera secundum communem extimacionem valorem annum non excedunt ..., eciam si ipse decanatus curatus et electivus fuerit, eidem Cristoforo dignemini misericorditer providere cum non obstantibus et clausulis oportunis.

Concessum ut petitur. G. Conseran.

Datum Rome, apud Sanctos Appostolos, quintodecimo kl. aprilis anno tercio decimo.

Successeur de *Petrus de Percivallis*¹¹⁶ à la tête du chapitre cathédral, Christophe Buondelmonti, « prêtre de Florence », était désormais doyen de l'église cathédrale de Rhodes, c'est-à-dire le second dignitaire de l'Église latine de l'île, juste après l'*archiepiscopus Colossensis*. Mais elle était pauvre¹¹⁷ : le revenu de ce bénéfice était évalué seulement 24 florins par an ; le décanat d'un si pauvre chapitre était certainement une dignité beaucoup plus honorifique que rémunératrice.

L'archevêque de Rhodes était alors Boèce de Tolentino, de l'ordre des ermites de Saint-Augustin, maître en théologie (*magister theologiae*), nommé par Martin V le 11 mai 1425 comme successeur d'Antoine de Formageriis¹¹⁸ ; il mourut avant le 2 mai 1432, date à laquelle Eugène IV le remplaça par un Grec, artisan de l'union des Églises latine et grecque, André Chrysobergès, dit de Constantinople, de l'ordre des Jacobins, lui aussi *magister theologiae*¹¹⁹.

Dans les premières décennies du xv^e siècle le chapitre de Rhodes ne semble pas avoir joui d'une grande *aura*. Martin V expose le 29 janvier 1429¹²⁰ qu'un canonicat et prébende du chapitre de Rhodes, vacant par la

¹¹⁶ Voir ci-dessus, p. 337.

¹¹⁷ Le 16 février 1376, Grégoire XI donnait suite à la plainte du prieur de l'église conventuelle Saint-Jean de Rhodes, se plaignant du refus de Grecs de Rhodes de payer les dîmes, dont ils se prétendaient exempts par la coutume (bulle *Exponit nobis, Acta Gregorii P.P. XI*, éd. TĀUTU, n° 194, p. 382).

¹¹⁸ Ci-dessus, pp. 337-338.

¹¹⁹ *Acta Eugenii Papae IV*, éd. FEDALTO, n° 126, p. 80. Sur lui, voir Cl. DELACROIX-BESNIER, *André Chrysobergès o. p., prêtre grec de l'Église latine*, dans *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (xiii-xv secolo). Atti del Colloquio internazionale organizzato nel centenario della nascita di Raymond-Joseph Loenertz o. p. (Venezia, 1-2 dicembre 2000)*, Venise, 2002, p. 419-433 [le nom du prieur de l'Hôpital puis archevêque de Rhodes y est à corriger en : Jean Morel], et Th. GANCHOU, *Démétrios Kydônès, les frères Chrysobergès et la Crète (1397-1401) : de nouveaux documents, ibidem*, p. 435-493. En 1447 André Chrysobergès fut transféré à l'archevêché de Nicosie (FEDALTO, *Hierarchia latina Orientis*, p. 174), en remplacement de l'élu, f. Jean Morel, chapelain du prieur de France, prieur de l'église conventuelle Saint-Jean de Rhodes, qui lui succéda sur ce siège (ROGER, *Nouveaux regards*, I, pp. 161-163).

¹²⁰ *Acta Martini P.P. V*, éd. TĀUTU, n° 463, pp. 1152-1154.

mort de Roger *de Rossano de Calabria*, fut conféré successivement¹²¹ à trois fils illégitimes : Pierre, fils... dudit Antoine de Formageriis, archevêque de Rhodes¹²², puis Jacques de *Percevallis*, fils du... doyen, Pierre de *Percivallis*, et enfin *Franchino de Capitaneis de Casalbo*, fils d'Hôpitalier¹²³, certainement italien.

La nomination de Buondelmonti à la tête du chapitre cathédral de Rhodes dut lui redonner quelque lustre. Cette nomination fut effective : en qualité de doyen de ce chapitre Buondelmonti fut témoin le 24 juin 1430, au palais archiépiscopal de Rhodes, d'une charte pour l'ordre de l'Hôpital¹²⁴.

La bulle *Pię postulatio voluntatis* du pape Pascal II du 15 février 1113¹²⁵ plaça l'ordre de l'Hôpital sous la protection du Saint-Siège. Celui-ci expédia en faveur de l'Hôpital un grand nombre de bulles¹²⁶. Il n'envoyait au siège ou « couvent » de l'Hôpital qu'une expédition ou tout au plus un nombre très restreint d'exemplaires de chaque bulle. Or la chancellerie du « couvent » devait diffuser cette bulle pontificale à un grand nombre de ses membres : en premier lieu aux prieurs des prieurés d'Europe occidentale et au châtelain d'Emposte. Il lui fallait donc faire faire des copies de cette bulle sous forme de *vidimus*. Ce recours à des *vidimus* était prévu par la chancellerie pontificale : ses actes le précisent souvent¹²⁷.

¹²¹ Le 2 juin 1432, Eugène IV conféra ces canonicat et prébende à Guillaume, évêque de Nisyros (*Acta Eugenii Papae IV*, éd. FEDALTO, n° 139, pp. 88-89).

¹²² *De archiepiscopo genitus et muliere* (*Acta Martini P.P. V*, éd. TĀUTU, n° 463, p. 1152).

¹²³ *Franchino de Capitaneis de Casalbo, clerico Collocensi, qui etiam natalium patitur, de fratre Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani genitus et soluta* (*ibidem*, p. 1153).

¹²⁴ Ci-dessous, p. 344.

¹²⁵ Éd. R. HIESTAND, *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter, Neue Folge (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen)*, Göttingen, 1984, n° 1, pp. 194-197.

¹²⁶ De nombreuses bulles pontificales pour l'Hôpital, depuis celle du pape Pascal II du 15 février 1113 à celle, *Hierosolymitanum ordinem*, de Clément XIII, du 5 mars 1765, sont conservées en original ou en *vidimus* ancien aux archives centrales de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, déposées à la Bibliothèque nationale de Malte, dans les portefeuilles cotés Arch. 6-15 (*Catalogue of the Records of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in the Royal Malta Library*, vol. I, par A. ZAMMIT GABARRETTA et J. MIZZI, Malte, 1964, pp. 37-77). De nombreuses bulles pontificales aussi sont transcrites dans les bullaires cotés Arch. 1126-1131, 1135-1138, 1140-1143 (*ibidem*, vol. VII, par A. ZAMMIT GABARRETTA et J. MIZZI, Malte, 1964).

¹²⁷ Par exemple un bref du pape Sixte IV du 1^{er} juillet 1480, Arch. nat., M 4, n° 16 : *volumus et decernimus et ita publicari et ad omnium noticiam deduci mandamus... in contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscunque, et, quia difficile esset presentes litteras originaliter ad omnes partes, prout necessarium est, deferri, similiter volumus atque decernimus ut illarum transumpto manu publici notarii subscripto et sigillo alicujus archiepiscopi vel episcopi munito ea prorsus fides adhibeatur, que eisdem presentibus litteris daretur, si exhiberentur vel ostenderentur.*

L'official de Rhodes apparaît dans quelques textes¹²⁸ mais les *vidimus* et autres actes de juridiction gracieuse à Rhodes étaient expédiés sous forme de chartes sur parchemin intitulées au nom de l'archevêque de Rhodes¹²⁹ ou son vicaire général et sous leur sceau, ou par des notaires publics¹³⁰.

Dans le chartrier du prieuré d'Aquitaine¹³¹ est conservée une grande charte sur parchemin pour l'ordre de l'Hôpital¹³². Commencant par l'invocation, en grandes lettres, *IN NOMINE DOMINI AMEN*, datée du 24 juin¹³³ 1430, an XIII du pontificat de Martin V, elle est intitulée au nom de Boèce, archevêque de Rhodes, qui d'emblée indique les trois notaires publics, Godscalc Voghel¹³⁴, Antoine de Gheil et Pierre André, et annonce la présence de témoins : *nos, Boecius, miseratione divina archiepiscopus Collosensis, in presencia discretorum virorum Godscalci Voghel, Anthonii de Gheil et Petri Andree, notariorum publicorum, et testium infrascriptorum*. Boèce précise qu'il a fait faire ce *vidimus* à la requête de f. Jean de Vivonne, prieur d'Aquitaine¹³⁵ (*nobis presentatas per venerabilem religiosum, dominum fratrem Johannem de Vivone,*

¹²⁸ Par exemple URBAIN V, *Lettres communes*, par M. et A.-M. HAYEZ, n° 19179, t. VI, 1980, p. 108 (10 janvier 1367), ou *Acta pseudopontificum Clementis VII*, éd. TĀUTU, n° 30, p. 43 (9 mars 1382).

¹²⁹ Sur les chartes épiscopales, voir les observations générales d'A. GIRY, *Manuel de diplomatique*, 1894, pp. 807-812.

¹³⁰ Le notariat de Rhodes présente beaucoup d'analogies avec celui de Chypre (J. RICHARD, *Aspects du notariat public à Chypre sous les Lusignan*, dans *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500. Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, éd. A. D. BEIHAMMER, M. G. PARANI et Chr. D. SCHABEL (*The Medieval Mediterranean, Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1500*, 74), Leyde - Boston, 2008, pp. 207-221).

¹³¹ Érigé par Jean XXII en juillet 1317 par démembrement du très vaste prieuré de France : J.-M. ROGER, *La réforme de l'Hôpital par Jean XXII : le démembrement des prieurés de Saint-Gilles et de France (21 juillet 1317 dans On the Margins of Crusading : The Military Orders, the Papacy and the Christian World*, Farnham, 2011, 8, pp. 101-137.

¹³² Sous la cote 3 H 1/1. Classement et cotation de ce chartrier, par Louis Rédet (1839-1851), sont provisoires. Cette charte fait partie de celles à caractère général extraites par Louis Rédet des fonds particuliers des commanderies du prieuré pour être classées en tête du chartrier. Elle provient de la commanderie de Balan (auj. Ballan-Miré, Indre-et-Loire, arr. de Tours, chef-lieu de canton), comme le montre sa cote dorsale, « Balan. / a ... 5 / 1430 / Liasse 1^{ère} ».

¹³³ Fête de saint Jean-Baptiste, patron de l'ordre de l'Hôpital.

¹³⁴ Sans doute originaire d'une des paroisses de langue allemande du diocèse de Liège. Plusieurs chartes signées de son seing manuel sont conservées, et son nom est sans conteste Voghel. Il est qualifié de *notarium et scribam curie nostre Rodi* dans une bulle du grand maître Antoine Fluvian du 4 juillet 1427 (TSIRPANLIS, *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα*, n° 12, p. 236). Il habitait au Château de Rhodes (Arch. dép. Vienne, 3 H 1/390 : *Acta et publicata fuerunt hec Rodi in Castro, in domo habitationis mei, notarii*).

¹³⁵ F. Jean de Vivonne, prieur d'Aquitaine de 1421 à 1433 (J.-M. ROGER, *F. Jean de Vivonne, prieur d'Aquitaine (1421-1433)*, dans *Revue historique du Centre-Ouest*, t. VII, 2^e sem. 2008, 2009, pp. 287-400), résida plusieurs années en Rhodes, où il fut lieutenant du maître Antoine Fluvian au moins de 1425 à 1430 (*ibidem*, pp. 345-346).

priorem Aquitanie)¹³⁶. C'est un *vidimus*¹³⁷ de deux bulles pontificales (*bullas seu litteras apostolicas*) pour l'Hôpital, la première étant intitulée au nom d'un de ses prédécesseurs du nom de Grégoire¹³⁸, la seconde une expédition de la bulle *Cum a nobis petitur* du même Martin V, datée de Constance, le 16 décembre 1417¹³⁹.

Puis la charte précise que ces lettres furent faites judiciairement au palais archiépiscopal de Rhodes et indique deux modes de validation : apposition du sceau – disparu – de l'archevêque et noms des cinq témoins :

In quorum omnium testimonium has presentes litteras sigillari mandavimus nostro sigillo pontificali. Datum et actum Rodi judicialiter in archiepiscopali nostro Palacio, ibidem pro tribunali sedente, sub anno, mense, die et pontificatu quibus supra, presentibus honorabilibus viris, dominis Christoforo de Bondelmonte, decano, Bartholomeo Rollandi, archidiacono, Galterio Frederici, canonico, Roderico de Acry, cappellano ecclesie cathedralis Collossensis, et Galterio Vitalis, testibus, ad hec vocatis et rogatis.

¹³⁶ La charte de Boèce précise bien que ce *vidimus* fut fait à la requête de f. Jean de Vivonne, qualifié, de façon surprenante, de simple commandeur (*preceptor*) : *prefatus dominus preceptor a nobis cum instancia requisivit ; ipsius domini preceptoris requisitionibus tanquam justis annuentes*.

¹³⁷ Boèce fit expédier le même jour par les mêmes notaires d'autres *vidimus* identiques des mêmes bulles : un *vidimus*, du 12 juin 1432, du même *vidimus* du 9 novembre 1429 est conservé Arch. dép. Rhône, 48 H 32.

¹³⁸ Cette bulle, *Religionis vestre meretur honestas*, pose des questions délicates. Elle est intitulée au nom de *Gregorius, episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis magistro et fratribus ...* et datée *Datum Laterani, nonis maii* [7 mai], *pontificatus nostri anno secundo*. La bulle *Injunctum nobis* de Nicolas V, du 12 février 1448 (Arch. dép. Rhône, H 21), l'attribue au pape Grégoire VIII (*felicis recordationis Gregorius papa VIII, predecessor noster*), mais il ne fut pape que moins de trois mois, du 21 octobre au 17 décembre 1187. Grégoire IX (1227-1241), élu pape le 19 mars 1227, était le 7 mai 1229 à Pérouse (A. POTTHAST, *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, t. I^{er}, Berlin, 1874, p. 721). Elle ne peut guère davantage être de Grégoire X (1271-1276), comme l'a proposé G. GUIGUE, *Inventaire-sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790, Rhône, Archives ecclésiastiques*, série H, t. I^{er}, Lyon, 1895, p. 16 : élu le 1^{er} septembre 1271, il était le 7 mai 1273 à Orvieto (A. POTTHAST, *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, t. II, 1875, p. 1669. Il ne peut s'agir de Grégoire XI (1370-1378), pape d'Avignon. Grégoire XII, pape de Rome, fut couronné le 3 décembre 1406 ; était-il au palais du Latran le 7 mai 1408 ? Il n'y a pas lieu ici de discuter de la date et de la sincérité de cette bulle : la difficulté n'a pas échappé à F. PASQUIER, *Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790, Haute-Garonne, Archives ecclésiastiques*, série H, t. I^{er}, Toulouse, 1927, p. 36 et x (*Errata* : correction de Grégoire VIII en : Grégoire IX) ; Nicolas V lui-même la déclara suspecte et annula la sienne du 12 février 1448 la confirmant, mais son successeur Calixte III, par sa bulle *Dispositione divina*, du 28 janvier 1456, prit une décision contraire et déclara valables les bulles *Religionis vestre meretur honestas* et *Injunctum nobis* (*ibidem*, p. 36).

¹³⁹ Un *vidimus* par Boèce, *archiepiscopus Collosensis*, du 9 novembre 1429, de la même bulle *Cum a nobis petitur* de Martin V du 16 décembre 1417, et aussi de la bulle *Etsi cunctorum* du 23 décembre 1428 du même pape, est conservé Arch. dép. Rhône, 48 H 31. Il est revêtu des souscriptions des mêmes notaires, Godscalc Voghel, Antoine de Gheil et Pierre André. Un *vidimus*, du 12 juin 1432, de ce *vidimus* y est conservé *ibidem*, 48 H 32.

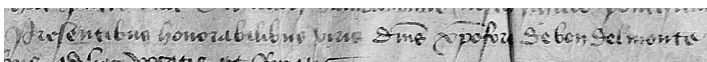


Fig. 2

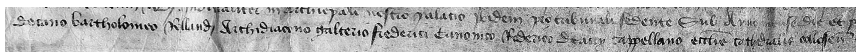


Fig. 3

De ces cinq témoins, quatre appartenaient à l'église cathédrale de Rhodes : Christophe de *Bondelmonte*, doyen (fig. 2), Barthélemy Roland, archidiaque, Gautier *Frederici*, chanoine, et *Rodericus de Acry*, chapelain (fig. 3).

Suivent les souscriptions des trois notaires, qui attestent la fidélité de la transcription des bulles pontificales¹⁴⁰. Le principal était Godscalc Voghel, clerc du diocèse de Liège, notaire public et apostolique, *Et ego, Godscalcus Voghel, clericus, Leodiensis diocesis, publicus et apostolica auctoritate notarius* ; empêché par ses autres besognes¹⁴¹, il fit mettre ce *vidimus* en forme publique par un tiers (*in hanc publicam formam per alium, meis aliis diversis occupatus negociis, grossari feci et, facta diligenti collatione...*). Les deux autres, Antoine de Gheil et Pierre André, tous deux clercs du diocèse de Rhodes, étaient simplement notaires publics¹⁴². Ces souscriptions sont accompagnées, à gauche, par les *signa* des trois notaires.

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¹⁴⁰ La chancellerie de l'archevêché de Rhodes combinait donc notariat public, hérité de l'Antiquité, et juridiction gracieuse de l'archevêque. On peut en rapprocher les pratiques en France du Midi : R.-H. BAUTIER, *L'authentification des actes privés dans la France médiévale. Notariat public et juridiction gracieuse*, dans *Notariado público y documento privado, de los orígenes al siglo XIV. Actas del VII Congreso internacional de diplomática, Valencia, 1986*, Valencia, 1989, t. II, pp. 701-772 ; reproduit dans *Chartes, sceaux et chancelleries. Études de diplomatique et de sigillographie médiévales (Mémoires et documents de l'École des chartes, 34)*, 1990, t. I^{er}, pp. 269-340.

¹⁴¹ RICHARD, *Aspects du notariat public à Chypre sous les Lusignan*, p. 215, n. 24, indique des cas semblables pour Chypre.

¹⁴² *Et ego, Anthonius de Gheil, clericus Collocensis, publicus imperiali auctoritate notarius supradictus*, et *Et ego, Petrus quondam Andree, clericus Collocensis, publicus imperiali auctoritate notarius*. Suivent les certifications de collation attentive des transcriptions.

Christophe *de Bondelmonte*, prêtre de Florence, fut nommé par Martin V doyen de l'église cathédrale de Rhodes le 18 mars 1430 ; le 24 juin suivant il était en cette qualité témoin au palais archiépiscopal de Rhodes de l'expédition d'un *vidimus* pour l'ordre de l'Hôpital. Doyen du chapitre cathédral de Rhodes, il dut le rester peu de temps : la date de son décès est inconnue, mais il mourut en 1430 – après le 24 juin – ou peu après, peut-être de la peste de 1431¹⁴³. Il devait avoir environ quarante-cinq ans.

Poitiers

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SUMMARY

Christopher (Cristoforo) Buondelmonti, famous « traveller, geographer, cartographer », priest of Florence, spent the last years of his life at Rhodes, where he served as dean of the cathedral chapter in 1430. This article reminds the substantial work that has been devoted to him in recent years. Then, it states much of what is known of the Latin Church of Rhodes, in particular of its cathedral chapter, in the early years of the fifteenth century. Finally, two acts of 1430 on Buondelmonti, dean of this chapter, are presented here.

¹⁴³ RAGONE, *II Liber insularum Archipelagi*, pp. 192-193.

A NEW LOOK AT THE NARTHEX PAINTINGS AT LESNOVO

INTRODUCTION

For the Christians, the psalms have always been the most favourite book of the Old Testament. Not surprisingly, psalter manuscripts have frequently been lavishly illustrated. These miniatures are, however, not paralleled in wall painting. As a baffling exception, only the last three psalms, the *laud psalms* (αἰῖνοι), have become a topic of monumental painting. The reasons for such predilection have not been adequately understood. One hypothesis refers to the liturgy of the *orthros* service where the full text of these psalms is sung at the end¹. The paintings are, then, ‘painted liturgy’. Methodically, this interpretation is unsatisfactory². Many psalms are sung in the daily services, *e. g.* the full text of Ps 103 and 140 in the *hesperinos*³, and yet, they have not gained access to wall painting. The use in the services is obviously no sufficient incentive for the inclusion of psalms into wall painting. A related hypothesis ascribes the *laud psalms* paintings to the use of these psalms in funeral ceremonies⁴. This idea has even served as a reciprocal

¹ H. BROCKHAUS, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern*, Leipzig, 1924², p. 80; R. STICHEL, *Beiträge zur frühen Geschichte des Psalters und zur frühen Wirkungsgeschichte der Psalmen (Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 116)*, Paderborn, 2007, pp. 252-257. Cf. S. DUFRENNE, in H. BELTING (ed.) with S. DUFRENNE, S. RADOJČIĆ, R. STICHEL, I. ŠEVČENKO, *Der serbische Psalter. Faksimile-Ausgabe des Cod. Slav. 4 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, Textband, Wiesbaden, 1978, p. 248.

² G. P. SCHIEMENZ, *Die Hermeneia und die letzten Psalmen. Gibt es eine spezifische Athos-Kunst?*, in G. KOCH (ed.), *Byzantinische Malerei. Bildprogramme – Ikonographie – Stil. Symposium in Marburg vom 25.-29.6.1997 (Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz. Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend, Reihe B: Studien und Perspektiven, 7)*, Wiesbaden, 2000, pp. 275-292; IDEM, *The aiῖnoi psalms in the Barlaam monastery (Meteora)*, in *Cahiers Balkaniques*, 34 (2006), p. 185; IDEM, *The Hermeneia and the Convocation of the Chosen People*, in *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines*, 6 (2011), pp. 487-515; IDEM, “*The Faithful with Two-edged Swords in their Hands.*” *The Illustration of Psalm 149, 6 in St. John’s Cathedral in Nicosia*, paper submitted to *Ἐπετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετῶν Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου*.

³ *Ἔρωλόγιον τὸ μέγα*, Athens, 1988, pp. 168-172.

⁴ V. J. ĐURIĆ, *Byzantinische Fresken in Jugoslawien*, München, 1976, pp. 79, 94, 273; D. PIGUET-PANAYOTOVA, *La chapelle dans la tour de Khrelju au monastère de Rila*, in *Byz.*, 49 (1979), pp. 377-380, 384; EADEM, *Recherches sur la peinture en Bulgarie du bas moyen âge*, Paris, 1987, pp. 290-293; H. DELIYANNI-DORIS, *Die Wandmalereien des 15. Jahrhunderts in Aġios Nikolaos in Zarnata*, in M. RESTLE (ed.), *Festschrift für Klaus Wessel zum 70. Geburtstag: in memoriam (Münchener Arbeiten zur Kunstgeschichte und Archäologie, 2)*, München, 1988, pp. 57-85; S. GABELIĆ, *Manastir Lesnovo, Istorija i Slikarstvo*, Beograd,

argument: From the laud psalms paintings in the southern vault of the narthex of Lesnovo (dated August 6, 1349), it has been concluded that this part of the narthex served for obsequies⁵. The same claim has been made for the corresponding part of Kučevište and in Chreljo's tower⁶. The hypothesis is, however, at variance already with the earliest known (though not preserved) monumental laud psalms panel, *viz.* on the wall of the trapeza of the archbishop Neon at Ravenna, 5th century⁷: In a trapeza, no funeral services were performed. Indeed, closer inspection of funeral rites permitted to discard the hypothesis as untenable⁸.

1998, pp. 189, 281; I. JEVTIĆ, *Le nouvel ordre du monde ou l'image du cosmos à Lesnovo*, in A. CUTLER, A. PAPACONSTANTINOU (eds.), *The Material and the Ideal. Essays in Medieval Art and Archaeology in Honour of Jean-Michel Spieser (The Medieval Mediterranean, 70)*, Leiden, 2007, pp. 145-146. The relation between the two hypotheses becomes apparent by a statement of C. L. CONNOR: A service in commemoration of the dead (which is not a funeral ceremony!) begins with the *hesperinos*, lasts all night and ends with the *orthros* and hence with the singing of the laud psalms (C. L. CONNOR, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium. The Crypt at Hosios Loukas and its Frescoes*, Princeton NJ, 1991, p. 85). Again, one wonders why Ps 148-150 are illustrated and the psalms sung in the *hesperinos* are not.

⁵ ĐURIĆ (n. 4), p. 94, 273; GABELIĆ (n. 4), pp. 189, 281.

⁶ ĐURIĆ (n. 4), p. 79, 273; PIGUET-PANAYOTOVA, *La chapelle* (n. 4), p. 384. According to JEVTIĆ (n. 4), the decisive detail for the funeral symbolism of the laud psalms paintings is the zodiac whose use in sepulchral art is well established (*cf.* antique sarcophagi: G. M. A. HANFMANN, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, Cambridge MA, 1951, figs. 1, 2, 37, 67), but which is absent in Kučevište and in Chreljo's tower: JEVTIĆ (n. 4), p. 131.

⁷ E. RJEDIN, *Triklinij baziliki Ursa v' Ravennij*, in *VV*, 2 (1895), pp. 512-520; F. WICKHOFF, *Das Speisezimmer des Bischofs Neon von Ravenna*, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 17 (1894), pp. 10-17. – The trapeza of the Serbian monastery Chilandari (Mount Athos) has been reported to have paintings, dated 1621-1622, illustrating the 148th psalm: Z. KAJMAKOVIĆ, *Georgije Mitrofanović*, Sarajevo, 1977, pp. 232-237, figs. 124, 125; *cf.* D. BOGDANOVIĆ, V. J. DJURIĆ, D. MEDAKOVIĆ, *Hilandar*, Belgrad, 1978, p. 158; M. NANOŪ, in *Anthivola – The Holy Cartoons from Chioniades*, Sofia, 2011, p. 46 (not in the bema [Altar], as stated in *Anthivola. Malvorlagen für sacrale Kunst*, Berlin, 2007, p. 98, according to a correction kindly communicated by M. NANOŪ). However, situated between the *Nine choirs of angels* (with the *fall of Lucifer*) and the *Congregation of the bodiless*, this painting is not a depiction of the *ainoi* psalms as, *e. g.*, at Lesnovo (1349) and in Greek churches in the 16th century and later, but essentially the composition *All Saints* as described in the *Hermeneia* (under the misleading title τὸ πᾶσα πνοή, taken from the hymn which *all saints* are singing, consisting of Ps 150, 6; 148, 1; 64, 2), supplemented by some elements of the iconography of Ps 148, 8 ([A. N.] DIDRON, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne grecque et latine*, Paris, 1845 [= New York, 1964 (*Burt Franklin Research & Source Works Series*, 45)], pp. 234-236; *Ἑρμηνεία τῶν ζωγράφων, ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ζωγραφίαν, ὑπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ ἱερομονάχου καὶ ζωγράφου, τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ τῶν Ἀγράφων*, Athens, 1853, p. 159, §313 (new edition, with annotations, Athens, 1885); G. SCHÄFER, *Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς. Das Handbuch der Malerei vom Berge Athos*, Trier, 1855, pp. 237-238; A. PAPAĐOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Denys de Fournā, Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne, Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης*, St-Petersbourg, 1909, pp. 128-129; P. HETHERINGTON, *The 'Painter's Manual' of Dionysius of Fournā*, London, 1974, p. 45; *Dionisie din Furna, Erminia picturii bizantine*, București, 2000, pp. 213-214; *cf.* SCHIEMENZ, *Convocation* (n. 2).

⁸ G. P. SCHIEMENZ, *The Seven Councils in St. John's Cathedral in Nicosia and their Relation to the Laud Psalms*, in *Ἐπετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετῶν Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κόκκου*, 9 (2010), pp. 81-128.

With respect to Serbia, St. Sava's account of the death of Stefan (St Simeon) Nemanja is pertinent. St. Sava relates "and we then respectfully took his dead body and put it on the bier in the middle of the church, as is the custom"⁹ – not as a special honour paid to the venerable monk Simeon, but as is the custom, and not in the narthex, but in the middle of the church. Stefan's last words resemble quotations from the first verses of Ps 150, but this happened at dawn when psalmody had started – hence during the *orthros* service. He may have heard the recital of the laud psalms and joined the monks. His last words were, then, part of the *orthros* service and not part of his own obsequies. Even so, they lack any reference to wall paintings.

The slightly older and ill-preserved paintings at Kučevište¹⁰ and in Chreljo's tower in the Rila monastery¹¹ excepted, the narthex paintings at Lesnovo are the earliest surviving laud psalms wall paintings. They originated in the realm of the Serbian *tsar* Stefan Dušan and were commissioned by the despot Jovan Oliver, a high court official of Stefan. The *ktitor* as well as his suzerain and their wives are depicted on the northern wall, opposite the laud psalms paintings (Fig. 1)¹². A bust of the Pantokrator occupies the zenith of the cupola (Fig. 2)¹³. Below the figures of various persons of

⁹ S. HAFNER, *Serbisches Mittelalter. Altserbische Herrscherbiographien*, I, *Stefan Nemanja nach den Viten des hl. Sava und Stefans des Erstgekrönten* (Slavische Geschichtsschreiber, 2), Graz - Wien - Köln, 1962, p. 56; *Život Svetoga Simeona Nemanje*, in V. ČOROVIĆ, *Dela Starih Srpskih Pisaca*, I, *Spisi Sv. Save* (Zbornik za Istoriju, Jezik i Književnost Srpskog Naroda, Prvo Odeljenje, Spomenici na Srpskom Jeziku, 17), Beograd, 1928, p. 170. In the biography of St Simeon Nemanja written by the learned monk Domentijan *ca.* half a century later, the bier is reported to have been deposited in the narthex (cf. ЈЕВТИЋ [n. 4], n. 70). Unlike St Sava, Domentijan was not an eyewitness of Nemanja's death. Concerned more with rhetoric than with minute details, he is supposed to have relied on an account of St Simeon's death written shortly after the transfer of the saint's relics to Studenica in 1208. Its anonymous author may have attended the entombment ceremony performed in the narthex of Studenica and used it as a template for the description of the obsequies at Chilandari. Domentijan relates that on the morning following Nemanja's death, the monks of Chilandari sang Ps 148, 1-2, 150, 6 – the prominent verses of the laud psalms sung in the *orthros* service.

¹⁰ N. K. MORAN, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting* (*Byzantina Neerlandica*, 9), Leiden, 1986, fig. 56.

¹¹ A. BOSCHKOV, *Die bulgarische Malerei. Von den Anfängen bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, Recklinghausen, 1969, figs. 61, 62; A. TSCHILINGIROV, *Die Kunst des christlichen Mittelalters in Bulgarien. 4. bis 18. Jahrhundert*, Berlin - München, 1979, figs. 136, 137; R. HOOTZ, P. BERBENLIEV (eds.), *Kunstdenkmäler in Bulgarien. Ein Bildhandbuch*, Darmstadt, 1983, fig. on p. 209; PIGUET-PANAYOTOVA, *Recherches* (n. 4), figs. 118-122, 142-144.

¹² G. MILLET, T. VELMANS, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macédoine et Monténégro)*, IV, Paris, 1969, fig. 53; Z. GAVRILOVIĆ, *Divine Wisdom as a Part of Byzantine Imperial Ideology. Research into the Artistic Interpretation of the Theme in Medieval Serbia. Narthex Programmes of Lesnovo and Sopoćani*, in *Zograf*, 11 (1980), pp. 44-53, fig. 1; *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία κατά τον ΙΑ' αιώνα* ('Εθνικό Ἰδρυμα Ἐρευνῶν, Ἰνστιτούτο Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν, 3), Athens, 1996, figs. 7-9; GABELIĆ (n. 4), figs. XLI-XLIV, 78.

¹³ N. L. OKUNEV, *Lesnovo*, in *L'art Byzantin chez les Slaves, Les Balkans*, I (*Orient et Byzance*, IV), Paris, 1930, pp. 222-263, pls. XXXIII, XXXIX-1, fig. 54; MORAN (n. 10), fig. 31; GABELIĆ (n. 4), fig. 73.



Fig. 1. Lesnovo, narthex: The investiture of Stefan Dušan as leader of God's New Chosen People.

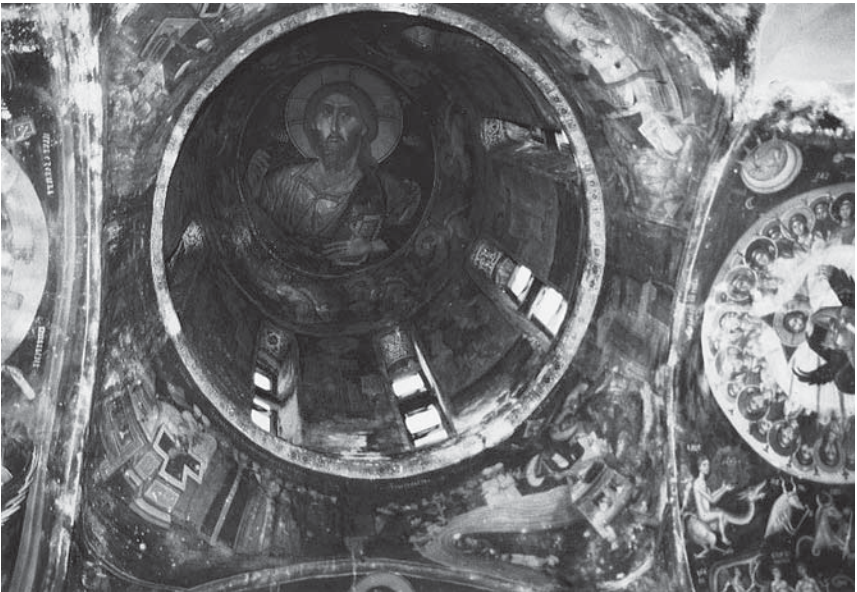


Fig. 2. Lesnovo, narthex: The dome, the tambour, the pendentives and illustration of Ps 148, 1-3.

the Old Testament in the tambour, a rare scene is depicted which is unanimously interpreted as Holy Wisdom received from heaven by the Fathers of the Church, Basilios the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus in the northern pendentives, Ioannes Chrysostomos and Athanasios in the southern pendentives, and distributed by them to the faithful as life-giving water (cf. Io 4, 13-14, 7, 37-38). In the North, the water of Divine Wisdom is contained in cruciform wells from which it is scooped up with jars; on the southern side, it flows in the shape of a river which quenches the thirst of the faithful¹⁴. Illustration of the laud psalms begins in the immediate vicinity of the southern pendentives (Fig. 2). Consideration of the general situation and the events in the three years between Dušan's coronation and the painting of the narthex of Lesnovo leads to the conclusion that the portraits, the distribution of Holy Wisdom and the laud psalms are parts of a coherent program.

MOSES AND THE TWELVE TRIBES OF ISRAEL

The laud psalms paintings consist of a series of panels devoted to verses of the 148th and the 149th psalm. It has been taken for granted that at Lesnovo (as well as at Kučevište and in Chreljo's tower¹⁵) all three laud psalms have been illustrated¹⁶, but in fact, no trace of Ps 150 is discernible

¹⁴ OKUNEV (n. 13), pp. 236-237, pl. XXXIII; MILLET-VELMANS (n. 12), figs. 38, 39, 40; T. VELMANS, *L'iconographie de la «Fontaine de Vie» dans la tradition byzantine à la fin du Moyen Âge*, in *Synthronon (Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, 2)*, Paris, 1968, pp. 119-134, figs. 3, 4; GAVRILOVIĆ (n. 12), fig. 3; R. HOOTZ, L. TRIFUNOVIĆ, *Kunstdenkmäler in Jugoslawien. Ein Bildhandbuch, I-II*, Leipzig, 1981, I, p. 383; MORAN (n. 10), figs. 31-35; GABELIĆ (n. 4), figs. XXXVIII, XXXIX, 74-77.

¹⁵ Kučevište: MORAN (n. 10), p. 89; I. M. DJORDJEVIĆ, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske elastele u doba Nemanća*, Beograd, 1994, p.136; Chreljo's tower: L. PRACHKOV, *Peintures murales récemment découvertes dans la chapelle de la tour de Hreljo au monastère de Rila en Bulgarie*, in *Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Bucarest, 6-12 Septembre 1971, III*, Bucarest, 1976, p. 417; ĐURIĆ (n. 4), p. 94; S. DUFRENNE, *Die Psalmen*, in BELTING (n. 1), p. 245, legend of pl. XIX.2 (cf. p. 248); A. TSCHILINGIROV (n. 11), pp. 68, 342, legends of figs. 136, 137; PIGUET-PANAYOTOVA, *La chapelle* (n. 4), p. 363; E. BAKALOVA, *Zur Interpretation des frühesten Zyklus der Vita des Hl. Ivan von Rila in der bildenden Kunst*, in RESTLE (n. 4), p. 39; DJORDJEVIĆ (n. 15), p. 137. According to HOOTZ-BERBENLIEV (n. 11), pp. 209, 383, Ps 150 is illustrated in Chreljo's tower, according to DELIYANNI-DORIS (n. 4), p. 74, Ps 150, 3-5. I. DUJČEV, *Die Miniaturen der Manasses-Chronik*, Sofia - Leipzig, 1965, p. 14, mentioned only Ps 150 and assigned the musical instruments to it. As at Lesnovo, the dancers are boys, in compliance with Ps 149, 2 (ὑἱοὶ Σειῶν, *synove sioni*); the musical instruments are compatible with both Ps 149, 3 and Ps 150, 3-5.

¹⁶ OKUNEV (n. 13), p. 239; S. RADOJČIĆ, *Geschichte der serbischen Kunst. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Mittelalters (Grundriss der slavischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte, 16)*, Berlin, 1969, legend of fig. 44; MILLET-VELMANS (n. 12), p. XVIII; ĐURIĆ (n. 4), p. 94; BELTING (n. 1), legends of pls. XIX.1, XIX.3 (*recte* Ps 149, 3; cf. p. 248); GAVRILOVIĆ (n. 12), p. 46; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, p. 383; MORAN (n. 10), p. 89; PIGUET-PANAYOTOVA,

in any of these churches. From illustrations of Ps 150 in much later laud psalms cycles it cannot be inferred that such paintings ever existed, because the reference to the mosaic at Ravenna as well as the earliest existing wall paintings postdating Lesnovo (Thessaly, Athos, 16th century) are restricted to the 148th psalm. At Lesnovo, the zenith of the southern vault is occupied by the Κύριος of Ps 148, 1, surrounded by angels (Ps. 148, 2), the personifications of the planets, the sun and the moon and the *zodia* of the zodiac (illustrating Ps 148, 3 and 6)¹⁷. *The water that is above the heavens*

Recherches (n. 4), p. 265; DJORDJEVIĆ (n. 15), p. 161; GABELIĆ (n. 4), pp. 156, 187, 281; JEVTIĆ (n. 4), p. 129. According to D. T. RICE, Ps 150 is illustrated (D. T. RICE, *Byzantinische Malerei. Die letzte Phase*, Frankfurt am Main, 1968, pp. 114-115 and legend of fig. 97, with quotation of Ps 150, 3), allegedly for the first time in wall painting (D. T. RICE, *Beginn und Entwicklung christlicher Kunst*, Köln, 1961, p. 169, with quotation of Ps 150, 1).

¹⁷ OKUNEV (n. 13), pls. XXXVI, XXXVII; A. NIKOLOVSKI, D. ČORNAKOV, K. BALABANOV, *The Cultural Monuments of the People's Republic of Macedonia (The Historical and Cultural Heritage of the People's Republic of Macedonia)*, 8, Skopje, 1961, fig. on p. 116; P. MIJOVIĆ, *Carska ikonografija u srpskoj srednjovekovnoj umetnosti*, in *Starinar*, N.S. 18 (1967), pp. 103-118, fig. 11; MILLET-VELMANS (n. 12), fig. 46; BELTING (n. 1), pl. XXXIX.1; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, fig. on p. 226; S. ĐURIĆ, *Hrist kosmokrator u Lesnovu*, in *Zograf*, 13 (1982), pp. 65-72, fig. 1; GABELIĆ (n. 4), figs. LI, LII, LIII, 87, 88; JEVTIĆ (n. 4), figs. 2, 3. On the eastern side, the paintings are completely and well preserved. OKUNEV (n. 13), p. 240, as well as S. ĐURIĆ (as above, p. 66), GABELIĆ (n. 4), pp. 184, 280, and JEVTIĆ (n. 4), p. 131, interpret, probably correctly, the figure denominated *devica* as the planet Venus rather than the *virgin* of the zodiac. On the other hand, the figure riding on a bicephalous monster further to the right is neither the *zodion* Capricorn (OKUNEV, GABELIĆ, as before) nor the Sagittarius (ĐURIĆ, pp. 66, 72; JEVTIĆ [n. 4], pp. 131, 132, 133), but the *stormy wind* of Ps 148, 8, as authenticated by the inscription *douh'* [*bouren'*] (GABELIĆ [n. 4], p. 184; no trace of *strelc'*, as asserted by ĐURIĆ). The *fiery tail* of the monster (OKUNEV [n. 13], p. 240) is in fact one of the wings of the winged rider. The occurrence of one of the natural phenomena of Ps 148, 8 in this location is supported by the hail and presumably the snow in similar position in the southwestern part of the composition, again adjacent to several *zodia* of the zodiac: The counterpart of the circular cloud of Ps 148, 4b are two triangular, grey objects. Though iconographically identical, OKUNEV interpreted the upper one as one of the *mountains* of Ps 148, 9 and the lower, only partially preserved triangle as a *white cloud* representing *le brouillard* ('the mist') of Ps 148, 8. He correctly observed *white points* below the upper triangle representing the hail (authenticated by the inscription *χάλαζα*). The interpretation as *mountain* (adopted by ĐURIĆ as *iceberg* because of *χάλαζα*, with reference to Ps 148, 9) is ruled out by the illustration of Ps 148, 9 elsewhere, *viz.* in the western part of the southern lunette, where the mountains (inscription: *горы*) are depicted in very different shape (GABELIĆ [n. 4], fig. 91, p. 185). GABELIĆ and JEVTIĆ correctly identified both triangles as clouds, but these clouds represent neither hail and snow (GABELIĆ [n. 4], p. 184: *predstavljaju*) nor *le brouillard* (OKUNEV [n. 13], p. 240), but are the clouds from which hail and presumably snow fall down. The misunderstanding of *le brouillard/la brume/mist* (OKUNEV [n. 13], p. 240, JEVTIĆ [n. 4], pp. 130, 141, GABELIĆ [n. 4], p. 280; ĐURIĆ: *maile, maglom*; KAJMAKOVIĆ [n. 7], p. 232: *magla*) originates from translations of the masoretic Bible. The Hebrew word *קִיטוֹר* (*kitor*, 'vapour') is, *e. g.*, *mгла* and *tuman* in modern Bulgarian and Russian bibles, respectively, whereas the Slavonic Bible (including the texts quoted at Lesnovo) is based on the Septuagint. Here, the third hypostasis of solidified water is *κρύσταλλος/golot'*, elsewhere frequently depicted as icicles. These and *τὸ πῦρ/ogn'*, the fire, of Ps 148, 8 as well as



Fig. 3. Lesnovo, narthex: Illustration of Ps 148, 1-4, 6.

of Ps 148, 4b is represented by a huge circular cloud (Fig. 3)¹⁸. Ps 148, 5 is taken into account by quotation of line 5b, *for he spoke, and they were made*¹⁹, written below this panel at the upper rim of an enigmatic composition which has no counterpart in any later laud psalms illustration (Fig. 4): A seated person is depicted speaking to twelve nimbed men²⁰. According to an inscription, he is Moses, and Okunev concluded that the panel represents Moses speaking to the twelve tribes of Israel²¹. 'Moses', however, wears a crown and a sort of imperial cloak. Smilka Gabelić therefore preferred to disregard the inscription and to identify him tentatively with King David²².

As a rule, the text quoted above a picture refers directly to what is depicted. In this case, however, no correlation between the picture and the

the missing planet Saturn may have been illustrated in the destroyed western part of the panel.

¹⁸ OKUNEV (n. 13), pls. XXXVI, XXXVII; NIKOLOVSKI, ČORNAKOV, BALABANOV (n. 17), fig. on p. 116; MIJOVIĆ (n. 17), fig. 11; MILLET-VELMANS (n. 12), fig. 46; BELTING (n. 1), pl. XXIX.1; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, fig. on p. 226; ĐURIĆ (n. 17), fig. 1; GABELIĆ (n. 4), figs. LI, 87; JEVTIĆ (n. 4), figs. 2, 3.

¹⁹ OKUNEV (n. 13), p. 241; GABELIĆ (n. 4), p. 184.

²⁰ OKUNEV (n. 13), pp. 240-241, pl. XXXVI; ĐURIĆ (n. 17), fig. 1; GABELIĆ (n. 4), pp. 184, 280.

²¹ OKUNEV (n. 13), pp. 240-241.

²² GABELIĆ (n. 4), pp. 185, 280.



Fig. 4. Lesnovo, narthex: Illustration of Ps 148, 5b, Exod 18, 13-26.

quotation is discernible. With his left hand, ‘Moses’ points to the twelve men in front of him. He has raised his right arm; his forefinger points to the composition above, the Pantokrator at some distance, the symbols of the stars, the zodiac and the *waters above the heavens* closer by. Elsewhere (including Lesnovo), what a person is speaking is written on a scroll which he holds in his hand²³. ‘Moses’ holds no scroll, and so, what he is communicating to God’s *Chosen People* is written above the heads of the twelve men: *For he [i. e. the Lord] spoke, and they [= the stars and the waters that are above the heavens] were made*. The short quotations on the scrolls frequently imply what follows²⁴; hence verse 6 whose pictorial representation is the zodiac, at Lesnovo as well as in many later laud psalms paintings: *He has established them for ever, even for ever and ever; he has made an ordinance, and it shall not pass away* (πρόσταγμα ἔθετο, καὶ οὐ παρελεύσεται). ‘Moses’ thus reminds his people of God’s incorruptible order, as shown by the perfectly reliable course of the stars. And the *water above the heavens* is part of this order.

²³ G. P. SCHIEMENZ, «Herr, wie zahlreich sind deine Werke!». Eine verborgene Psalm-Illustration in Mxeta, in *Georgica*, 27 (2004), p. 178; IDEM, *King David’s Chant in St. John’s Cathedral in Nicosia and its Place in the Iconography of the Last Psalms*, in *Ἐπετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετῶν Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου*, 7 (2006), p. 209; IDEM, *The Seven Councils in St. John’s Cathedral in Nicosia and their Relation to the Laud Psalms*, in *Ἐπετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετῶν Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου*, 9 (2010), p. 104; IDEM, *Two-edged Swords* (n. 2).

²⁴ DIDRON (n. 7), pp. 137-138; SCHÄFER (n. 7), p. 155; G. P. SCHIEMENZ, *Der 148. Psalm in der Johannes-Kathedrale von Nicosia*. Ὁ ψαλμός 148 στὸν καθεδρικό ναό τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννη στή Λευκωσία, in *Ἐπετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετῶν Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου*, 3 (1996), pp. 198, 243-244; IDEM, *Herr, wie zahlreich* (n. 23), pp. 178, 180, 192; IDEM, *King David’s Chant* (n. 23), p. 213; IDEM, *Convocation* (n. 2); IDEM, *Two-edged Swords* (n. 2).

In Christian times, *Israel* does no longer refer to the Jews – they are called *Hebrews*. *Israel* designates God's new *Chosen People*, the Christians²⁵ – the Orthodox Christians, as a matter of course. 'Moses' wears the nimbus, as the representatives of the twelve tribes do – iconographically, they conform with Christian saints. *Saints*, however, are not (only) martyrs *etc.*; in the New Testament, ἄγιοι are the members of the Christian congregations, ἐκκλησίαι, of Rome, Corinth, Ephesos *etc.* – independent congregations of people confessing the same true faith, as later the various autocephalous churches were which together formed the Holy Orthodox Church. Moses was the leader of God's *Chosen People* of the Old Covenant, but he was not a king, and yet, at Lesnovo, 'Moses' wears a crown. Elsewhere, Moses wearing a crown is known²⁶, but at Lesnovo, he wears a sort of imperial crown, in the shape of a *kamelaukion*²⁷ and studded with pearls – a crown similar to the crown which Stefan Dušan wears in his huge portrait²⁸. Three years before the narthex of Lesnovo had been painted, Dušan had been crowned as Emperor; so this is indeed an imperial crown. 'Moses'' cloak is richly adorned with circular medallions with the Serbian double-headed eagle. To be sure, the double-headed eagle was an emblem of the Palaiologan emperors as well²⁹, and not even stringently restricted to the outfit of emperors (at Lesnovo, the garments of the *ktitor* Jovan Oliver and his wife are lavishly adorned with them³⁰), but in a church situated in Dušan's realm and associated with an imperial crown, it is clearly an emblem of imperial Serbia.

²⁵ 1 Petr 2, 9: ἡμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτόν, βασιλείον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἄγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν. Cf. Col 3, 12; Phil verse 5.

²⁶ E.g., K. D. KALOKYRES, *Ἄθως. Θέματα Ἀρχαιολογίας καὶ Τέχνης*, Athens, 1963, p. 95, fig. 5.

²⁷ K. WESSEL, *Die Haubenkrone – das Kamelaukion*, in K. WESSEL, *Insignien*, in *RBK 3* (1978), cols. 387-397; E. PILTZ, *Kamelaukion et mitra. Insignes byzantins impériaux et ecclésiastiques (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Figura. Nova series, 15)*, Stockholm, 1977.

²⁸ MILLET-VELMANS (n. 12), figs. 50, 52; S. MANDIĆ, *Die Porträts auf den Fresken (Kunstdenkmäler in Jugoslawien)*, Beograd, 1966, fig. 19; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), fig. 149 (p. 149, no. 151); T. VELMANS, *La peinture murale byzantine à la fin du Moyen Âge (Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, 11)*, Paris, 1977, fig. 27; GAVRILOVIĆ (n. 12), fig. 1; D. M. NICOL, *The Reluctant Emperor. A Biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor and Monk, c. 1295-1383*, Cambridge, 1996, fig. 6; GABELIĆ (n. 4), figs. XLII, 78.

²⁹ A. HEISENBERG, *Der zweiköpfige Adler der byzantinischen Kaiser*, in A. HEISENBERG, *Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzeit (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, 10)*, München, 1920, pp. 13-25; Ch. CHOTZAKOGLU, *Die Palaiologen und das früheste Auftreten des byzantinischen Doppeladlers*, in *Bsl*, 57 (1996), pp. 60-68.

³⁰ Βυζάντιο και Σερβία (n. 12), figs. 7-9; GABELIĆ (n. 4), p. 294, fig. 78. Cf. IDEM, *Diversity in Fresco Painting of the Mid-Fourteenth Century: The Case of Lesnovo*, in S. ČURČIĆ, D. MOURIKI (eds), *The Twilight of Byzantium. Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire*, Princeton, 1991, pp. 187-215, n. 1.

Moses as well as King David, the leaders of God's old *Chosen People*, have often served as prototypes for Byzantine emperors who enjoyed to be called New Constantines³¹, New Davids³² etc. It is therefore legitimate to regard the enigmatic panel at Lesnovo as the prototype of Stefan Dušan, addressing the various tribes of God's new *Chosen People* and exhorting them to adhere to the incorruptible tenets of Orthodoxy represented by the waters of wisdom in heaven. Dušan's role in the contest for imperial power has largely been looked at from the Byzantine point of view or even from only one of two potential Byzantine viewpoints. I wish to approach the issue from the Serbian side.

THE TWO ROOTS OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

On the one hand, the Byzantine Empire was the pagan Roman Empire which had become Christian. This empire was a global state, and its emperor a global ruler. His subjects were *the Romans* (regardless whether they spoke Latin, Greek or Syrian), and there could be only one *Emperor of the Romans*. When the emperor Herakleios replaced the traditional Roman imperial titles by Greek equivalents³³, the old denotation persisted in the formula βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων which all subsequent emperors residing in the Imperial City (*Tsargrad* in Slavonic) uncompromisingly claimed for themselves. But this was only one of two roots of the Christian empire. Its citizens constituted God's new *Chosen People* whose prototype was His old *Chosen People*, the Israelites. One of the most prominent leaders of the latter had been King David, βασιλεὺς Δαβίδ according to the Septuagint. Herakleios had emphasized these Old Testament roots and had considered himself a *New David*³⁴ and his subjects as the *New Israel*. In 629, he assumed the title βασιλεύς³⁵. He signed his documents as Ἡράκλειος ἐν

³¹ H.-G. BECK, *Theodoros Metochites. Die Krise des byzantinischen Weltbildes im 14. Jahrhundert*, München, 1952, p. 82; P. MAGDALINO (ed.), *New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th centuries. Papers from the Twenty-sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St Andrews, March 1992 (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Publications, 2)*, Aldershot, 1994.

³² A. GRABAR, *L'art de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge*, I, Paris, 1968, p. 136; E. HAUSTEIN, *Der Nemanjidenstammbaum*, Ph. D. thesis, Bonn, 1985, pp. 202-203; H. MAGUIRE, *The Art of Comparing in Byzantium*, in *The Art Bulletin*, 70 (1988), pp. 88-103.

³³ I. SHAHID, *The Iranian factor in Byzantium during the reign of Heraclius*, in *DOP*, 26 (1972), pp. 293-320.

³⁴ E. g., S. S. ALEXANDER, *Heraclius, Byzantine Imperial Ideology, and the David Plates*, in *Speculum*, 52 (1977), pp. 217-237; C. LUDWIG, *Kaiser Herakleios, Georgios Pisides and die Perserkriege*, in *Varia III (Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά)*, 11, Bonn, 1991, pp. 93-95, 127.

³⁵ SHAHID (n. 33), p. 295; B. H. STOLTE, *The challenge of change. Notes on the legal history of the reign of Heraclius*, in G. J. REININK, B. H. STOLTE (eds.), *The Reign of Heraclius*

Χριστῷ πιστὸς βασιλεύς³⁶. In conjunction with ἐν Χριστῷ πιστός, the plain title βασιλεύς sufficed to indicate the bearer's role as a leader of God's new *Chosen People*. It was only by the addition τῶν Ῥωμαίων that the title βασιλεύς became the tenaciously defended prerogative of the Byzantine emperors.

When Dušan and others, like some Bulgarian *tsars*, assumed the title βασιλεύς, this was interpreted as an infringement of the prerogatives of the Emperor in Constantinople, and to some extent, it certainly was. Strictly speaking, however, Dušan's new title expressed only the claim of being the leader of God's new *Chosen People*. The Christians had not really replaced the Israelites as God's *Chosen People*; only those Jews who denied that Jesus was the Messiah had forfeited the membership of God's *Chosen People*³⁷. As is borne out by many church wall paintings, the prophets (who included Moses, David and Solomon), the Old Testament patriarchs and just kings were on equal rank with the apostles and martyr saints – all of them and the living faithful were members of God's *Chosen People* who eventually would gain eternal life in paradise.

The denotation of the Emperor as βασιλεύς was firmly associated with this conviction. In the Septuagint, βασιλεύς Δαβίδ is the stereotyped denotation of this prominent leader of God's *Chosen People*. In the Greek Old Testament, however, βασιλεύς lacked the exclusiveness which the word had gained in Byzantine times; the Septuagint abounds with βασιλεῖς, pious as well as wicked ones³⁸. On the other hand, Herakleios as well as all other emperors up to the halosis cherished to be called a *New Constantine*³⁹, and Constantine had been hailed a *New Moses*⁴⁰, because the liberation of the

(610-641). *Crisis and Confrontation (Groningen Studies in Cultural Change, 2)*, Leuven - Paris - Dudley MA, 2002, p. 204.

³⁶ ALEXANDER (n. 34), p. 232; E. K. CHRYSOS, *The title βασιλεύς in early Byzantine international relations*, in *DOP*, 32 (1978), pp. 29-75; I. SHAHĪD, *Heraclius ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣΤῷ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ*, in *DOP*, 34-35 (1980-1981), pp. 225-237; I. SHAHĪD, *On the titulature of the Emperor Heraclius*, in *Byz.*, 51 (1981), pp. 289-296; W. BRANDES, *Herakleios und das Ende der Antike im Osten. Triumphe und Niederlagen*, in M. MEIER (ed.), *Sie schufen Europa. Historische Portraits von Konstantin bis Karl dem Großen*, München, 2007, p. 254.

³⁷ SCHIEMENZ, *Convocation* (n. 2).

³⁸ E. HATCH, H. A. REDPATH, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek versions of the Old Testament*, I, Oxford, 1897, pp. 197-214.

³⁹ SHAHĪD (n. 33), p. 310, n. 65; BECK (n. 31), p. 82.

⁴⁰ J. E. L. OULTON (ed.), *Eusebius. The Ecclesiastical History*, London - Cambridge MA, 1964, pp. 358-363; A. CAMERON, S. G. HALL (eds.), *Eusebius, Life of Constantine (Clarendon Ancient History Series)*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 73, 77, 84, 85, 99 (p. 36: "The whole of Constantine's life as ruler of God's people is now to be read in terms of the figure of Moses"); P. DRÄGER (ed.), *Eusebios, Über das Leben des glückseligen Kaisers Konstantin (De vita Constantini)*, Oberhaid, 2007², pp. 54-57, 64-65, 78-81, 112-113; E. BECKER, *Konstantin der Große, der 'neue Moses'. Die Schlacht am Pons Milvius und die Katastrophe am*

Israelites by God's grace by the passage through the Red Sea has been viewed as a prototype of Constantine's victory at the Milvian bridge when Maxentius *alias* Pharaoh had been drowned. For later Byzantine emperors, Moses served as a prototype in a more general sense: In 1185, Isaakios Angelos earned the acclamation as a new Moses, because he was credited with the liberation of God's New *Chosen People* from the tyranny of Andronikos I, just as Moses was the liberator of God's Old *Chosen People* from Pharaoh's oppression⁴¹.

THE SERBIAN KRALS BETWEEN WEST AND EAST

When Dušan assumed the title of a Serbian *tsar* in 1345-1346, he had little incentive to endorse the Byzantine connotation of the title βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων. The Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 had delivered the death blow to the declining *Empire of the Romans*. The realm of Orthodox Christianity had broken into a number of fragments whose rulers adopted the title βασιλεὺς, regardless whether they aimed at the supremacy over other βασιλεῖς and a reconquest of the *Imperial City* or not. The secular administration had thus become similar to the ecclesiastical organization of the Orthodox Christians as a confederation of autocephalous churches. The reconquest of Constantinople did not basically change this situation; only the Palaiologan emperors had an interest to revive the concept of the βασιλεία τῶν Ῥωμαίων and propagated it tenaciously⁴². For any rival outside Constantinople, it was more attractive to challenge the

Schilfmeer, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 31 (1910), pp. 161-171; O. TREITINGER, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell. Vom oströmischen Staats- und Reichsgedanken*, Darmstadt, 1956², pp. 129-135; L. VOELKL, *Der Kaiser Konstantin. Annalen einer Zeitenwende*, München, 1957, pp. 123, 126, 269; A. GRABAR, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin. Recherches sur l'art officiel de l'empire d'Orient* (*Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg*, 75), Paris, 1936 (= London, 1971), pp. 95-97, 237; R. FARINA, *L'impero e l'imperatore Cristiano in Eusebio di Cesarea. La prima teologia politica del Cristianesimo* (*Bibliotheca Theologica Salesiana*, Ser. I: *Fontes*, vol. 2), Zürich, 1966, pp. 189-190; T. D. BARNES, *Constantine and Eusebius*, Cambridge MA - London, 1981, p. 271; M. J. HOLLERICH, *The comparison of Moses and Constantine in Eusebius of Caesarea's Life of Constantine*, in *Studia Patristica*, 19 (1989), pp. 80-85; C. RAPP, *Imperial ideology in the making: Eusebius of Caesarea on Constantine as 'Bishop'*, in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, NS 49 (1998), pp. 685-695.

⁴¹ F. GRABLER (ed.), *Abenteurer auf dem Kaiserthron. Die Regierungszeit der Kaiser Alexios II., Andronikos und Isaak Angelos (1180-1195) aus dem Geschichtswerk des Niketas Choniates* (*Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber*, 8), Graz - Wien - Köln, 1958, p. 158.

⁴² G. P. SCHIEMENZ, *Zur politischen Zugehörigkeit des Gebiets um Sobesos und Zoropasos in den Jahren um 1220*, in *JÖs*, 14 (1965), pp. 207-238.

Palaiologan view and to endorse the theory of several independent orthodox βασιλειᾶι. The Ῥωμαῖοι, then, were the *Greeks*, and the title βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων meant, in fact, βασιλεὺς of the *Greeks*.

This meaning emerges quite clearly even from the writings of Byzantine authors, viz. the *Histories* of Nikephoros Gregoras and Ioannes Kantakuzenos. If they wished to speak of the βασιλεὺς of the *Greeks*, they had a choice of three words: Γραῖκοί, Ἕλληνες (as in the Bible⁴³) and Ῥωμαῖοι (the common word in Byzantine time). Throughout, the *Greeks* are οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, and their ruler is ὁ βασιλεὺς. Occasionally, unofficial designations are used (e.g., τῷ πρώτῳ βεβασιλευκότῳ Ῥωμαίων Παλαιολόγῳ τῷ Μιχαήλ⁴⁴) which do not imply the exclusivity of the title βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων and therefore mean only βασιλεὺς of the *Greeks*. If the Ῥωμαῖοι are mentioned side by side with the Bulgarians (e.g., in a campaign of the Byzantines against George Terter and the following peace negotiations⁴⁵ and Kantakuzenos pitching camp at the border between the Bulgarians and the Ῥωμαῖοι⁴⁶), the word can refer only to the *Greeks*. The parallelism of the βασιλεὺς of the Bulgarians (throughout in Kantakuzenos' *History*, occasionally in Gregoras' *History*⁴⁷) and the βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων is evidence that this applies also to the title so that the connotation of global suzerainty cannot be inferred unless there are distinct allusions.

In the early years of the Nemanjid dynasty, Stefan Nemanja used the title of *Grand Župan* (ἀρχιζούπανος⁴⁸; Σφραγίς μεγάλου Ζουπάνου τοῦ Νεμάνια on a seal⁴⁹) which lacked a Byzantine equivalent. A few years after Nemanja had abdicated and become a monk, his son Stefan witnessed the conquest of Constantinople by the crusaders and the establishment of the Latin Empire. In 1190 he had married a Byzantine princess whose father ascended the throne of Constantinople as Alexios III in 1195, but already in 1201, he repudiated her. Ca. 1216, he established close relations with Venice by marrying Anna Dandolo⁵⁰, and in 1217, he received his royal crown

⁴³ Mk 7, 26; Lk 23, 38; Io 12, 20; Acts 11, 20; 17, 12; 18, 4; 20, 21; Ro 1, 14 and 16; 2, 9; 3, 9; I Cor 1, 22; 12, 13; Col 3, 11; Gal 3, 28.

⁴⁴ PG 153, 294; cf. G. FATOUROS, T. KRISCHER (eds.), *Johannes Kantakuzenos, Geschichte. Erster Teil (Buch I)* (Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur, 17), Stuttgart, 1982, p. 145.

⁴⁵ PG 153, 247 and 265; cf. FATOUROS, KRISCHER (n. 44), pp. 121, 132.

⁴⁶ PG 148, 808; cf. J. L. VAN DIETEN (ed.), *Nikephoros Gregoras, Rhomäische Geschichte. Historia Rhomaike, III* (Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur, 24), Stuttgart, 1988, p. 53.

⁴⁷ PG 148, 808; cf. VAN DIETEN (n. 46), p. 53.

⁴⁸ HAFNER (n. 9), p. 133.

⁴⁹ LJ. MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Das Kanzleiwesen der serbischen Herrscher*, in C. HANNICK (ed.), *Kanzleiwesen und Kanzleisprachen im östlichen Europa* (Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde, Beiheft, 6), Köln, 1999, p. 40.

⁵⁰ V. J. ĐURIĆ, *Sopocani (Umetnički Spomenici Jugoslavije)*, Beograd, 1963, p. 112.

from the pope⁵¹. His epithet *prvovenčani* is thus an expression of the Latin roots of the Serbian royal dignity. In accordance with the papal origin of the Serbian crown, his son Stefan Radoslav signed documents as Στέφανος ῥήξ ὁ Δούκας⁵², hence used the Latin title *rex* in spite of being a son-in-law of the self-styled βασιλεύς Theodoros I Angelos⁵³. *Ca.* 1250 his brother Stefan Uroš I, son of Anna Dandolo, strengthened the western ties by marrying Helena of Anjou⁵⁴. His son Stefan Uroš II Milutin⁵⁵, though a son-in-law of the Palaiologan emperor Andronikos II since 1299, was called κράλης by the Byzantine court⁵⁶, the common title of Catholic kings in Europe (Hungarian *király*, Polish *krol*, Czech *král*), derived from *Carolus [magnus]*, the Frankish king and emperor of the Western Holy Roman Empire. From the Byzantine point of view, κράλης denoted not only a rank inferior to βασιλεύς, but also implied Byzantine suzerainty. This is expressed in the enamels (dated 1074-1077) of the Byzantine βασιλεῖς Michael VII Dukas (Μιχαήλ ἐν Χριστῷ πιστὸς βασιλεύς Ῥωμαίων ὁ Δούκας) and Konstantinos (Κωνσταντῖνος βασιλεύς Ῥωμαίων ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος) and the Hungarian king Géza I (Γεωβίτζας πιστὸς κράλης Τουρκίας) on the Hungarian crown⁵⁷. Ioannes Kantakuzenos, Dušan's fierce antagonist, as well as Nikephoros Gregoras used the designation κράλης for the Serbian kings consistently in their *Histories*, including Stefan Dušan until his death in 1355⁵⁸, and they may well have wished to express the concept of Byzantine suzerainty. Dušan thus had several reasons to replace his inherited title by another one which was subject neither to suspicions of Western heresy nor to a claim of Byzantine suzerainty and

⁵¹ S. ČIRKOVIĆ, *Stefan der Erstgekrönte*, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* VIII, cols. 86-87; LJ. MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Byzantinische Herrscherideologie und Regierungsmethoden im Falle Serbien. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des byzantinischen Commonwealth*, in C. SCHOLZ, G. MAKRIKIS (eds.), *Πολύλευρος νόος. Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag* (*Byzantinisches Archiv*, 19), München - Leipzig, 2000, p. 182.

⁵² C. JIREČEK, *Geschichte der Serben*, I, Gotha, 1911 (= Amsterdam, 1967), p. 303; MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Kanzleiwesen* (n. 49), p. 42.

⁵³ B. FERJANČIĆ, *Stefan Radoslav*, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* VIII, col. 87.

⁵⁴ S. ČIRKOVIĆ, *Stefan Uroš*, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* VIII, col. 88.

⁵⁵ S. ČIRKOVIĆ, *Stefan Uroš II. Milutin*, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* VIII, cols. 89-90.

⁵⁶ MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Herrscherideologie* (n. 51), p. 188.

⁵⁷ J. DEÉR, *Die heilige Krone Ungarns* (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften*, 91), Wien, 1966, figs. 22, 24, 26; K. WESSEL, *Die byzantinische Emailkunst vom 5. bis 13. Jahrhundert* (*Beiträge zur Kunst des christlichen Ostens*, 4), Recklinghausen, 1967, p. 114, fig. 37e; I. SPATHARAKIS, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, Leiden, 1976, fig. 12. Cf. TREITINGER (n. 40), p. 204; M. VON BÁRÁNY-OBERSCHALL, *Die Sankt Stephans-Krone und die Insignien des Königreiches Ungarn*, Wien - München, 1961, p. 35; DEÉR (n. 57), p. 86.

⁵⁸ *PG* 149, 492 (ὁ τῶν Τριβαλλῶν ἀρχηγὸς ἐτεθνῆκει Κράλης Σερβίας); *PG* 154, 324 (Ἵπὸ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, καὶ Κράλης ὁ τῶν Τριβαλλῶν δυνάστης ἐτελεύτησε); MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Herrscherideologie* (n. 51), p. 187.

which did not imply restriction to Serbia but was also applicable to his new subjects in *Romania*. He used the title *kral*/κράλης prior to his coronation, e. g. in October 1345: Στέφανος ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς κρᾶλης καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Σερβίας καὶ Ῥωμανίας⁵⁹. At first sight, this formula is strikingly similar to the self-denotation which the Byzantine emperors used in their documents, such as Andronikos II in a letter to the metropolitan of Monemvasia: † Ἀνδρόνικος ἐν Χω τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαί(ων) Δούκα(ς) Ἄγγελος Κομνηνὸς ὁ Παλαιολόγος⁶⁰. The first part is what Herakleios had adopted as his official title in 629 (*vide supra*). After his coronation, Dušan simply replaced κρᾶλης by βασιλεὺς and came even closer to the Byzantine formula: Στέφανος ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Σερβίας καὶ Ῥωμανίας⁶¹ – very Byzantine indeed.

And yet, there are significant differences. One must keep in mind that the Palaiologan documents are genuinely Greek but that the Serbian documents are only Greek versions of Slavonic originals. The texts are almost identical, but they conferred different meanings. In Byzantine Greek, αὐτοκράτωρ was a prerogative of the emperor implying global supremacy. In the Greek documents of the Serbian rulers, it was a translation of *samodržac*⁶². This word had a long tradition in Nemanjid history. Stefan Prvovenčani as well as his brother, St Sava, called their father Stefan Nemanja their *lord and samodržac*⁶³ to express that he enjoyed full sovereignty, and all of his successors used the word as an official title long before Dušan's coronation⁶⁴ which, together with the elevation of St Sava's distant successor Joanikije to a patriarch of the autocephalous Serbian Church, served (beside other purposes) to demonstrate the independence of the Serbian state from Byzantine suzerainty. It is trivial that it did not imply a Serbian claim of general supremacy. The Slavonic translation of Greek βασιλεὺς, in its Byzantine as well as in its Hellenistic denotation, is *tsar*. Reciprocally, when ethnic Slavs composed Greek documents, *tsar* was translated as βασιλεὺς, but in

⁵⁹ LJ. MAKSIMOVIĆ, *L'empire de Stefan Dušan: Genèse et caractère*, in *TM*, 14 (2002), p. 423.

⁶⁰ *L'art Byzantin – art Européen*, Athens, 1964², p. 347, no. 371 (fig.); PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), fig. 118; CHOTZAKOGLU (n. 29), fig. 15a.

⁶¹ MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Herrscherideologie* (n. 51), p. 189; MAKSIMOVIĆ, *L'empire* (n. 52), p. 423.

⁶² *samoderžec*: J. G. SPARWENFELD, *Lexicon Slavonicum*, IV (ed. U. BIRGEGÅRD) (*Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis*, XXIV, 4), Uppsala, 1990, p. 3, no. 49.

⁶³ *Život* (n. 9), p. 151, l. 9; V. ČOROVIĆ, *Žitije Simeona Nemanje od Stevana Prvovenčanoga*, *Svetosavski Zbornik*, II (*Posebna Izdanja CXXV, Društveni i Istoriski Spisi*, 50), Beograd, 1939, p. 15, l. 3; HAFNER (n. 9), pp. 35, 73, 132, 149.

⁶⁴ GAVRILOVIĆ (n. 12), p. 46 (with ref. 9); MAKSIMOVIĆ, *L'empire* (n. 52), p. 417.

Slavonic, *tsar* (and hence βασιλεύς in the translation) had neither the Byzantine nor the Septuagint meaning of βασιλεύς. The word *tsar* is derived from [Gaius Iulius] Caesar whose name, as *Kaiser*, became indeed the West European counterpart of βασιλεύς in German language, but persisted – as καῖσαρ – as an inferior rank among Byzantine imperial titles. The Slavonic version *tsar*⁶⁵ is a rather general title of rulers, Christians and non-Christians alike. For Old Russian, this has been excellently outlined by Günther-Hielscher, Glötzner and Schaller⁶⁶; as late as in the 18th century, the difference between the *imperator* (*Imperator i Samoderžec Vserossijkij* within the concept of *Moscow, the third Rome*⁶⁷) and a *tsar* is clearly expressed in the long list of titles of Empress Catherine II, *Kaiserin [= imperatrix] und Selbstherrscherin aller Reußen*, including *Zarin von Kasan, Zarin von Astrachan, Zarin von Sibirien, ... Gebieterin... des Iwerischen Landes, der Kartalinischen und Grusinischen Zaren*⁶⁸. As the title of the ruler, *tsar* had long been in use in Bulgaria, and the title *Tsar of the Bulgarians* was in no way offensive to the Byzantines. It was only its Greek translation, βασιλεὺς τῶν Βουλγάρων, which the Byzantines looked at with great suspicion, because it came dangerously close to their exclusive title of βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων. In his proclamation as *tsar* at Christmas 1345, Dušan adapted a formula used by his Bulgarian brother-in-law Jovan Alexander, IOAN ALEXANDR' V' X(RIST)A B(OG)A V REN C(A)R' I SAMODR'ŽEC V'SM BLGAROM I GR'KOM (in the Bulgarian chronicle of Konstantinos Manasses, 1344-1345⁶⁹, a few years later again in the gospels of Jovan Alexander⁷⁰), replacing *BLGAROM* by *SRB'EM*, and again, it is only its translation in Greek and Latin documents, βασιλεὺς/imperator of Serbia/Rascia and Romania⁷¹, which irritated the Byzantines.

⁶⁵ M. VASMER, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, III, Heidelberg, 1958, p. 283.

⁶⁶ K. GÜNTHER-HIELSCHER, V. GLÖTZNER and H. W. SCHALLER, *Real- und Sachwörterbuch zum Altrussischen*, new edition by E. KRAFT (*Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa*, 20), Wiesbaden, 1995, pp. 31-32. Cf., e. g., F. KÄMPFER, *Historie vom Zartum Kasan* (*Slavische Geschichtsschreiber*, 7), Graz - Wien - Köln, 1969, pp. 8-9, 27.

⁶⁷ H. SCHAEDEER, *Moskau das dritte Rom. Studien zur Geschichte der politischen Theorien in der slawischen Welt*, Darmstadt, 1963².

⁶⁸ [M. CLAUDIUS,] *Der Wandsbecker Bothe Ao. 1771*, N. 64, Sonnabends, den 20ten April.

⁶⁹ DUJČEV (n. 5), fig. 1; H. BELTING, *Das illuminierte Buch in der späbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (*Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1970, 1), Heidelberg, 1970, fig. 14; SPATHARAKIS (n. 57), fig. 102; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), fig. 105; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), fig. 35.

⁷⁰ W. F. VOLBACH, J. LAFONTAINE-DOSOEGNE, *Byzanz und der christliche Osten* (*Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, 3), Berlin, 1984, fig. 202b; BOSCHKOV (n. 11), fig. 80; L. SHIVKOVA, *Das Tetraevangeliar des Zaren Ivan Alexandar*, Recklinghausen, 1977, pl. VI; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), fig. 106; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), fig. 13; H. C. EVANS (ed.), *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, New Haven - London, 2004, fig. on p. 57 (item 27).

⁷¹ JIREČEK (n. 52), pp. 386-387.

The meaning of the titles *tsar* and βασιλεύς in the Late Byzantine Period is also shown in other monuments. In the dedicatory inscription of the church of Bojana, at about 160 km distance from Lesnovo, painted in 1259, two years before the Palaiologan reconquest of Constantinople, the *ktitor*, the Bulgarian despot Kalojan, called himself a cousin of the Bulgarian *tsar* Konstantin Asen and a grandson of the Serbian *kral* Stefan [Prvovenčani]⁷². Konstantin and his wife Irina are also depicted⁷³; in the accompanying inscriptions they are called *tsar* and *tsaritsa*, respectively. Irina was a daughter of Theodore II Laskaris of Nikaia, hence of one out of three Greek ‘*tsars*’ residing outside Constantinople at the time of the Latin conquest. For any non-Greek, these three rulers were just ‘*tsars* of the Greeks’, not ‘of the Romans’ and even less βασιλεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων because this title was closely connected with the possession of *Tsargrad*, the imperial city.

After Dušan’s expansion into non-Serbian territories, the Nemanjid title *kral*/κράλης had become utterly inappropriate to legitimize him as a ruler of his new orthodox subjects, because it was looked at as an exclusively Serbian title tainted with papal heresy⁷⁴. In 1334, Dušan had conquered Ohrid, the see of the Patriarch of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church during the Bulgarian *tsar* Samuel’s reign⁷⁵. Even when in 1235 the Bulgarian patriarchate had been refounded at Trnovo, Ohrid, having become the see of an archbishop in 1018, retained its autocephaly and, notwithstanding its essentially Greek character, the denotation of *all Bulgaria* in its title⁷⁶. For the new suzerain, the Bulgarian title *tsar* was appropriate; denoting a ruler of Orthodox people, it was acceptable for the Serbs as well. When Dušan had conquered Greek territories, he faced the same problem, though more seriously. The mood of the people is strikingly described by an anecdote related by Nikephoros Gregoras: When Dušan was going to conquer Serrhes, emissaries of the city negotiated conditions of surrender. They were horrified by the *kral*’s conditions and secretly invited Ioannes Kantakuzenos to capture the city, “*for only psychic or mental madness can choose the barbarian*

⁷² K. MIJATEV, *Die Wandmalereien in Bojana*, Dresden - Sofia, 1961, p. 5, fig. on p. 7.

⁷³ K. KRESTEV, V. SACHARIEV, *Alte bulgarische Malerei*, Dresden, 1961, fig. 21; MIJATEV (n. 72), figs. 51-53; BOSCHKOV (n. 11), fig. 37.

⁷⁴ That the title had become specifically affiliated with Serbia is borne out by Ioannes Kantakuzenos who calls the Hungarian king ῥήξ (*rex*), disregarding his title *király* in Hungarian (κράλης on the Hungarian crown).

⁷⁵ G. OSTROGORSKY, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, München, 1952², p. 241.

⁷⁶ OSTROGORSKY (n. 75), p. 249; ĐURIĆ (n. 4), pp. 95-96. Cf. P. F. SUGAR, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804*, Seattle - London, 1977 (2nd printing, 1993), p. 45; G. PRINZING, *A quasi patriarch in the state of Epiros. The autocephalous archbishop of “Boulgaria” (Ohrid) Demetrios Chomatenos*, in *Zbor.*, 41 (2004), pp. 165-182; E. NAXIDOU, *An aspect of the medieval history of the archbishop of Ohrid: its connection with Iustiniana prima*, in *Bsl*, 64 (2006), pp. 153-167.

instead of the civilized and prefer foreign and illegitimate rule to that of kindreds⁷⁷. Dušan was aware of the shortcomings of his rule and tried to cope with the resentments of his Greek subjects by adopting the Greek way of life and the garments of the Palaiologan emperors⁷⁸. In his vernacular, he was now the ‘*Tsar of the Serbs* (instead of, occasionally in addition to *the Bulgarians*) and *Greeks*’. For his Greek subjects, the formula required a translation, and for *tsar*, the Bible suggested βασιλεύς. This word, however, was a dangerous choice. Dušan painstakingly avoided the denotation βασιλεύς τῶν Ῥωμαίων. Nikos Oikonomides⁷⁹ listed 15 signatures of Dušan prior to his coronation in 1346: 1) *kral (and samodržac) of all Serbian and Maritime lands* in the years 1332-1345, 2) *kral (and samodržac) of all Serbian and Maritime and Greek lands, ca. 1343*, 3) *kral and samodržac of all the Serbs, of the Maritime [region], of the Greeks, of the Bulgarians, 1343/44*, 4) *kral and samodržac of all the Serbian and the Maritime and the Bulgarian lands, 1342*, 5) *kral of the Serbs and of the Greeks, July 1344*, 6) *kral and samodržac of Serbia and Romania, κράλης καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Σερβίας καὶ Ῥωμανίας, October 1345*. From 1346 on, *kral* is replaced by *tsar* in nine documents, including signatures with the addition *and of the Bulgarians*. That *tsar* is neither the equivalent of βασιλεύς in the exclusive Byzantine meaning nor confined to Bulgarian territory, is borne out by a number of seals of Dušan’s grandfather Stefan Milutin⁸⁰ where the king is called *tsar srpskih i pomorskih zemalja* and *tsar sve zemlje srpske*. The *maritime lands* is the Zeta on the Adriatic coast, hence that part of the Serbian territory where papal suzerainty has always been prevalent. In his Slavonic documents, Dušan was the *tsar Srblijem i Grkom* (not of the Romans); in his Greek documents, he used the names of the territories rather than those of the peoples⁸¹. When he called his Greek subjects *Greeks* rather than *Romans*, he did not introduce an innovation; already in the portrait of Stefan Prvovenčani in Mileševa (1219-1228), the king is called *sin svetago Simeona Nemanja, zet tsara grečeskago kir Aleksia, son of Saint Simeon Nemanja, son-in-law of the Greek tsar, Lord Alexios*⁸². Even the Byzantine βασιλεύς is mentioned only as the *tsar* of his Greek subjects, not as the ruler of the *Empire of the Romans*. In *Romania*, his newly acquired Greek

⁷⁷ PG 148, 877; cf. VAN DIETEN (n. 46), IV, Stuttgart, 1988, p. 88.

⁷⁸ PG 148, 984; VAN DIETEN (n. 46), IV, pp. 143-144.

⁷⁹ N. OIKONOMIDES, *Emperor of the Romans – Emperor of the Romania*, in *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία* (n. 12), pp. 124-125.

⁸⁰ MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Kanzleiwesen* (n. 49), p. 49.

⁸¹ OSTROGORSKY (n. 75), p. 416; MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Kanzleiwesen* (n. 49), p. 45; MAKSIMOVIĆ, *L’empire* (n. 52), p. 423.

⁸² MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Herrscherideologie* (n. 51), pp. 182-183.

territories, Dušan left the structures of the previous government intact⁸³, hence ruled *like a βασιλεύς* – as a βασιλεύων (cf. St Paul, I Tim 6, 15, and the metabyzantine icon IC XC ὁ βασιλεύς τῶν βασιλευόντων, *Jesus Christ, the king of those who rule like a king*) while he left the administration of his Serbian territories to his son Uroš to whom the title *mladi kral* (*rex iunior*) had been conferred on occasion of Dušan's coronation in 1346⁸⁴: Restricted to Serbia, the ruler continued to be a *kral*.

All this is compatible with the traditional view that Dušan's ultimate goal was the imperial crown of *Tsargrad*, but there is no convincing evidence that it ever was. The wide-spread opinion that Dušan aimed at replacing the (global) Byzantine empire by a Serbo-Greek empire rests largely on Ioannes Kantakuzenos' and Nikephoros Gregoras' accounts of Dušan's proclamation as a *tsar*. A cursory look at their accounts suggests that he indeed adopted the title βασιλεύς τῶν Ῥωμαίων: Gregoras: βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ἑαυτὸν ἀνηγόρευσε; Kantakuzenos: βασιλέα ἑαυτὸν ἀνηγόρευε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Τριβαλῶν. Though possible, such conclusion, however, cannot be drawn: Imitating Ancient Greek style, both authors called the Serbs and Bulgarians by names of tribes living in Thrace as used, *e. g.*, by Thukydides and Strabo, respectively, Τριβαλλοί and Μυσοί. The king of the Serbs is consistently called ὁ κράλης τῶν Τριβαλ(λ)ῶν. Similarly to the title ἀρχιζούπανος for Stefan Nemanja, the word κράλης is treated as a specific Serbian title which required explanation. Both authors used synonyms which amount to denying the Serbian ruler royal dignity: καὶ τῶ τῶν Τριβαλῶν ἄρχοντι Στεφάνῳ τῷ Κράλη⁸⁵; κράλη δὲ τῷ Τριβαλλῶν ἡγεμόνι⁸⁶; ὁ τῶν Τριβαλλῶν ἀρχηγὸς ... Κράλης Σερβίας⁸⁷. On the other hand, Kantakuzenos calls the *tsar* of the Bulgarians consistently ὁ τῶν Μυσῶν βασιλεύς⁸⁸. In conjunction with οἱ Μυσοί, the word βασιλεύς had reverted to its Hellenistic denotation as in the Septuagint and thus become palatable even to a former Byzantine emperor. Gregoras was more reluctant and called the Bulgarian *tsar* inconsistently sometimes βασιλεύς⁸⁹, elsewhere Μυσῶν ἀρχηγός⁹⁰. The association of both rulers, πρὸς τε τὸν

⁸³ MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Kanzleiwesen* (n. 49), pp. 44-45.

⁸⁴ A. A. VASILIEV, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Madison WI, 1958, p. 617; R. MIHALIČIĆ, *Stefan Uroš*, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* VIII, cols. 91-92.

⁸⁵ *PG* 153, 296; cf. FATOUROS, KRISCHER (n. 44), p. 145.

⁸⁶ *PG* 148, 984; cf. VAN DIETEN (n. 46), III, p. 143.

⁸⁷ *PG* 148, 492; cf. F. TINNEFELD (ed.), *Nikephoros Gregoras, Rhomäische Geschichte. Historia Rhomaike*, VI (*Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur*, 66), Stuttgart, 2007, pp. 167-168.

⁸⁸ *PG* 153, *e. g.*, 208, 245, 249, 265, 293, 377-378, 389, 392, 580, 585; *PG* 154, 177.

⁸⁹ *PG* 148, 808; *PG* 149, 493 (twice); cf. TINNEFELD (n. 87), pp. 169-170.

⁹⁰ *PG* 148, 832 and 940.

κράλην Σερβίας καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν τῶν Μυσῶν ἀρχηγόν⁹¹, shows that Gregoras considered both of equal rank, inferior to that of the Byzantine emperor whereas Kantakuzenos, more generous towards the Bulgarian *tsar*, restricts the humiliation to the Serbian kral: Μιχαήλ [Šišman] ὁ τῶν Μυσῶν βασιλεὺς ... πρὸς Κράλην τὸν Τριβαλῶν ἄρχοντα; Στέφανος δὲ Κράλης ὁ τῶν Τριβαλῶν ἄρχων ... τὸν Μυσῶν βασιλέα...⁹². It follows that Dušan, in need of an upgrade of his title after the conquest of non-Serbian territories, restrained himself to attain equal rank with his Bulgarian brother-in-law by assuming the title *tsar* and did not expressly usurp the title ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων. The literal translation of his Slavonic title by Gregoras and Kantakuzenos may suggest that he did, but is (or at least can be) a purely descriptive expression devoid of additional implications. As far as Kantakuzenos is concerned, this is confirmed by the addition καὶ Τριβαλῶν. As the global ruler, the βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων was the suzerain of the Serbs anyway so that they required no special mention. In conclusion, the accounts of Gregoras and Kantakuzenos are adequate descriptions of Dušan presenting himself to his new Greek subjects as their βασιλεὺς, again in the meaning of *tsar*. There is no evidence of aspirations going further. In fact, Dušan did not play the role of a third party in the Byzantine civil war, but (at least verbally) acknowledged and supported the rights of John V as the legitimate heir of the throne⁹³. When the Byzantine empire had been reduced to an impoverished city state depending on Turkish benevolence and was torn by a civil war, the traditional concept of the βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων was hopelessly outdated. Dušan did not even qualify for the imperial dignity of the *Second Rome*: Unlike the Palaiologan emperors, he was not in possession of the imperial city, and he was even not a Ῥωμαῖος, but a Serb, and like the Nemanjid kings before him, he was proud to be: They had the Nemanjid genealogical tree painted on the walls of their churches⁹⁴, composed like the tree of Jesse which exhibited the lineage from Jesse and his son, King David, to the Saviour Jesus Christ, and they insisted on the *svetorodnost*, the sainthood of their dynasty whose founder Stefan Nemanja, his son, archbishop Sava, and several kings had been canonized by the Serbian church⁹⁵. Dušan, however, confessed the true faith and therefore did qualify to be a βασιλεὺς according to Herakleios' concept, *viz.* to be the leader of God's new *Chosen People*, just as βασιλεὺς Δαβίδ had been the king of God's old *Chosen People*. The twelve tribes of

⁹¹ PG 148, 832; cf. VAN DIETEN (n. 46), III, p. 66.

⁹² PG 153, 537 and 540 (battle of Velbužd); cf. FATOUROS, KRISCHER (n. 44), p. 77.

⁹³ MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Herrscherideologie* (n. 51), pp. 186-187.

⁹⁴ HAUSTEIN (n. 32).

⁹⁵ MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Kanzleiwesen* (n. 49), p. 43.

the Israelites had their Christian counterpart in ethnic tribes of Orthodox faith, such as Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians (Russians and Georgians at greater distance) as well as in ecclesiastical *tribes*, the autocephalous churches of the Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, the archbishoprics of Ohrid, Sinai and Cyprus (the latter existing in the underground during Lusignan domination) – all of them constituting the *New Israel*.

Βασιλεὺς Δαβίδ was an excellent prototype for the ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς, but Moses was even better, at least for Dušan⁹⁶. The miraculous passage through the Red Sea was the paradigm par excellence for God's help for His *Chosen People*. As its *antitype*, the invasion of the Hungarian King Charles Robert in 1335 had ended by the drowning of the király's soldiers in the river Sava⁹⁷. In addition, Moses brought God's law to the Israelites. Dušan was a law-giver, too; his law book appeared in May, 1349⁹⁸, three months before the narthex paintings of Lesnovo were completed. Already Constantine the Great had been a *New Moses* (*vide supra*), and with God's help, he had been the champion of the true faith who had been victorious over Maxentius, the representative of the wrong creed. To be a *New Constantine* and hence, a *New Moses*, Dušan needed a similar divine legitimation. The painting of the narthex of Lesnovo fell into the apogee of the Hesychast controversy. In the contest for power, Dušan had first sided with the usurper Ioannes Kantakuzenos, but in 1343 he decided to oppose him and to support Anna of Savoy, the mother of Ioannes V⁹⁹.

⁹⁶ Cf. MAKSIMOVIĆ, *L'empire* (n. 52), p. 416.

⁹⁷ S. HAFNER, *Serbisches Mittelalter. Altserbische Herrscherbiographien*, II, *Danilo II. und sein Schüler: Die Königsbiographien (Slavische Geschichtsschreiber, 9)*, Graz - Wien - Köln, 1976, p. 274.

⁹⁸ JIREČEK (n. 52), p. 389; MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Herrscherideologie* (n. 51), p. 186; N. RADOJIČIĆ (ed.), *Zakonik Cara Stefana Dušana 1349 i 1354*, Beograd, 1960. For the typology Moses – Constantine – Dušan, see CAMERON, HALL (n. 40), p. 36: "... Constantine... takes on the role of lawgiver. This was a... pattern, based on the three periods in the life of Moses"; for Eusebios' "emphatic portrait of Constantine as new Law-giver, Christian ruler, and guardian of the *pax christiana*", see A. WILSON, *Biographical Models: The Constantinian Period and Beyond*, in S. N. C. LIEU, D. MONTERRAT (eds.), *Constantine. History, historiography and legend*, London - New York, 1998, p. 120. – F. GERKE, *Spätantike und frühes Christentum (Kunst der Welt, 5)*, Baden-Baden, 1967, pp. 210-211, 223-224, regarded the mosaics of Moses loosening his sandals and Moses receiving the law both in St Catherine's monastery at Sinai (G. H. FORSYTH, K. WEITZMANN with I. ŠEVČENKO, F. ANDEREGG, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Church and Fortress of Justinian*, Plates, Ann Arbor, n.d., pls. CXXI, CXXII, CLXXIV, CLXXXII-CLXXXV) and in San Vitale at Ravenna (F. W. DEICHMANN, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*, Baden-Baden, 1958, figs. 312, 313, 316-319) as indicators that Justinian, himself a law-giver, wished to be viewed as the New Moses of God's New (= Christian) *Chosen People*. F. W. DEICHMANN, *Ravenna. Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, II, Kommentar, 2nd part, Wiesbaden, 1976, pp. 159-160, however, did not endorse this interpretation.

⁹⁹ JIREČEK (n. 52), p. 384; B. FERJANČIĆ, *Stefan Dušan*, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* VIII, cols. 90-91.

Kantakuzenos' Christian orthodoxy was severely sullied by his indiscriminate recourse to the help of the infidel, *viz.* the Turks¹⁰⁰. In the Hesychast controversy, Kantakuzenos embraced the Palamite doctrine while Dušan chose to fight for unstained Orthodoxy as taught by the Fathers of the Church and codified in the tenets of the Seven Councils which contained the whole of Divine Wisdom so that no eighth council was conceivable¹⁰¹.

THE THEOLOGICAL MESSAGE OF THE NARTHEX PAINTINGS

This is what in Lesnovo is depicted in the pendentives below the narthex cupola, and this is what Moses-Dušan tells the *tribes* of God's *Chosen People*: The Lord spoke, and the stars were made, and the water that is above the heavens is the divine wisdom which is as incorruptible as the course of the stars.

While at Lesnovo, the second part of Ps 148, the praise of the Lord by the terrestrial creation, has been illustrated only cursorily, Psalm 149 has received much attention. Of the first verse, the first line has been illustrated, *Sing to the Lord a new song*. A procession of clerics is depicted¹⁰² which Smilka Gabelić has proposed to show the metropolitan Jovan of Skopje and his clergy¹⁰³. The panel illustrating verse 3¹⁰⁴ is devoted to the Old Testament branch of God's *Chosen People*, King David, the personification of Sion and the *sons of Sion*. Verse 4 is illustrated by the New Testament branch, represented by the twelve apostles who receive the benediction of Jesus Christ¹⁰⁵; Mt. 19, 28, καθήσεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους κρίνοντες τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, bridges the gap between them and the *twelve tribes of Israel*. Verse 5 is represented by ten bearded men with nimbi in monks' garbs¹⁰⁶ of whom Saint Spyridon can be recognized

¹⁰⁰ JIREČEK (n. 52), pp. 385, 390, 399, 402, 405; FATOUROS, KRISCHER (n. 44), pp. 5-8; G. WEISS, *Johannes Kantakuzenos – Aristokrat, Staatsmann, Kaiser und Mönch – in der Gesellschaftsentwicklung von Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert (Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa, 4)*, Wiesbaden, 1969, pp. 42, 67-68.

¹⁰¹ S. FREYHERR ZU HERBERSTEIN, *Moscouiter wunderbare Historien*, Basel, 1567; new edition: T. SEIFERT (ed.), *Sigismund zu Herberstein, Reise zu den Moskowitern 1526*, München, 1966, pp. 106-107; SCHIEMENZ, *Seven Councils* (n. 8), pp. 110, 114.

¹⁰² OKUNEV (n. 13), p. 241, pl. XXXVII; MIJOVIĆ (n. 17), fig. 13; MORAN (n. 10), fig. 55; GABELIĆ (n. 4), fig. 92.

¹⁰³ GABELIĆ (n. 4), pp. 186-187, 281.

¹⁰⁴ OKUNEV (n. 13), pp. 241-242, pl. XL-2; D. T. RICE, *Byzantinische Kunst*, München, 1964, fig. 258; MIJOVIĆ (n. 17), fig. 14; RICE, *Byzantinische Malerei* (n. 16), fig. 97; MILLET-VELMANS (n. 12), fig. 35; ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 64; BELTING (n. 1), pls. XIX.1, 3; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, fig. on p. 227; GABELIĆ (n. 4), pp. 187, 281, fig. LVII.

¹⁰⁵ OKUNEV (n. 13), p. 242; GABELIĆ (n. 4), pp. 187, 281, fig. 93.

¹⁰⁶ OKUNEV (n. 13), p. 242; GABELIĆ (n. 4), pp. 187, 281, fig. 94.



Fig. 5. Lesnovo, narthex: Illustration of Ps 149, 5.



Fig. 6. Lesnovo, narthex: Illustration of Ps 149, 6b.



Fig. 7. Lesnovo, narthex: Illustration of Ps 149, 8a.

by his bee-hive-type hat (Fig. 5)¹⁰⁷; Gabelić proposed that the clerics in the first picture plane are Saints Anthony the Great, Euthymios the Great, Saba of Jerusalem and Ephrem the Syrian¹⁰⁸. The *faithful with two-edged swords in their hands* of verse 6 are represented by ten warriors with drawn swords and nimbi¹⁰⁹, iconographically Christian military saints (Fig. 6). Thus, all important groups of God's *Chosen People*, starting with King David and down to the Serbian *tribe* of the living faithful, are depicted praising the Lord. In the most eye-catching panel, the verses 7 and 8 of Ps 149 are illustrated, *to execute vengeance on the nations, punishment among the peoples, to bind their kings with fetters, and the nobles with manacles of iron*¹¹⁰. The kings lie on the ground while two armed soldiers are occupied with putting their hands into chains (Fig. 7). The scene is part of a wild battle in which

¹⁰⁷ Cf., e. g., G. MILLET, A. FROLOW, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macédoine et Monténégro)*, II, Paris, 1957, pl. 34-4, 86-4; MILLET-VELMANS (n. 12), fig. 117; BOSCHKOV (n. 11), fig. 24; HOOTZ-BERBENLIEV (n. 11), fig. on p. 36; A. STYLIANOU, J. A. STYLIANOU, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus. Treasures of Byzantine Art*, London, 1985, figs. 41, 76, 138; TSHILINGIROV (n. 11), fig. 290; D. KAMAROULIAS, *Tà Μοναστήρια τῆς Ἠπειροῦ*, I, Athens, 1996, fig. 631; GABELIĆ (n. 4), fig. 21.

¹⁰⁸ GABELIĆ (n. 4), pp. 187, 281.

¹⁰⁹ OKUNEV (n. 13), p. 242; GABELIĆ (n. 4), pp. 187, 281.

¹¹⁰ OKUNEV (n. 13), p. 242, pl. XXXVII; MILLET-VELMANS (n. 12), fig. 48; GABELIĆ (n. 4), pp. 187, 281, figs. LVIII, 95.

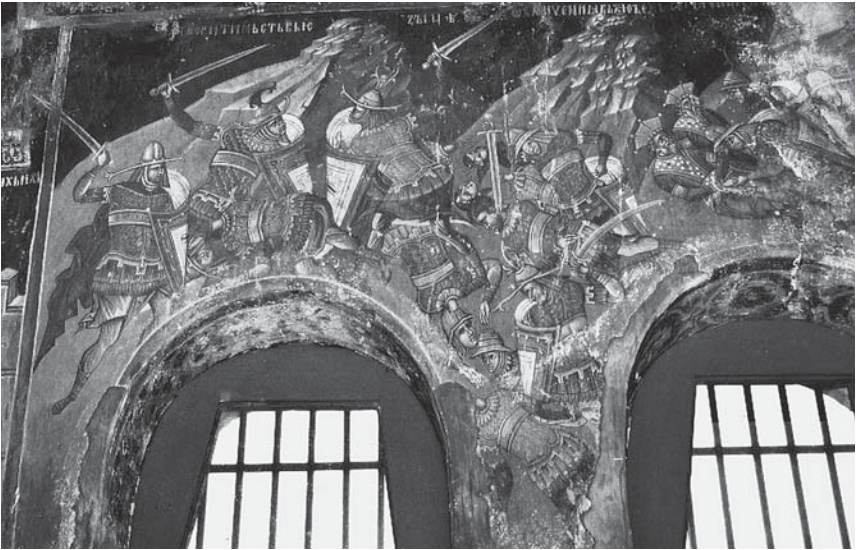


Fig. 8. Lesnovo, narthex: Illustration of Ps 149, 7.

friend and foe cannot be distinguished and whose outcome is yet undecided (Fig. 8). This is just the situation in 1349 in the fights between the troops of Kantakuzenos and Dušan. In Constantinople, the contest between Palamites, represented by two pro-Hesychast synods held in 1341, and the anti-Palamites, represented by the Patriarch Ioannes Kalekas, had come to an end after the capture of the city by Kantakuzenos on Feb. 3, 1347 and the replacement of Kalekas by the Palamite Isidoros Bucheiras. Hesychasm remained the doctrine after Bucheiras' death in 1350 and was approved in a council held in Constantinople on May 28th, 1351¹¹¹; the new patriarch Kallistos anathematized Dušan and his patriarch Joanikije¹¹², both heretic in a Palamite's view. The Serbs, on the other hand, would rely on the final verses of Ps 149 which assure the faithful that they will be victorious over the infidel kings.

WHO ARE THE KINGS OF PS 148, 11B?

In the psalms 148 and 149, the wicked kings of Ps 149, 8 are opposed to the pious kings of the earth of Ps 148, 11 who duly praise the Lord together

¹¹¹ NICOL (n. 28), p. 111, fig. 2. Cf. D. T. RICE, *Kunst aus Byzanz*, München, 1959, pl. 190; SPATHARAKIS (n. 57), fig. 86; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), fig. 103a; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), fig. 37; EVANS (n. 70), fig. 1.11.

¹¹² JIREČEK (n. 52), p. 389.

with the ἄρχοντες and six other groups of faithful people. Indeed, verses 11-12 are depicted above the battle scene¹¹³. The right group, headed to the left, represents *all peoples* of Ps 148, 11a and males and females, old and young, of Ps 148, 12. All persons of the left group (headed to the right) are richly clad. Those walking in front have nimbi and imperial garments; of the four men in the first picture plane the first two wear red shoes. Those in the rear picture plane are indicated by their nimbi. This group is followed by men without nimbi who wear the rich garments of high court officials, with head-gears similar to that of Theodoros Metochites in Kahriye Cami¹¹⁴. In the centralized Byzantine state, the ἄρχοντες were high administrative officials such as ministers, governors and generals¹¹⁵; in the Slavonic Bible, the word has been translated as *knezi, princes*, and correspondingly, *the princes of his country* were the local administrators of Stefan Nemanja (*kneze zemli svoje iže nad' vlast'mi* in Stefan Prvovenčani's *vita* of his father¹¹⁶). The group, then, illustrates βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ ... ἄρχοντες of Ps 148, 11.

Smilka Gabelić translated the word *tsar* (βασιλεύς) of Ps 148, 11a as *emperor* and proposed that “*among the emperors one should probably recognize the Byzantine emperors Andronik II Palaeologue, Andronik III Palaeologue and certainly the Serbian tsar Stephen Dušan and Despot Jovan Oliver*”¹¹⁷, arranged in this order from right to left¹¹⁸, hence the Andronikoi with red shoes and *tsar* Dušan with ordinary footwear. This can hardly be the case. While Dušan's grandfather Milutin had still striven for participation in the imperial dignity of Constantinople by enforcing his admission to the emperor's family by marriage, Dušan, with his coronation in 1346, chose the way of provocative rivalry¹¹⁹. Milutin demonstrated his enhanced dignity proudly by having himself portrayed in imperial garments together with his wife Simonida, a daughter of Andronikos II, in representative

¹¹³ OKUNEV (n. 13), pl. XXXVII; MIHOVIĆ (n. 17), fig. 12; BELTING (n. 1), pl. XVI.4 (mis-labeled Ps 149.1); GABELIĆ (n. 4), pp. 185, 280-281, figs. LIV, LV, 90, 91.

¹¹⁴ RICE, *Kunst aus Byzanz* (n. 111), pl. XXX; P. A. UNDERWOOD, *The Kariye Djami (Bollingen Series, LXX)*, New York, 1966, I, frontispiece; II, pls. 26, 28; VOLBACH, LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE (n. 70), fig. 26; EVANS (n. 70), fig. 2.3; E. PILTZ, *King (kralj) Milutin and the Paleologan tradition*, in *Bsl*, 69 (2011), pp. 173-188, fig. 3.

¹¹⁵ R. F. KREUTEL, *Leben und Taten der türkischen Kaiser (Osmanische Geschichtschreiber, 6)*, Graz - Wien - Köln, 1972, p. 273. When Dušan had conquered Byzantine territories, he largely left the administration in the hands of the Greek ἄρχοντες; MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Kanzleiwesen* (n. 49), p. 45.

¹¹⁶ ČOROVIĆ, *Žitije* (n. 63), p. 39, ll. 12-13; HAFNER (n. 9), pp. 94, 161.

¹¹⁷ GABELIĆ (n. 4), pp. 280-281; cf. p. 185.

¹¹⁸ GABELIĆ (n. 4), legend of fig. 90.

¹¹⁹ S. M. ČIRKOVIĆ, *Between Kingdom and Empire: Dušan's State 1346-1355 Reconsidered*, in *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία* (n. 12), pp. 110-120.

church wall paintings¹²⁰. To be depicted following the two Palaiologans at the head of the procession would amount to acknowledging the superiority of the Greek emperors and thus be an entirely inadequate illustration of Dušan's intentions in 1349. Dušan's inferior rank would be even more stressed by his non-imperial footwear. *To put on red shoes* was a metaphor for what Dušan had done with his proclamation at Christmas 1345, and to depict him with ordinary footwear was an impossibility. More specifically, no reason is perceptible why the father-in-law of Dušan's grandfather should be depicted together with Dušan if the grandfather himself was not, and the civil war fought between Andronikos II and his grandson Andronikos III would call for a miracle if they finally united to praise the Lord jointly as two of the pious kings of Ps 148, 11a. The fourth crowned nimbed man cannot be Jovan Oliver. The despot is depicted in the narthex as well as in the naos of Lesnovo; in both cases, he does not wear an imperial crown. In an illustration of Ps 148, 11a, his place would not be among the βασιλεῖς/*tsarii*, but among the ἄρχοντες/*knezi*.

No such difficulties are encountered if it is assumed that at Lesnovo, *tsar* Dušan, other Nemanjids and their court are depicted. This procession of lay dignitaries would then be the counterpart of the procession of clerics in the illustration of Ps 149, 1a. Elsewhere in Serbia, liturgical scenes in which the Serbian rulers are depicted, are not uncommon¹²¹. At Žiča, the Christmas hymn *What shall we offer Thee, o Christ?* is illustrated (*ca.* 1313)¹²². Two groups of men in sumptuous garments heading towards each other are depicted singing the troparion *Today Christ is born of the Virgin*¹²³ whose contents is represented above their heads by the Mother of God with the infant Jesus. The left group consists of clerics. The central figure is a bishop; he is the only person with a nimbus. The group is believed to represent the Serbian archbishop Sava III (1307-1315)¹²⁴ and

¹²⁰ E. g. in Gračanica: R. HAMANN-MAC LEAN, H. HALLENSLEBEN, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien vom 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert (Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen, Reihe II, Marburger Abhandlungen zur Geschichte und Kultur Osteuropas, 3-5)*, Gießen, 1963, figs. 319, 320; MANDIĆ (n. 28), figs. 12, 13; PILTZ, *Milutin* (n. 114), figs. 1, 2; Studenica: HAMANN-MAC LEAN, HALLENSLEBEN, *loc. cit.*, fig. 246; M. RAJKOVIĆ, *Die Königskirche in Studenica (Kunstdenkmäler in Jugoslawien)*, Beograd, 1964, figs. 10, 11; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), fig. 24; EVANS (n. 70), fig. 3.17; PILTZ, *Milutin* (n. 114), fig. 6.

¹²¹ VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), fig. 44; S. ĆURČIĆ, *Gračanica. King Milutin's Church and its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture*, University Park, London, 1979, p. 134.

¹²² MILLET-FROLOW (n. 107), I, Paris, 1954, pl. 60-1; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), p. 77, fig. 45; MORAN (n. 10), pp. 119, 125-126, 141, figs. IV, 74.

¹²³ MORAN (n. 10), p. 119.

¹²⁴ MILLET-FROLOW (n. 107), I, p. IX; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), p. 77; MORAN (n. 10), pp. 119, 141.

his clergy¹²⁵. The right group is headed by a person in imperial garments; unfortunately his head and the upper part of his body are destroyed. The group is believed to represent kral Milutin and his retinue¹²⁶. Both groups are depicted *singing* the hymn in the same way as in many laud psalms cycles the βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς and the other groups of pious people including the πρεσβύτεροι (i. e. *priests*) are depicted *singing* a hymn which may consist of verses of the laud palms or other psalms such as the 103rd psalm.

Elsewhere, Serbian *tsars* and members of their families have been depicted beside illustrations of another famous hymn, viz. the *akathistos hymnos*, e. g., slightly antedating Lesново, at Dečani (ca. 1343-1346) Stefan Dušan, his wife Helena and their son Uroš¹²⁷, a few decades later *tsar* Uroš in Markov Manastir (ca. 1371)¹²⁸. In either case, the Nemanjids have been represented in strictly frontal position: They do not perform the chant themselves, but leave the singing to the *psaltai* who stand next to them. In view of the well-known relations through space in Byzantine wall painting¹²⁹, this may also apply to the similar portraits of Dušan, Helena and their sons at Lesново, again in strictly frontal position and thus watching the laud psalms composition in front of them.

¹²⁵ R. LJUBINKOVIĆ, *Die Apostelkirche im Patriarchat von Peć (Kunstdenkmäler in Jugoslawien)*, Beograd, 1964, p. XIX; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), legend of fig. 45; A. PÄTZOLD, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos. Die Bilderzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts (Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und Christlichen Archäologie, 16)*, Stuttgart, 1989, p. 75.

¹²⁶ VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), p. 77, legend of fig. 45; MORAN (n. 10), pp. 119, 141; S. RADOJČIĆ, *Der Stil der Miniaturen und die Künstler*, in BELTING (n. 1), p. 297; PÄTZOLD (n. 125), p. 75.

¹²⁷ *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία* (n. 12), fig. 5; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), fig. 25; PÄTZOLD (n. 125), p. 71, fig. 50b. Cf. VRADOJČIĆ (n. 126); MORAN (n. 10), p. 145. – In view of the popularity which Palamism enjoyed with the monks, PÄTZOLD, focussing on Dečani being a monastery, concluded that the akathistos hymn owes its illustration in 14th century Serbian churches to the hesychast doctrine. However, more important than being the katholikon of a monastery is the role of the church of Dečani as a royal/imperial church of Stefan Dečanski and Stefan Dušan. Any specific hesychast connotation of the akathistos paintings would preclude the depiction of the anti-hesychast tsar Stefan Dušan in oikos 24. PÄTZOLD's discussion demonstrates solely that the akathistos paintings are in compliance with the tenets of hesychasm, but they comply with Chalcedonism either so that no conclusions concerning a significant influence of hesychasm can be drawn. Cf. S. KALOPISSIVERTI, in *BZ*, 83 (1990), pp. 506-510.

¹²⁸ MILLET-VELMANS (n. 12), fig. 153; RADOJČIĆ (n. 16), fig. 47 ("Vor 1366"); MORAN (n. 10), pp. 145-146; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), fig. 43; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), fig. 140 (erroneously attributed to kral Uroš I); PÄTZOLD (n. 125), figs. 112, 113 (tentatively assigned to Stefan Dušan: *ibidem*, p. 71).

¹²⁹ O. DEMUS, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration. Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium*, London, 1948, pp. 13-14.

Other wall paintings of the Christmas chant are known at Ohrid and in Greece¹³⁰, but the panel at Žiža is exceptional in so far as the depicted king is the presently reigning monarch rather than an abstract ruler or a contemporary of the events¹³¹. Likewise, the kings of Ps 148, 11a who in the Greek laud psalms illustrations of later time (where they do not wear nimbi) do not represent particular persons, may represent Nemanjid rulers. If so, the picture would be indebted to the slightly earlier composition of the Nemanjid genealogical tree as depicted in Gračanica, Peć and Dečani. In accordance with the prototype, the Tree of Jesse as the genealogical tree of Jesus Christ, the vertical shoot is the most important part. In Gračanica, painted at the instigation of kral Milutin after the death of his brother Dragutin, the vertical shoot consists of Stefan Nemanja and the kings Stefan Prvovenčani, Uroš and Milutin. All three of them (and nobody else) are designated as *kral* and wear imperial garments, even Stefan Prvovenčani who does not in his contemporary portrait at Mileševa (*ca.* 1235). The nimbus is restricted to them and the archbishops Sava I and Sava II. Sons and grandsons other than those represented in the main shoot are relegated to the lateral branches, including kings such as Dragutin who is denied the title *kral* and designated *Stefan' brat' kralevo', Stefan [Dragutin], brother of the king [Milutin]*. Even deceased members of the Nemanjid family such as Stefan Prvovenčani's brother Vukan and his son *knez* Stefan were depicted whereas Milutin's son Stefan Dečanski was not¹³². Above the tree, Jesus Christ blesses Milutin to whom a *kamelaukion* and a *loros*, hence imperial insignia, are presented by two angels¹³³.

The painting at Peć¹³⁴ has been executed *ca.* 1330 during the joint rule of Stefan Dečanski and his son Stefan Dušan. The vertical shoot consists still of Stefan Nemanja, Stefan Prvovenčani, Uroš and Milutin. Uroš's sons (except Milutin, but including Dragutin who has been honoured with the title *kral*) are depicted to the right of the kral, his grandsons, *viz.* Dragutin's sons Vladislav and Urošić, to his left. This arrangement is repeated on Milutin's level: To the right Milutin's sons Stefan Dečanski and Konstantin, to the left Dečanski's sons Dušan and Symeon. The result is a T-shaped arrangement with a horizontal alignment of the last three kral on the top level, but with Milutin in a privileged position. Stefan Prvovenčani, Uroš,

¹³⁰ G. MILLET, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, Paris, 1960², pp. 163-167; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), p. 77.

¹³¹ VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), p. 77.

¹³² HAUSTEIN (n. 32), pp. 20-43, figs. 2-13.

¹³³ VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), fig. 31; HAUSTEIN (n. 32), figs. 7-9, 13.

¹³⁴ ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 58; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), II, fig. on p. 25; HAUSTEIN (n. 32), fig. 17; EVANS (n. 70), fig. 12.6.

Dragutin, Milutin, Stefan Dečanski and Dušan wear imperial garments whereas the kings Radoslav and Vladislav are clad only in a chlamys though their royal status is taken into account by a *kamelaukion*-type headdress and the designation *kral*. The *svetorodnost* of the dynasty is expressed by the nimbi which have been accorded to all Nemanjids.

Dečani has been founded in 1330 and its paintings executed during the next two decades. In the Nemanjid genealogical tree, King Milutin bears the title *kral*¹³⁵, whereas Stefan Dušan is called *tsar*¹³⁶. His title permits to date the painting later than 1346; it is thus almost contemporaneous with Lesnovo. The main shoot of the tree and two lateral shoots exhibit three portraits each, in the middle Stefan Nemanja, Milutin and Dušan, to the right Stefan Prvovenčani, Uroš and Stefan Dečanski, to the left St Sava, Dragutin and Dušan's son Uroš. Less important Nemanjids have been relegated to intermediate positions, *e. g.* Radoslav's bust between his brother Uroš and King Milutin, Vladislav's bust between Dragutin and Milutin¹³⁷. This way, Stefan Nemanja is depicted between his sons Sava and Stefan Prvovenčani, Milutin between two less prominent *kral*s, his father Uroš and his brother Dragutin, and Dušan between his father Stefan Dečanski and his son Uroš. Nimbi have been given not only to St Simeon (*i.e.* Stefan Nemanja) and the archbishops Sava I and Sava II, but also to all kings (though not to Stefan Prvovenčani's brother, *knez* Vukan, and some queens)¹³⁸ to indicate the *svetorodnost* of the Nemanjids. However, the arrangement and iconographic details create a distinct gradation in royal dignity: Only Milutin and Dušan emanate from Stefan Nemanja in the main shoot; the *kral*s of the central shoot and the right lateral shoot wear imperial garments whereas Dragutin and Dušan's son Uroš¹³⁹, *mladi kral* since 1346, do not. Dragutin is identified only by his name *Stefan* (with no title); he holds only a simple rod-like sceptre whereas all other *kral*s have cross-sceptres. Stefan Dečanski's crown is not of the *kamelaukion* type. His royal dignity is thus visibly downgraded; the detail corroborates that the Nemanjid tree has been painted only after Dečanski's deposition and death.

¹³⁵ P. MIJOVIĆ, *Dečani (Kunstdenkmäler in Jugoslawien)*, Beograd, 1963, fig. 55; ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 57; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, fig. on p. 74; HAUSTEIN (n. 32), fig. 24; EVANS (n. 70), fig. 3.21.

¹³⁶ MIJOVIĆ (n. 135), fig. 58; ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 57; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, fig. on p. 74; HAUSTEIN (n. 32), fig. 26; EVANS (n. 70), fig. 3.21.

¹³⁷ MIJOVIĆ (n. 135), figs. 55, 56; ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 57; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, fig. on p. 74; HAUSTEIN (n. 32), figs. 22, 24; EVANS (n. 70), fig. 3.21.

¹³⁸ MIJOVIĆ (n. 135), fig. 55; ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 57; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, fig. on p. 74; HAUSTEIN (n. 32), fig. 24; EVANS (n. 70), fig. 3.21.

¹³⁹ MIJOVIĆ (n. 135), fig. 57; ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 57; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, fig. on p. 74; HAUSTEIN (n. 32), figs. 21-28; EVANS (n. 70), fig. 3.21.

If, *mutatis mutandis*, these genealogical trees are taken as prototypes for the procession of the Ps 148, 11a kings at Lesnovo, it is easy to arrive at an identification of the four kings in the first picture plane. The first one must be the *tsar* Stefan Dušan. His features are compatible with authentic portraits of Dušan at Lesnovo¹⁴⁰ and elsewhere¹⁴¹, his crown and imperial garments as well as the red shoes with his dignity as a *tsar*. This footwear had been considered an exclusive prerogative of the βασιλεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων on which even the Palaiologan emperors insisted: When in 1282 the Μέγας Κομνηνός Ioannes II of Trebizond was going to visit Constantinople, Michael VIII would deny access unless he exchanged his red boots for black ones¹⁴². Outside Constantinople, however, the red shoes had lost much of their exclusive character. *E.g.*, at Bojana (1259), the Bulgarian *tsar* Konstantin Asen wears red shoes¹⁴³. A century later, in the portraits of the Bulgarian *tsar* Jovan Alexander and his family in the gospels of 1355-1356, not only the *tsar*, but also his second wife and their sons and even the three daughters and a son-in-law of the *tsar* endowed with the title *despot* wear red shoes¹⁴⁴. To be sure, the βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς of Ps 148, 11a belong to the host of βασιλεῖς in the Septuagint who have very little in common with the Byzantine βασιλεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, and yet they are depicted as Byzantine emperors, many of them with red shoes, in miniatures illustrating books of the Old Testament such as the octateuchs, even wicked rulers such as Pharaoh. The Bulgarian chronicle of Manasses, contemporaneous with Dušan's proclamation as *tsar*, contains a miniature depicting the banquet of the Bulgarian khan Krum who had defeated the Byzantine army and a drinking vessel made from the skull of the emperor Nikephoros; the cruel and barbarian khan (a *knjaz'*, *prince*, according to the inscription) wears red shoes¹⁴⁵. If Dušan wished to be viewed as a New David rather than a

¹⁴⁰ OKUNEV (n. 13), pl. XXXIX-2; MILLET-VELMANS (n. 12), figs. 50, 52; MANDIĆ (n. 28), fig. 19; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), fig. 149 (p. 149, no. 151); VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), fig. 27; GAVRILOVIĆ (n. 12), fig. 1; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, fig. on p. 228; NICOL (n. 28), fig. 6; *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία* (n. 12), fig. 7; GABELIĆ (n. 4), figs. XLII, 78.

¹⁴¹ Matejić: MILLET-VELMANS (n. 12), fig. 98; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), fig. 151 (p. 149, no. 150); HAUSTEIN (n. 32), fig. 44; Dečani: MIJOVIĆ (n. 135), figs. 2, 58; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), fig. 25; HAUSTEIN (n. 32), figs. 19, 26, 27; *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία* (n. 12), fig. 5; PÄTZOLD (n. 125), fig. 50b (also in the Nemanjid genealogical tree, *vide supra*). Dušan's portrait at Pološko (C. GROZDANOV, D. ČORNAKOV, *Istorijski portreti u Pološkom*, in *Zograf*, 14 [1983], pp. 60-67, fig. 3) originated only 15 years after the death of the kral.

¹⁴² J. P. FALLMERAYER, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt*, München, 1827, p. 149; W. MILLER, *Trebizond. The Last Greek Empire*, London, 1926, p. 29. Cf. OIKONOMIDES (n. 79), pp. 121-128.

¹⁴³ MIJATEV (n. 72), p. 16, fig. 51.

¹⁴⁴ BOSCHKOV (n. 11), fig. 80; SHIVKOVA (n. 70), pl. VI, VII; EVANS (n. 70), figs. on p. 57.

¹⁴⁵ DUJČEV (n. 15), frontispiece and fig. 51; VOLBACH, LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE (n. 70), fig. XXXII; BOSCHKOV (n. 11), fig. 86. Concerning the credibility of the story cf. A. NIKOLOV,

βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, he could feel entitled to wear red shoes. If, on the other hand, at Lesnovo the red shoes had been conceded to the Andronikoi but denied to Dušan, this would have been equivalent to admitting that Dušan's imperial dignity was inferior to that of the βασιλεῖς in Constantinople.

The first three kings form a compact group with overlapping nimbi; the virtually identical garments of the first and the third king and the more conspicuous robe of the second king have a counterpart in the Nemanjid dynastic tree at Dečani where Dušan and his greatgrandfather Uroš I wear almost identical dark robes whereas the rich garments of kral Milutin between them (below Dušan and to the left of Uroš) are of bright colour¹⁴⁶. At Lesnovo, the second king is an old man; his long bipartite beard permits to identify him as kral Milutin. When the narthex was painted, several churches were known in which Milutin had been portrayed in his advanced age, wearing a long, bipartite beard, viz. at Gračanica (ca. 1320)¹⁴⁷, Chilandari¹⁴⁸ and in the Nemanjid dynastic trees of Peć (ca. 1330)¹⁴⁹ and Dečani¹⁵⁰ (contemporaneous with Lesnovo). In earlier portraits, he had been depicted either as a beardless adolescent (Sopoćani¹⁵¹, ca. 1256 or 1263-1268) or as a mature man whose beard is still dark (Arlje, 1296¹⁵²), but of increasing length in the later portraits (Bogorodica Ljeviška, 1309-1314¹⁵³, Studenica, Sv. Joakim i Ana¹⁵⁴, founded 1313-1314). Dušan, born ca. 1308, shared his

Khan Krum v'v vizantijskata tradicija: Strašni sluhove, desinformacija I političeska propaganda, in V. GJUZELEV, L. SIMEONOVA, A. GARABEDJAN, E. STATEVA (eds.), *Šćrihi k'm balkanskoto srednoviekovie (Studia Balcanica, 27)*, Sofia, 2009, pp. 107-116.

¹⁴⁶ ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 57; GAVRILOVIĆ (n. 12), fig. 6; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, fig. on p. 74; *Bυζάντιο και Σερβία* (n. 12), fig. 6; EVANS (n. 70), fig. 3.21.

¹⁴⁷ HAMANN-MAC LEAN, HALLENSLEBEN (n. 120), figs. 320, 336; MANDIĆ (n. 28), fig. 13; ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 49; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), fig. 23; ĆURČIĆ, *Gračanica* (n. 121), fig. 22; HAUSTEIN (n. 32), fig. 14; PILTZ, *Milutin* (n. 114), figs. 1, 7, 11.

¹⁴⁸ ĐURIĆ (n. 4), figs. 52, 53; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), fig. 147; BOGDANOVIĆ, DJURIĆ, MEDAKOVIĆ (n. 7), fig. 61; PILTZ, *Milutin* (n. 114), fig. 8.

¹⁴⁹ ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 58; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), II, fig. on p. 25; EVANS (n. 70), fig. 12.6.

¹⁵⁰ MIJOVIĆ (n. 135), fig. 55; ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 57; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, fig. on p. 74; HAUSTEIN (n. 32), fig. 23; EVANS (n. 70), fig. 3.21.

¹⁵¹ MILLET-FROLOW (n. 107), II, pl. 45-2, 3, 46-3, 47-3.

¹⁵² MILLET-FROLOW (n. 107), II, pl. 96-1, 3; S. PETKOVIĆ, *Arlje (Kunstdenkmäler in Jugoslawien)*, Beograd, 1965, fig. 2; MANDIĆ (n. 28), fig. 8; HAMANN-MAC LEAN, HALLENSLEBEN (n. 120), fig. 144; VOLBACH, LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE (n. 70), fig. 243; ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 41; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), figs. 144a,b; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), fig. 22; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, fig. on p. 4; HAUSTEIN (n. 32), fig. 56; PILTZ, *Milutin* (n. 114), fig. 4.

¹⁵³ D. T. RICE, S. RADOJIĆ, *Jugoslawien. Mittelalterliche Fresken* (UNESCO), Paris, 1955, pl. XX; HAMANN-MAC LEAN, HALLENSLEBEN (n. 120), fig. 183; MANDIĆ (n. 28), fig. 10; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), fig. 148 (cf. HAUSTEIN [n. 32], fig. 58); PILTZ, *Milutin* (n. 114), fig. 5.

¹⁵⁴ MILLET-FROLOW (n. 107), III, Paris, 1962, pl. 58-3, 68-2, 3; HAMANN-MAC LEAN, HALLENSLEBEN (n. 120), fig. 246; RAJKOVIĆ (n. 120), figs. 9, 10; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), figs. 145a,b; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), figs. 24, 26; M. PANIĆ-SUREP, *Jugoslawia. Cultural*

father's exile at Constantinople from 1314 until their return shortly before Milutin's death in 1321 and therefore knew his grandfather only superficially, but in 1349, many people were still living who remembered him better, albeit only as an old man. Portraits such as those at Gračanica would therefore serve best as prototypes for the second king of Ps 148, 11a. In all of his portraits, Milutin wears particularly sumptuous 'imperial' garments; he has been characterized as "a ruler... who was meticulous in his attention to Byzantine protocol"¹⁵⁵ and whose "admiration of Byzantine culture... soon manifested in the form of plain mimicry"¹⁵⁶. The red shoes worn by the second king at Lesnovo comply with this attitude. If, however, the first king is indeed Dušan and his footwear an emblem of his status as *tsar*, it should express Dušan's desire to antedate his enhanced dignity to comprise his grandfather. Though nominally a *kral*, Milutin had used the title of *tsar* (*vide supra*: his seals); archbishop Danilo spoke of him as a *tsar*¹⁵⁷ and composed an *officium* in which Milutin is addressed as *tsarskim vencem uveze se i božastavnim pomazanim pomazan biv jakože David inogda, you are crowned with a tsar's crown and anointed with the divine oil as David was*¹⁵⁸. Milutin's *tsar's crown*, however, is not the crown of the βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, but the crown of *tsar David*. The acclamation, then, means simply *You are a New David*. In view of the *svetorodnost* of the Nemanjids such dignity did not depend on a formal coronation as *tsar*.

Milutin is the top figure of the Nemanjid dynastic tree not only at Gračanica¹⁵⁹, but still at Peć during the joint rule of his son Stefan Dečanski and his grandson Dušan who occupy the places on either side of him¹⁶⁰. At Dečani, the abbreviated main shoot consists only of the portraits of the three outstanding protagonists of the dynasty, Stefan Nemanja (whose realm had been called *tsarstvo* by Stefan Prvovenčani in the *vita* of his father¹⁶¹), Milutin and *tsar* Dušan who had relegated his father to the place beside him and deprived of imperial garments¹⁶². The arrangement reflects Milutin's merits in the rise of the Nemanjids which culminated in Dušan's

Monuments of Serbia, Beograd, 1965, fig. 58; EVANS (n. 70), fig. 3.17; PILTZ, *Milutin* (n. 114), fig. 6.

¹⁵⁵ MORAN (n. 10), p. 125.

¹⁵⁶ ČURČIĆ, *Gračanica* (n. 121), p. 6.

¹⁵⁷ HAFNER (n. 97), pp. 147, 298.

¹⁵⁸ HAUSTEIN (n. 32), pp. 206, 274. Cf. HAFNER (n. 97), pp. 263, 320.

¹⁵⁹ HAMANN-MAC LEAN, HALLENSLEBEN (n. 120), fig. 336; PILTZ, *Milutin* (n. 114), fig. 7.

¹⁶⁰ ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 58; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), II, fig. on p. 25; EVANS (n. 70), fig. 12.6.

¹⁶¹ ČOROVIĆ, *Žitije* (n. 63), p. 42, l. 5; HAFNER (n. 9), pp. 97, 162.

¹⁶² ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 57; GAVRILOVIĆ (n. 12), fig. 6; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, fig. on p. 74; HAUSTEIN (n. 32), fig. 26; Βυζάντιο και Σερβία (n. 12), fig. 6; EVANS (n. 70), fig. 3.21.

coronation in 1346, and the red shoes of the second king at Lesnovo are well motivated if he is indeed Milutin.

Βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ ... ἄρχοντες / *Tsarie zemstii i... knezi shall praise the Lord* – hence *all rulers of the earth*, including those whose dignity was either between that of the *tsars* and that of the *knezi*, or equivalent to that of the *tsars* though they did not bear that title – those who were βασιλεύοντες/*tsarstvoujušči* rather than βασιλεῖς/*tsarie*¹⁶³. In the Nemanjid dynastic trees, Stefan Prvovenčani's nephew Stefan who was not a *kral* is designated *knez*¹⁶⁴ and not found worthy to wear a nimbus¹⁶⁵. Hence, a *kral* held a position superior to that of the *knezi*. In Serbian wall painting, all *kral*s (or at least those of the main line) from Stefan Prvovenčani to Dušan (prior to his coronation as *tsar*) and even to the non-Nemanjid *kral* Vukašin¹⁶⁶ were depicted in the garments of a Byzantine βασιλεύς. This had been standard iconography since Sopoćani (1263-1268) as an expression that a Serbian *kral*'s dignity was equal to that of a Bulgarian *tsar* and of a Palaiologan βασιλεύς. The paintings in the endonarthex of Sopoćani¹⁶⁷ must have been well known in the mid-14th century, because on Dušan's instigation, paintings had been executed in the exonarthex shortly before his coronation¹⁶⁸ which included portraits of himself, his wife and his son Uroš which resemble those at Lesnovo closely¹⁶⁹. At Lesnovo, the two *tsars* with red shoes are followed by two nimbed men in imperial garments whose shoes are not red, and finally by the nobility – men without nimbi. If the first two rulers are Dušan and Milutin, the two nimbed men are two Serbian *kral*s. Three nimbi in the rear picture plane represent some (not necessarily three) more *kral*s.

The four βασιλεῖς/*tsars* of Ps 148, 11a then correspond to the *kral*s of the main shoot of the Nemanjid dynastic trees of Gračanica and Peć, Stefan Prvovenčani, Uroš I and Milutin¹⁷⁰, extended until Dušan as in Dečani

¹⁶³ SPARWENFELD (n. 62), IV, p. 289, no. 5317 (*vide supra*: I Tim 6, 15 vs. Apc 17, 14; 19, 16 and the icon IC XC ὁ βασιλεύς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς).

¹⁶⁴ ĐURIĆ (n. 4), figs. 57, 58; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, fig. on p. 74; EVANS (n. 70), fig. 3.21.

¹⁶⁵ ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 57; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, fig. on p. 74; HAUSTEIN (n. 32), fig. 24; EVANS (n. 70), fig. 3.21.

¹⁶⁶ Psača (1366-1371); MILLET-VELMANS (n. 12), fig. 127, 130; MANDIĆ (n. 28), fig. 23; ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 73; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), fig. 138a; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), fig. 28; K. BOYADJIÉVSKI, *Le trésor artistique de la Macédoine*, Skopje, 1984, fig. on p. 170.

¹⁶⁷ MILLET-FROLOW (n. 107), II, pl. 45-1, 46-1, 47-3; ĐURIĆ, *Sopoćani* (n. 50), figs. on pp. 19, 23; HAMANN-MAC LEAN, HALLENSLEBEN (n. 120), figs. 133, 135; M. PANIĆ-SUREP, S. ČIRKOVIĆ, A. DEROKO, S. RADOJČIĆ, *Sept siècles de Sopoćani*, Beograd, 1965, fig. on p. III; MANDIĆ (n. 28), fig. 6; *Βυζάντιο καὶ Σερβία* (n. 12), fig. 25.

¹⁶⁸ ĐURIĆ, *Sopoćani* (n. 50), pp. 113, 114, 119.

¹⁶⁹ ĐURIĆ, *Sopoćani* (n. 50), p. 139.

¹⁷⁰ ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 58; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), II, fig. on p. 25; HAUSTEIN (n. 32); EVANS (n. 70), fig. 12.6.

where, however, Stefan Prvovenčani and Uroš were omitted. The third king, then, should be Uroš I. In the dynastic trees, this *kral* is depicted as an old man with a long white beard¹⁷¹ while the third king at Lesnovo wears a short brown beard¹⁷². However, the dynastic trees had been painted four to seven decades after Uroš's death. In authentic portraits painted at his lifetime, he had been depicted with a dark beard, though longer than the beard of the third king¹⁷³. When the narthex of Lesnovo was painted, nobody was alive to remember his features so that he could be depicted at any age. It should be noted that the colours of the garments (Lesnovo: first and third king dark, second king bright¹⁷⁴, Dečani: Dušan und Uroš dark and very similar, Milutin between them bright¹⁷⁵) are the same in the Ps 148, 11a illustration and in the contemporaneous dynastic tree (*vide supra*).

The fourth king stands somewhat separately; his nimbus does not overlap with that of the third king¹⁷⁶. His garments are particularly sumptuous but not *imperial*; they are decorated with many double-headed eagles. In the Bogorodica Ljeviška church at Prizren (1306-1309), both Milutin¹⁷⁷ and his grandfather¹⁷⁸ are depicted in frontal position and with a nimbus. Stefan Prvovenčani wears a crown which is not a *kamelaukion*, and a rich garment which is not an emperor's robe; unlike Milutin's garment, it is lavishly decorated with double-headed eagles¹⁷⁹. In the church at Žiča, the cathedral of St Sava, Serbia's first archbishop, and the church where the Serbian kings were crowned, Stefan Prvovenčani was depicted wearing a

¹⁷¹ ĐURIĆ (n. 4), figs. 57, 58; GAVRILOVIĆ (n. 12), fig. 6; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, fig. on p. 74; II, fig. on p. 25; HAUSTEIN (n. 32), figs. 8, 22; EVANS (n. 70), figs. 3.21, 12.6.

¹⁷² GABELIĆ (n. 4), pls. LIV, LV.

¹⁷³ MILLET-FROLOW (n. 107), II, pl. 45-1, 46-1, 47-3; ĐURIĆ, *Sopočani* (n. 50), figs. on pp. 19, 31 ("with red hair and a greying beard": ĐURIĆ, p. 112); MANDIĆ (n. 28), fig. 6; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), figs. 139, 141 (cf. ĐURIĆ, fig. on p. 23). Elsewhere at Sopočani, viz. in the scene of Uroš as the *ktitor* (not in imperial garments) introduced to the Mother of God by his father and his grandfather, both as monks (ĐURIĆ, *Sopočani* [n. 50], p. 130), the king is already quite grey (ĐURIĆ, *Sopočani* [n. 50], p. 112). Note that the king between the emperor Constantine and king Vukašin at Psača (MILLET-VELMANS [n. 12], fig. 127, 130; MANDIĆ [n. 28], fig. 22; ĐURIĆ [n. 4], fig. 73; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* [n. 27], fig. 138a; VELMANS, *La peinture* [n. 28], fig. 28) is not King Uroš I (PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* [n. 27], pp. 148-149, no. 138a) but Dušan's son, tsar Uroš (K. WESSEL, *Kaiserbild*, in *RBK* III (1978), col. 846; ĐURIĆ [n. 4], legend of fig. 73; VELMANS, *La peinture* [n. 28], legend of fig. 28).

¹⁷⁴ GABELIĆ (n. 4), figs. LIV, LV, 90, 91.

¹⁷⁵ ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 57; GAVRILOVIĆ (n. 12), fig. 6; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, fig. on p. 74; HAUSTEIN (n. 32), figs. 22, 24, 26; EVANS (n. 70), figs. 3.21.

¹⁷⁶ GABELIĆ (n. 4), figs. LIV, LV, 90, 91.

¹⁷⁷ RICE, RADOJČIĆ (n. 153), pl. XX; MANDIĆ (n. 28), fig. 10; HAMANN-MAC LEAN, HAL-LENSLEBEN (n. 120), fig. 183; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), fig. 148 (laterally inverted); PILTZ, *Milutin* (n. 114), fig. 5 (laterally inverted).

¹⁷⁸ HAFNER (n. 9), fig. preceding p. 15.

¹⁷⁹ HAFNER (n. 9), p. 21.

crimson garment decorated with medallions of yellow double-headed eagles¹⁸⁰. The fourth king can therefore be identified as the first Serbian kral, Stefan Prvovenčani. His crown is a reminiscence of the crown received from the Pope, and the double-headed eagles express the national Serbian character of his royal dignity. Regrettably, the face is destroyed, so that a comparison with portraits of Stefan Prvovenčani¹⁸¹ is not possible.

The procession of kings would then consist of Dušan and his royal forefathers at the exclusion of his father. The events leading to Dušan's accession to the throne¹⁸² would make his omission comprehensible; the three nimbi behind the four kings indicate that additional Nemanjid kings are praising the Lord, and one of them may represent Stefan Dečanski.

Stefan Dušan was born *ca.* 80 years after Stefan Prvovenčani's death¹⁸³. The procession of the four kral's does therefore not describe a historical event. Similar anachronistic processions are common iconography in Serbian wall paintings, *e.g.* at Sopoćani (Stefan Nemanja as monk Simeon, † 1199, Stefan Prvovenčani, who had abdicated and taken the monastic habit only a short time before his death in 1227, as monk Simon, Uroš I as ktitor of Sopoćani (*ca.* 1260)¹⁸⁴), Arilje (Stefan Prvovenčani as monk Simon, † 1227 when his son Uroš was only seven years old, Uroš I († May 1st, 1277) as monk Simeon, hence represented in his status after having been deposed by his son Dragutin in 1276, and Uroš's widow Helena of Anjou¹⁸⁵) and in the church of the apostles at Peć (1321-1324, Simeon Nemanja, Stefan Prvovenčani, other kings which have been overpainted in the 17th century, at the end Stefan Dečanski and finally the young Dušan¹⁸⁶). The only significant difference lies in the fact that at Sopoćani and Arilje, the oldest Nemanjid is at the head of the procession and the youngest at the end, at Lesnovo, more closely related with the dynastic trees, *vice versa*.

THE NEMANJID RULERS: CHAMPIONS OF ORTHODOXY

If Dušan wished to be viewed as a New Moses, the leader of God's New *Chosen People*, of those who remain faithful to Orthodoxy in their fight

¹⁸⁰ JIREČEK (n. 52), p. 299.

¹⁸¹ Mileševo (1219-1228): MILLET-FROLOW (n. 107), I, pl. 82-1; Ž. STOJKOVIĆ, *Mileševo* (*Kunstdenkmäler in Jugoslawien*), Beograd, 1963, fig. 12; MANDIĆ (n. 28), fig. 2; Prizren: HAFNER (n. 9), fig. preceding p. 15.

¹⁸² JIREČEK (n. 52), p. 365-366; HAFNER (n. 97), pp. 257-258, 319.

¹⁸³ ČIRKOVIĆ (n. 51), cols. 86-87; FERJANČIĆ (n. 99), cols. 90-91.

¹⁸⁴ MILLET-FROLOW (n. 107), II, pl. 44-3; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), fig. 30.

¹⁸⁵ MILLET-FROLOW (n. 107), II, pl. 97-2; PETKOVIĆ (n. 152), fig. 4; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), fig. 29.

¹⁸⁶ LJUBINKOVIĆ (n. 125), pp. XVII, XIX.

against the heretic Palamites, such demonstration of his descent from Stefan Nemanja might indeed be supportive. Before becoming the monk Simeon and the national saint of Serbia, the Grand Župan had proven his orthodoxy by convoking and leading a council against the heretics, *viz.* the Bogomiles¹⁸⁷. His measure had been considered so important that it became a topic of church wall painting. Nemanja is depicted amidst his bishops – orthodox bishops, as a matter of course¹⁸⁸. At Sopoćani (*ca.* 1265), Nemanja's council is depicted jointly with the seven oecumenical councils¹⁸⁹ whose tenets contain the whole of the Orthodox faith. In the church of St Demetrios at Peć, painted in 1345 or 1346, virtually contemporaneously with Dušan's proclamation and coronation as *tsar* and only about three years earlier than Lesnovo, the First and the Second Oecumenical Councils – the synods in which the *Symbol of Faith* was formulated – are depicted together with a non-historical Serbian council presided by Simeon Nemanja and King Milutin whose meaning is the investiture of the latter by the founder of the dynasty as the guardian of Orthodoxy¹⁹⁰.

A CROSS-CHECK: PORTRAITS OF THE ANDRONIKOI

The new identification of the Ps 148, 11a kings calls for an iconographic cross-check with the two Palaiologoi. This, however, is hampered by the scarcity of authentic portraits. While it can be assumed that the painters of the Lesnovo narthex knew Stefan Dušan personally and Milutin's portraits in other churches, it is unlikely that they were familiar with the features of the Andronikoi. If indeed the first two βασιλεῖς were meant to represent these emperors, they could only be types rather than portraits. Furthermore, for the younger Andronikos, only two 'portraits' of dubious authenticity and with rather dissimilar features are available. In one of them, in a manuscript of the second half of the 15th century¹⁹¹, the emperor wears a substantial

¹⁸⁷ HAFNER (n. 9), pp. 83-86; D. OBOLENSKY, *The Bogomils. A study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism*, Cambridge, 1948, p. 284.

¹⁸⁸ MILLET-FROLOW (n. 107), II, pl. 95-1, 2; PETKOVIĆ (n. 152), fig. 46; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), fig. 137; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), fig. 36.

¹⁸⁹ ĐURIĆ, *Sopoćani* (n. 50), p. 132; GAVRILOVIĆ (n. 12), fig. 5. Cf. B. TODIĆ, *Portraits des saints Syméon et Sava au XIV^e siècle. Contribution à la connaissance de l'idéologie de l'État et de l'Église serbes*, in *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία* (n. 12), p. 139, fig. 25.

¹⁹⁰ TODIĆ (n. 189), p. 138, fig. 24; G. SUBOTIĆ, *Die Kirche des Heiligen Demetrius im Patriarchat von Peć (Kunstdenkmäler in Jugoslawien)*, Beograd, 1964, fig. 56; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), p. 149, fig. 143; PILTZ, *Milutin* (n. 114), fig. 9; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), fig. 39.

¹⁹¹ SPATHARAKIS (n. 57), pp. 172-183, fig. 121a; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), fig. 126.

brown beard¹⁹², very different from that of the first king of Ps 148, 11a. In the second case¹⁹³, the identity of the emperor has been contested¹⁹⁴. The beard is short and resembles that of Dušan so that both rulers comply equally well. For Andronikos II, the situation is better. His portraits in two chrysobulls of 1293 and 1301¹⁹⁵ can be considered as authentic. In the earlier document, the miniature of the emperor is not well preserved, but obviously similar to the second one. In the chrysobull of 1301¹⁹⁶, Andronikos, 43 years old, wears a broad, rather long, brown beard. The miniature of Ἀνδρόνικος ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Παλαιολόγος in a 14th century manuscript of the History of Georgios Pachymeres¹⁹⁷ is trustworthy, too. The beard is now white (Andronikos ruled up to the age of 70), but its shape is the same as in the miniature of 1301, filling the whole space between the prependicularia¹⁹⁸. The miniature seems to have suffered later alterations which, however, did not affect the face; a copy of the original version¹⁹⁹ shows the beard in the same shape. In later miniatures, this idiosyncratic shape has become standard iconography²⁰⁰. It is clearly different from the beard of the second king of Ps 148, 11b. The compliance with Milutin's beard in authentic portraits of the kral is not perfect either, in so far as the ends of the bipartite beard are pointed in the latter, but rounded at Lesnovo, but Milutin definitely conforms better than Andronikos II.

¹⁹² SPATHARAKIS (n. 57), fig. 121a; p. 177: "with a fairly short dark beard ending in two points".

¹⁹³ SPATHARAKIS (n. 57), fig. 180; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), fig. 120; PILTZ, *Milutin* (n. 114), fig. 13 (not *Chronicle of Pachymeres*, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich*).

¹⁹⁴ Andronikos III: SPATHARAKIS (n. 57), pp. 237-240; Andronikos II: PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), p. 147, no. 120; PILTZ, *Milutin* (n. 114), p. 184, fig. 13. The paintings of emperors in the narthex of the katholikon of Chilandari, allegedly Andronikos II, Andronikos III and Ioannes V, must remain out of consideration: MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Herrscherideologie* (n. 51), p. 189.

¹⁹⁵ *L'art Byzantin* (n. 60), p. 347, no. 371 (fig.); CHOTZAKOGLU (n. 29), figs. 1, 15a; PILTZ, *Milutin* (n. 114), fig. 12.

¹⁹⁶ *L'art Byzantin* (n. 60), p. 347, no. 371 (fig.); SPATHARAKIS (n. 57), fig. 134; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), fig. 118; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), fig. 15; CHOTZAKOGLU (n. 29), fig. 15a; PILTZ, *Milutin* (n. 114), fig. 12.

¹⁹⁷ HEISENBERG, *Palaiologenzeit* (n. 29), pl. III; E. STOLLREITHER, *Bildnisse des IX.-XVIII. Jahrhunderts aus Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, I, IX.-XIV. Jahrhundert (*Miniaturen aus Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München*, 9), München, 1928, p. 41; SPATHARAKIS (n. 57), fig. 110; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), fig. 119.

¹⁹⁸ HEISENBERG, *Palaiologenzeit* (n. 29), p. 23: "... starken, unten stumpf geschnittenen Vollbart... Andronikos als Greis dargestellt...".

¹⁹⁹ R. H. W. STICHEL, *Unbekannte byzantinische Kaiserbilder*, in *BZ*, 89 (1996), pp. 74-78, pl. XII.

²⁰⁰ SPATHARAKIS (n. 57), figs. 114b, 119h; PILTZ, *Kamelaukion* (n. 27), fig. 125; PILTZ, *Milutin* (n. 114), fig. 14.

THE PROCESSION OF CLERICS ILLUSTRATING PS 149, 1

The reinterpretation of the procession of kings does not affect Gabelić's proposal that the bishop in the illustration of Ps 149, 1 is the metropolitan Jovan of Skopje. However, this assumption is purely hypothetical, and alternative assignments should be considered. Two years before the narthex paintings of Lesnovo had been executed, Dušan's Hesychast rival Ioannes Kantakuzenos had succeeded to take possession of Constantinople. Three and a half months later, he had installed a pro-Palamite patriarch, Isidoros Bucheiras²⁰¹, who crowned him a few days later as βασιλεύς (*vide supra*). From Dušan's point of view, Kantakuzenos, unlike himself, was not an orthodox ruler, the patriarch heretic and the autocephalous Serbian archbishop, since 1346 Patriarch of the Serbian national church who had performed Dušan's coronation, his orthodox counterpart. The outstanding merits of Patriarch Joanikije were honoured after his death in 1354 by his canonization²⁰² and a painting of his funerals above his sarcophagus in the church of the apostles at Peć²⁰³. It was meet that he and his clergy represent the faithful (ὄσιοι in LXX Ps 149, 1, *prepodobni* in the Slavonic translation) who praise the Lord by singing a new chant. As nimbi are given very liberally in Serbian church wall painting²⁰⁴ (in the narthex of Lesnovo even to despot Oliver and his wife²⁰⁵ and to the local bishops of Zletovo²⁰⁶), the nimbus of the bishop in the Ps 149, 1 illustration is compatible with either assignment. In fact, in the church of St Demetrios at Peć (1346), Joanikije is depicted with a nimbus²⁰⁷. On the other hand, the procession of the clerics is not the immediate counterpart of the procession of the *tsarie* and *knezi*; it might as well represent archbishop St Sava I with his clerics as a symbol of Serbian Orthodoxy.

THE NARTHEX PAINTINGS OF LESNOVO: AN ILLUSTRATION OF STEFAN
DUSAN'S POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

The illustration of the laud psalms thus turns out to be part of a decoration program which expresses Stefan Dušan's political aspirations shortly

²⁰¹ F. TINNEFELD (ed.), *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, I, 1 (*Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur*, 12), Stuttgart, 1981, pp. 158-163; *PLP*, no. 3140.

²⁰² ČURČIĆ, *Gračanica* (n. 121), p. 156.

²⁰³ LJUBINKOVIĆ (n. 125), p. XX, figs. 60, 61.

²⁰⁴ *E. g.*, MILLET-FROLOW (n. 107), II, pls. 78-3, 87-4, 90-3.

²⁰⁵ MILLET-VELMANS (n. 12), fig. 53; GAVRILOVIĆ (n. 12), fig. 1; *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία* (n. 12), figs. 7-9; GABELIĆ (n. 4), fig. 78.

²⁰⁶ OKUNEV (n. 13), pl. XL-1; MILLET-VELMANS (n. 12), fig. 49; *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία* (n. 12), figs. 40, 41; GABELIĆ (n. 4), figs. 117, 118.

²⁰⁷ *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία* (n. 12), fig. 10.

after his coronation as *tsar*. His goal is not to supplant the *Greek emperor* in his character as βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, but to strive to become a *New David* and a *New Moses*, as many Byzantine emperors had done, the leader of God's *New Chosen People*, the Orthodox Christians, regardless whether they spoke Serbian, Bulgarian or Greek. In his self-evaluation which accompanies his law code, contemporaneous with the narthex paintings of Lesnovo, Dušan stated that he by the blessing of God became the *tsar of all the Orthodox Faithful*²⁰⁸ (rather than a βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων). The title βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων had become as meaningless as the empty title of a *King of Jerusalem* which the Habsburg emperors bore even much later. The ethnic diversity of the Orthodox Christians had its prototype in the organization of God's old *Chosen People* in twelve tribes. The Israelites had repeatedly succumbed to the temptation to become disobedient to the Lord and to worship other gods, in Christian terms: to fall into heresy. While Moses had been receiving the Lord's law, his people performed the dance around the golden calf; while Dušan prepared the law book for his subjects, the heresy of Hesychasm infected the faithful. The Byzantine emperor ruled as the lieutenant of Jesus Christ, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων, on earth, not as the successor of the pagan emperors of the Roman Empire, but in the tradition of the Old Testament as a *New David* or a *New Moses*.

The tradition to regard the Nemanjic kraljs as the leaders of the *New Israel* had evolved gradually long before Dušan's proclamation as a *tsar*. In the account of the life of his father, King Stefan Prvovenčani relates that Stefan Nemanja campaigned against the Palaiologan emperor, conquered Niš, Prizren and other cities and *defeated his enemies like Moses overcame Amalek by carrying the cross in front of himself untiringly and with its aid subdued the hostile barbarians*²⁰⁹. In his *vita* of King Milutin, archbishop Danilo II reported a successful campaign of Serbian troops in Asia Minor against the Turks and suggested to celebrate the victory by praising the *kralj* by a hymn *You, exalted by God, you are equal to the holy and great tsars, to the benevolent David, to the glorious Constantine*²¹⁰ (and hence to Moses, *vide supra*). When Milutin died, he looked like an angel of God; his face shone more brightly than that of the aged Moses²¹¹. When Stefan Dečanski had acceded to the throne, he is characterized as follows: *Might and power*

²⁰⁸ ĆIRKOVIĆ (n. 119), p. 116.

²⁰⁹ HAFNER (n. 9), p. 87.

²¹⁰ HAFNER (n. 97), p. 192.

²¹¹ HAFNER (n. 97), p. 200. Note that ὁ ἄγγελος Κυρίου of the LXX is *the messenger of the Lord*, and humans such as Moses and later St John Prodromos were such *messengers* (cf. Mt 11, 10; Mk 1, 2).

came to him from the Lord as victory over the alien peoples came to the pious emperor Constantine because of his faith, or victory over Amalek to Moses who had seen God²¹². In the war against the Bulgarian tsar Michail Šišman, Stefan Dečanski had defeated a mighty tsar, as Moses who had seen God had defeated Sihon, the king of the Amorites and the kingdom of Kanaan²¹³. When he was going to build the church of Dečani, he wished to serve Christ in the true faith of Abraham and with the respectful love which had guarded Moses and made King David an abode of the Holy Spirit²¹⁴. As Dečanski's *mladi kralj*²¹⁵, Dušan had fought as valiantly as Joshua the son of Nun had done against the enemies of Israel; in perfect typology, Dečanski had educated his son to eventually succeed him as the *leader and guardian of his country*, just as Moses had educated Joshua *who later became the second leader of the people of Israel*²¹⁶. When Dušan had fallen into disgrace and considered emigration, his courtiers declined to accompany him; they behaved like the Israelites who said to Moses "Why shall our tombs not be in our home country? Why did you lead us thither?"²¹⁷. During Dušan's rule as *kralj*, the Hungarian *király* Charles Robert invaded Serbia (*vide supra*). He [= Dušan] *marched against him, just as Moses who had seen God had done who carried the sign of the cross in front of his face and defeated with it the godless mischief-maker Amalek*²¹⁸. Here, Dušan's roles as a New Moses and as a New Constantine merge into one: In 1466, the wall paintings of the church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, Cyprus, depict typological scenes of Moses and of Constantine, among others Moses' rod turned into a snake²¹⁹. Moses' rod was his magic wand, and for a Christian, this wand must have been a cross: just as the sceptre in the shape of a long stick ending in a cross which Dušan and other Serbian *kraljs* (though not Stefan Dragutin in the Nemanjid genealogical tree at Dečani) hold in their hands.

When the orthodox patriarch Joanikije crowned Dušan, he installed him, on behalf of Jesus Christ, as the leader of the faithful – not only of the Serbs, but of all *tribes of God's New Chosen People*, as is demonstrated by

²¹² HAFNER (n. 97), p. 214; cf. Exod 17, 8-13.

²¹³ HAFNER (n. 97), p. 231; Num 21, 21-24. Note that Moses' victory over Sihon is referred to in the 134th psalm which closely resembles Ps 148.

²¹⁴ HAFNER (n. 97), p. 248.

²¹⁵ HAFNER (n. 97), pp. 227, 229.

²¹⁶ HAFNER (n. 97), pp. 229-230. For Joshua's role in typology, cf. V. J. ĐURIĆ, *Novi Isus Navin*, in *Zograf*, 14 (1983), pp. 5-16.

²¹⁷ HAFNER (n. 97), p. 256.

²¹⁸ HAFNER (n. 97), p. 272.

²¹⁹ A. STYLIANOU, J. STYLIANOU, "Ἐν τούτῳ νίκα" "In hoc vinces" "By this Conquer" (*Publications of the Society of Cypriote Studies*, 4), Nicosia, 1971, pp. 67-77, fig. 36.

the additional blessing which Dušan received from the patriarch of the Bulgarian Church and *even by archpriests of the Greek throne*²²⁰, certainly anti-Palamites. At Lesnovo, this investiture is depicted by Jesus Christ giving a crown of the *kamelaukion* type to Dušan (Fig. 1)²²¹. The *tsar* is looking at the illustration of the laud psalms. There, he is shown to praise the Lord together with the preceding Nemanjid *krals* (*prepodobni, faithful*, or even saints of the Serbian Orthodox Church) and other representatives of the faithful. The ἄρχοντες occupy the same rank in the terrestrial empire as do the saints in the celestial one; consequently the *knezi* and saints depicted elsewhere are equipped with the same headdress²²². Dušan is also looking at the fierce, yet undecided fighting between his faithful soldiers and their heretic adversaries (Ps 148, 7) (Fig. 8). Victory has not yet been won but is anticipated: Verse 8 is illustrated by two kings who are already overwhelmed and put into chains (Fig. 7). Their crowns are not of the *kamelaukion* type. At Lesnovo and elsewhere, the *kamelaukion* is the crown which Christ (or an angel on his behalf) gives to the ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστοῦς κρᾶλης/βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Σερβίας as the symbol of his vocation as the leader of the *Chosen People*. While already Stefan Milutin had been depicted as the recipient of this vocation at Gračanica²²³, in the Nemanjid genealogical tree at Dečani Dušan did not even concede an imperial crown to his father whose orthodoxy was beyond doubt. The fettered kings of Ps 149, 8 were not πιστοί (*faithful*) and hence were not eligible for a *kamelaukion*. If the faithful kings of Ps 148, 11 are the Nemanjids, those of Ps 149, 8 might have been represented by their heretic antagonists. Indeed, since February 1347, when Empress Anne and her son had succumbed to the Hesychast doctrine, two heretic Greek βασιλεῖς were at hand, but at Lesnovo both kings are aged men with long grey beards who do not qualify for John V and John VI.

Further to the left, Dušan himself is depicted again, in the outfit of a *Serbian tsar* (as borne out by the double-headed eagles and his crown) and, at the same time, as a New Moses (as borne out by the name written beside his nimbed head) (Fig. 4). He is addressing the *tribes* of the New Israelites, the Orthodox Christians, whose orthodoxy is expressed by their nimbi.

²²⁰ ĆIRKOVIĆ (n. 119), pp. 115-116.

²²¹ OKUNEV (n. 13), pl. XXXIX-2; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), fig. 27; GAVRILOVIĆ (n. 12), fig. 1; *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία* (n. 12), fig. 7; GABELIĆ (n. 4), figs. XL, 78.

²²² E.g., Mercurios and Prokopios at Treskavac, ca. 1340: MIJOVIĆ (n. 17), figs. 3, 6; ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 56. In the illustration of Pentecost at Žiča, one of the persons representing the *nations* wears a similar headdress: MILLET-FROLOW (n. 107), I, pl. 52, 1-3. Cf. PÄTZOLD (n. 125), figs. 43, 102 (*akathistos hymnos, oikos 17*, in Dečani and in Markov Manastir).

²²³ ĐURIĆ (n. 4), fig. 49; VELMANS, *La peinture* (n. 28), figs. 23, 31; ĆURČIĆ, *Gračanica* (n. 121), fig. 22; HAUSTEIN (n. 32), fig. 13; EVANS (n. 70), fig. 2.6.

He is pointing out the unchangeability of the tenets of the orthodox faith, incorruptible like the course of the stars and represented by the *water which is above the heavens* (Fig. 3) and which is, in fact, God's Wisdom which has been communicated to the Fathers of the Church and flows from them to be drunk by the faithful, as depicted in the pendentives of the dome. But the meaning of this scene goes beyond that. It is a perfect illustration of Exod 18, 13-26²²⁴: *And it came to pass after the morrow that Moses sat to judge the people, and all the people stood by Moses from morning till evening. Jethro (Ἰοθὴρ, his father-in-law) asked him What is this that thou doest to the people? Wherefore sittest thou alone, and all the people stand by thee from morning till evening? Moses answered "Because the people come to me to seek judgment from God. For whenever there is a dispute among them, and they come to me, I give judgment upon each, and I teach them the ordinances of God and his law (τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ). Jethro objected that this is too tiring. Certainly inspired by God, he advised him to testify to them the ordinances of God and his law (again τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ Θεοῦ), and thou shalt shew to them the ways in which they shall walk, and the works which they shall do. Moses is advised to appoint his judges (able men, fearing God, righteous men, hating pride), and they shall judge the people at all times, and the too burdensome matter they shall bring to thee, but they shall judge the smaller cases; so they shall relieve thee and help thee*²²⁵. This is the exact Old Testament type of Dušan compiling his law code for his Serb and Greek subjects alike. The laws which have been drawn up according to God's will, shall serve as the basis of an efficient administration of his country, and they shall be as

²²⁴ In the Byzantine octateuchs, Exod 18, 13-26 is not illustrated: K. WEITZMANN, M. BERNABÒ with R. TARASCONI, *The Byzantine Octateuchs (The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint, 2)*, Text, Princeton NJ, 1999, p. 171. The octateuchs contain several miniatures of Moses addressing the Israelites: WEITZMANN, BERNABÒ, p. 153, figs. 624-627; p. 174, figs. 746-749; p. 215, figs. 1059-1063; pp. 217-218, figs. 1079-1083; p. 219, figs. 1097-1101; p. 220, figs. 1106-1111; P. HUBER, *Bild und Botschaft. Byzantinische Miniaturen zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, Zürich - Freiburg, 1973, figs. 52, 56, 60, 62; J. LOWDEN, *Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts. A Byzantine Phenomenon*, in P. MAGDALINO, R. NELSON (eds.), *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, Washington DC, 2010, pp. 107-152, figs. 4-7. In two of them, Moses is sitting on a hill (as in Lesnovo) (WEITZMANN, BERNABÒ, pp. 174, 220, figs. 746-749, 1106-1111; HUBER, fig. 62); in two cases, *Moses looks up at and points with his right hand toward heaven* (as in Lesnovo) (WEITZMANN, BERNABÒ, pp. 217-219, figs. 1079-1083, 1098-1101; HUBER, fig. 56). However, all miniatures have the mirror image arrangement (Moses left, nimbed); the Israelites are not nimbed, and Moses is beardless (even when he *sings his song to the Israelites* shortly before his death, Dt 31, 30 – 32, 43).

²²⁵ All English Old Testament quotations are from *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament with an English translation* by Sir LAUNCELOT LEE BRENTON, London, s. a.

reliable as the course of the stars. It is the same word *πρόσταγμα* / *povele-nie* which occurs in Exod 18, 16, 20 and in Ps 148, 6²²⁶.

The narthex paintings deal with other topics as well, *e. g.* include a cycle dedicated to the Mother of God. Part of it are Old Testament prophecies on the incarnation. It may be significant that from the large repertoire of such prophecies, two dealing with Moses have been selected, *viz.* the tabernacle²²⁷ and the Burning Bush, including Moses' rod turned into a snake²²⁸. In Marianic typology, the bush that burned but was not consumed is a symbol of the undamaged virginity of the Mother of God²²⁹. To express this meaning, emphasis has frequently been placed upon the *burning*: It is depicted as a *Platytera* within a blaze framed by only a slim wreath of green leaves at the periphery²³⁰. At Lesново, the painter has disregarded the fire altogether: the bush is green²³¹; a very small medallion of a *Platytera* type Mother of God in the same colour is hardly perceptible so that it escaped the attention of Okunev²³². The picture is thus very close to the Biblical text and concentrates on the vocation of Moses as the leader of the *Chosen People*, confirmed by the miracle of Moses' rod turned into a snake and back (Exod 3, 2-4; 4, 1-5). It is thus a perfect *type* of Dušan's investiture as the leader of God's *New Chosen People*. In the scene of Moses and Aaron in the tabernacle, medallions of the Mother of God at the ark of the covenant as well as at the table prove the Marianic connotation, but at the same time, Moses and Aaron act as the guardians of the Holy of Holies, as Dušan is the guardian of the true faith.

Gideon and his fleece is another prototype of the Virgin. However, in the picture at Lesново²³³, no reference to the Mother of God is apparent;

²²⁶ *Biblia ili knigi svjaščennago pisanija vethago i novago zaveta*, Sanktpeterburg, 1816, pp. 71, 613. Cf. F. MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum*, Vindobonae, 1862-1865, p. 584 (*praeceptum, mandatum*); E. A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from B. C. 146 to A. D. 1100)*, New York - Leipzig, 1888, p. 949 (*command, principles, rules*). For the use of the word in Byzantine times, *cf., e.g.*, P. SCHREINER, *Ein Prostagma Andronikos' III. für die Monembasioten in Pegai (1328) und das gefälschte Chrysobull Andronikos' II. für die Monembasioten im byzantinischen Reich*, in *JÖB*, 27 (1978), p. 207, ll. 2, 9, 11; p. 213, l. 57.

²²⁷ MILLET-VELMANS (n. 12), fig. 44; GABELIĆ (n. 4), fig. 81.

²²⁸ OKUNEV (n. 13), pp. 237-238, fig. 165; MILLET-VELMANS (n. 12), fig. 45; GABELIĆ (n. 4), fig. XLVI.

²²⁹ B. ROTHMUND, *Handbuch der Ikonenkunst*, München, 1966², pp. 278-279; P. HUBER, *Heilige Berge. Sinai, Athos, Golgota – Ikonen, Fresken, Miniaturen*, Zürich - Einsiedeln - Köln, 1982², pp. 184-186 and 188.

²³⁰ J. GALEY, *Sinai und das Katharinen Kloster*, Stuttgart - Zürich, 1979, figs. 108, 111, 113, 114, 177.

²³¹ GABELIĆ (n. 4), fig. XLVI.

²³² OKUNEV (n. 13), fig. 165.

²³³ GABELIĆ (n. 4), fig. 80.

restricted to the biblical connotation, it is the vocation of another leader of the *Chosen People* by the Lord and its miraculous confirmation. With respect to Dušan's role as the defender of Orthodoxy against the assaults of Heresy it may be interesting to note that in the 16th century the Russian *tsar* Ivan IV at the outset of his campaign against the infidel, *viz.* the Tatars of Kazan, prayed in a church dedicated to the *archistrategos* Michael. The metropolitan Makarij blessed him *and dismissed him, as God's angel [had dismissed] Gideon against the tsar of the Midianites or Samuel the gentle David against the strong giant Goliath. And instead of a visible weapon he gave him the invisible and invincible weapon, the cross of Christ*²³⁴. Conventionally, the ἄγγελος Κυρίου, the *messenger of the Lord*, who conveyed Gideon's vocation as the leader of the *Chosen People*, is identified with the archangel Michael²³⁵ – the *archistrategos* of the *hosts of heaven* to whom the katholikon of Lesnovo is dedicated and whose support is indispensable in the successful fight against the infidel, as shown in the naos of the church in the large panel of Michael saving Constantinople by destroying the fleet of the Saracenes²³⁶. In the narthex, Michael on horseback is one of the most conspicuous panels of the wall paintings²³⁷.

In the *vitae* of the Nemanjid kral, the typological relations between them and Old Testament leaders of the *Chosen People* are not restricted to Moses; in addition to the parallelism Stefan Dečanski-Dušan ~ Moses-Joshua (*vide supra*), there are many similar comparisons of the kral with King David including a father-son relation, Milutin ~ David, Dečanski ~ Solomon²³⁸: What matters is not a specific prototype, but the vocation of the leader by the Lord. As Samuel had performed David's vocation on behalf of the Lord by anointing him (LXX I Kings 16, 1-13), archbishop Joanikije had performed Dušan's vocation in the coronation of 1346 at Skopje. He, too, had acted on behalf of the Lord; at Lesnovo, it is the Lord himself who gives the kamelaukion to the kral. The panel at the North wall of the narthex, then, is a picture of Dušan's coronation reduced to the bare essentials. Of the ceremony as actually performed at Skopje, we have no account, but the detailed description of Dušan's coronation as a kral fifteen

²³⁴ KÄMPFER (n. 66), pp. 182-184.

²³⁵ G. P. SCHIEMENZ, *The Significance of the Prophet Gideon in Lagoudera*, in *Ἐπετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετῶν Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου*, 6 (2004), pp. 197, 202, 223, 228-229.

²³⁶ OKUNEV (n. 13), pl. XXX-2; MILLET-VELMANS (n. 12), figs. 17, 18; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, fig. on p. 225; GABELIĆ (n. 4), figs. XXI, 34.

²³⁷ OKUNEV (n. 13), pl. XXXV; MILLET-VELMANS (n. 12), fig. 41; HOOTZ-TRIFUNOVIĆ (n. 14), I, fig. on p. 229; GABELIĆ (n. 4), figs. XXXV, 98.

²³⁸ HAFNER (n. 97), pp. 192, 214. Both kral are compared with Constantine.

years earlier can be assumed to give a good idea. On the eve of the feast of the Birth of the Mother of God, a solemn *hesperinos* was celebrated. It was followed by a *mesonyktikos*, and on Sunday morning they performed in the church of Saint John Prodromos with this pious [man] all codified prescriptions, and the most holy archbishop Kir Danilo recited the prayers, took the royal crown into his hands and put it on his honorable head saying [to Christ]: “You put upon his head a crown of precious stones; he asked you for life, and you extended his days into the everlasting”. He then conducted him to the royal throne, and they proclaimed him with high voice. When the holy liturgy and everything else was finished, the most holy Kir Danilo addressed to him divine and wise words in the presence of all bishops, hegumenoi and venerable monks, for the benefit of his soul and his body²³⁹. There can be no doubt, that the ceremony included many hymns, first of all psalms, and the account implies that between the *mesonyktikos* and the liturgy, the *orthros* was performed. It can therefore be taken for granted that the laud psalms were sung, and indeed, which psalm would have suited better than the 148th psalm, αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, followed by the 149th psalm which contains the promise of the Lord that eventually all opponents of the true faith will be subdued, *for the Lord takes pleasure in his people, and will exalt the meek with salvation. The faithful shall rejoice in glory and shall exult on their beds... this honour have all his faithful*.

Two important parts of the ceremony of 1346, then, have been symbolically commemorated in the narthex paintings of Lesnovo, the coronation as the act of Dušan's vocation and the singing of a *Te Deum*²⁴⁰ whose text expresses well its purpose and prospect. From heaven, *viz.* the narthex cupola, the Pantokrator is watching the terrestrial events²⁴¹. In the tambour, he is surrounded by prominent Old Testament figures. Okunev laconically remarked that *the prophets* are represented between the windows²⁴². In fact, only three of the eight men belong to the prophets as depicted in naos tambours (none of them to the classical prophets of the Old Testament): David, Solomon and Moses. The kings occupy the eastern and the northeastern positions, hence the same privileged places as in naos tambours. Solomon's southeastern counterpart is Joshua, the successor of Moses, who occupies the northwestern position, framed by his brother Aaron in the north and Samuel in the west. Aaron (as the counterpart of Moses) as well as Samuel

²³⁹ HAFNER (n. 97), pp. 262-263. For the address, cf. Ps 20, 4-5.

²⁴⁰ Cf. DIDRON (n. 7), p. 236; SCHÄFER (n. 7), p. 238.

²⁴¹ OKUNEV (n. 13), pl. XXXIX-1; MILLET-VELMANS (n. 12), fig. 54; GABELIĆ (n. 4), fig. 73.

²⁴² OKUNEV (n. 13), p. 236.

appear frequently among the prophets on icons of the Mother of God *The prophets from above worship thee*²⁴³. The southern and the southwestern positions are occupied by Noah and Melchisedek, respectively. Gabelić generalized that this “*series of prophets is polarized to the east and the west half. In the east there are figures of the Old Testament kings (David, Solomon and Joshua) and on the west the priests (Aaron, Moses, Samuel, Melchisedek and Noah), which emphasizes the imperial and presbyterial origin of Christ*²⁴⁴. While it is true that the northwestern hemisphere (hence including Aaron, but excluding Noah) is occupied exclusively by persons of sacerdotal character (as borne out in the *Hermeneia* by the description φορῶν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν καὶ μίτραν for all of them²⁴⁵), Joshua is neither a king nor a prophet, but the leader of God’s *Chosen People* after Moses’ death, and Noah neither a prophet nor a priest; both of them as well as Melchisedek are δίκαιοι²⁴⁶. A number of details refer to the incarnation, such as a medallion of the Virgin on Moses’ vase, the *sealed fountain* on Samuel’s cloak and the quotation of Prov 9, 1 on Solomon’s scroll²⁴⁷, but at the same time, the texts chosen for David’s and Solomon’s scrolls point to σοφία, *wisdom*, whose communication to the faithful is depicted nearby in the pendentives.

The whole set of tambour *prophets* and δίκαιοι qualifies as a *type* of the *svetorodnost* of the Nemanjids: Noah, the oldest of the depicted δίκαιοι, is the patriarch of the kindred whom God had chosen to survive the Flood; he is a precursor of Moses in so far as the ἄδικοι perished in the Deluge, just as Pharaoh and his soldiers were drowned in the Red Sea, but he can also serve as a *type* of Stefan Nemanja. Moses and Joshua, the senior and the junior leader of the *Chosen People*²⁴⁸, as well as David and Solomon²⁴⁹ correspond to a kral and his *mladi kral*, Moses and his sacerdotal associate Aaron to a kral and his archiepiscopal brother (Stefan Prvovenčani and St Sava I, Stefan Uroš I and St Sava II), Samuel who had anointed David, to the archbishop who had performed Dušan’s coronations (Danilo in 1331, Joanikije in 1346).

²⁴³ G. P. SCHIEMENZ, *Μία Γεωργική σκέπη εικόνας στο Μοναστήρι του Κύκκου, Eine georgische Ikonenedeckung im Kloster Kykkos*, in *Ἐπετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετῶν Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου*, 2 (1993), pp. 68-70, 107-110.

²⁴⁴ GABELIĆ (n. 4), p. 279.

²⁴⁵ PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS (n. 7), pp. 51, 75, 76.

²⁴⁶ PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS (n. 7), pp. 51, 75, 76; GABELIĆ (n. 4), pp. 156, 160.

²⁴⁷ GABELIĆ (n. 4), pp. 161, 279, fig. XXXVI.

²⁴⁸ The confirmation of Joshua’s vocation as the leader of the *Chosen People* after Moses’ death by the archangel Michael (Joshua 5, 13-15) is depicted in the naos: OKUNEV (n. 13), p. 232, fig. 164; GABELIĆ (n. 4), p. 102, fig. 38.

²⁴⁹ GABELIĆ (n. 4), figs. XXXVI, XXXVII.

Moses has been a *type* not only for Constantine, but also for Christ²⁵⁰; he is accompanied by another Old Testament *type* of Christ, Melchisedek, the enigmatic king of Salem²⁵¹.

CONCLUSION

After all, the narthex paintings of Lesnovo, dated by the ktitors' inscription to the 6th of August of the year 6857 (= 1349), illustrate the coronation of the former kral Stefan Dušan in April 1346 and its significance, as well as the release of Dušan's law code in May of the same year (1349). The paintings reflect the bilingual character of Dušan's state by the inscriptions, partly in Slavonic and partly in Greek. Having become the sovereign of Greek people, Dušan was in need to replace his purely Serbian title *kral* suspect of Western heresy by a title which was acceptable for his orthodox non-Serbian subjects. The Slavonic title *tsar*, already in use for the Bulgarian ruler and adopted by Dušan in 1345-1346, fitted well, whereas its Greek translation, βασιλεύς, involved the risk of an undesirable misinterpretation. In the Slavonic ktitors' inscription of 1341 commemorating the construction of the church²⁵², Dušan is called *Stefan kral*. Had the inscription of 1349 also been in Slavonic, *kral* might have simply been replaced by *tsar*. But it was in Greek. The carefully balanced text²⁵³, ... ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Στεφάνου καὶ Ἑλένης καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῶν Κράλη τοῦ Οὔροσι, retains for Dušan's son, the *mladi kral* Uroš²⁵⁴, the inoffensive title κράλης and circumvents the pitfall by using βασιλεία instead of βασιλεύς. The inscription is thus devoid of any allusion to the title of Βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων. By the grace of God, Dušan's 'imperial' dignity is the kingship of *tsar David*, βασιλεὺς Δαβίδ; as a *New David* and a *New Moses*, he is the champion of the *True Faith* and the leader of God's *New Chosen People*, the Orthodox Christians.

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²⁵⁰ J. JEREMIAS, *Μωυσῆς*, in G. KITTEL, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, IV, Stuttgart, 1942, pp. 852-878.

²⁵¹ Cf. Hebr ch. 7.

²⁵² OKUNEV (n. 13), p. 224; GABELIĆ (n. 4), pp. 27-28, drawing 1.

²⁵³ OKUNEV (n. 13), p. 224, fig. 162; GABELIĆ (n. 4), p. 34, drawing 4, fig. 98.

²⁵⁴ VASILIEV (n. 84); MIHALJIĆ (n. 84).

SUMMARY

The narthex paintings of Lesnovo, executed three years after Stefan Dušan's coronation as a *tsar* and a few months after the release of his law code, are interpreted as a depiction of Dušan's achievements and political goals. Having become the suzerain of Greeks, he was in need of a new title to replace his Serbian title *kral*. As King David and Moses had been the most prominent leaders of God's Old *Chosen People*, Dušan wished to be a *New David* and a *New Moses* – the leader of God's New *Chosen People*, the Orthodox Christians. *Tsar David* served as his prototype for his new title *tsar*, and Moses the law-giver, as the prototype for Dušan as a law-giver. In a scene of the *āivot* psalms, Moses *alias* Dušan is depicted addressing the *Chosen People*.

EINE ÜBERSEHENE ANSPRACHE DES DEMETRIOS MOSCHOS

Demetrios Moschos († nach 1519), Sohn des Ioannes Moschos¹ und Bruder des Georgios Moschos², gehörte nicht nur zu den bedeutenden griechischen Kopisten des Renaissance³, sondern war auch als Griechischlehrer und Literat tätig. Auf diesem Gebiet ist er vor allem als Verfasser eines Epyllions bekannt („τὸ καθ’ Ἑλένην καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον“), das sogar zu seinen Lebzeiten gedruckt wurde⁴, sowie einer Komödie („Νέαιρα“), die bisweilen als das erste neugriechische Theaterstück betrachtet wird⁵. Ferner

¹ RGK, III, S. 130–131, Nr. 336 (als Ἰωάννης) mit der dort genannten Literatur; zur Identifizierung dieses Kopisten mit Ioannes Moschos, dem Verfasser der bekannten Grabrede auf Lukas Notaras (A. SIDERAS, *Die byzantinischen Grabreden. Prosopographie, Datierung, Überlieferung. 142 Epitaphien und Monodien aus dem byzantinischen Jahrtausend* [WBS, 19], Wien, 1994, S. 389–391) siehe neben F. BERTOLO, *Giovanni di Corone o Giovanni Mosco?*, in *Medioevo Greco*, 2 (2002), S. 21–48, jetzt auch R. STEFEC, *Eine bisher unbekannte griechische Quelle zum ersten venezianisch-osmanischen Krieg 1463–1479*, in *Bsl*, 68 (2010), S. 353–368, insbesondere 353–354.

² RGK, III, S. 59, Nr. 111 sowie P. ELEUTERI – P. CANART, *Scrittura greca nell’umanesimo italiano (Documenti sulle arti del libro, 16)*, Rom, 1991, S. 84–86, Nr. 28 (mit der dort genannten Literatur).

³ RGK, III, S. 74–75, Nr. 165 sowie ELEUTERI – CANART, *Scrittura* (wie in Anm. 2), S. 86–89, Nr. 29 (mit der dort genannten Literatur). Hinzu kommen jetzt M. R. FORMENTIN, *Il punto su Demetrio Mosco*, in *BBGG*, 52 (1998), S. 235–257 (mit einer Handschriftenliste auf S. 243–256); EADEM, *Codici di Galeno vergati da Demetrio Mosco*, in *Lingue tecniche del greco e del latino*, III, *Atti del III Seminario Internazionale sulla Letteratura scientifica e tecnica greca e latina, Trieste 1996*, Bologna, 2000, S. 81–88.

⁴ E. LEGRAND, *Bibliographie hellénique des XV^e et XVI^e siècles ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, I, Paris, 1885 (Ndr. Paris, 1962 und Brüssel, 1963), S. 67–71 (Nr. 26); eine kritische Edition mit Übersetzung und Kommentar bei A. MESCHINI, *La storia di Elena e Alessandro*, Padua, 1977 (mit Literatur; dort auch zur Überlieferung der Schrift). Zu diesem Text siehe auch H. HOMEYER, *Bemerkungen zu einem Epos des Demetrios Moschos über die Entführung der Helena durch Paris*, in *Helikon*, 22–27 (1982–1987), S. 467–476.

⁵ M. VALSA, *Le théâtre grec moderne de 1453 à 1900 (BBA, 18)*, Berlin, 1960, S. 3–21 [= M. BALSÀ, *Τὸ νεοελληνικὸ θέατρο ἀπὸ τὸ 1453 ἕως τὸ 1900*, Athen, 1994, S. 57–78]. Siehe ferner H.-W. NÖRENBERG, *Demetrios Moschos’ Neaira in der literarischen Tradition antiker Komödien*, in *Studi umanistici piceni*, 3 (1983), S. 247–264; A. PONTANI, *Su una commedia umanistica greca: la ‘Neera’ di Demetrio Mosco*, in *Museum Patavinum*, 4 (1987), S. 267–288. Kritische Edition mit Kommentar: A. MESCHINI, *La ‘Neera’ di Demetrio Mosco: edizione critica, traduzione e commento*, in *Orpheus*, N.S. 7 (1986), S. 356–392. Vgl. auch P. BÁDENAS DE LA PEÑA, *Dimitrios Moschos y el problema del teatro griego entre 1453 y el renacimiento cretense*, in *Erytheia*, 7 (1986), S. 323–343.

tat er sich als Verfasser von Epigrammen⁶ und einigen Reden hervor. Neben der bereits edierten Ansprache an den Protostrator Demetrios Laskaris⁷, der seinerseits in Venedig in der Entourage der Anna Notara belegt ist⁸, und einer als Ethopoiie konzipierten ‘Monodie’ der Muttergottes auf die Kreuzigung⁹ waren bisher zwei weitere unedierte Stücke bekannt: eine Verteidigungsrede für Paulos Sguromalles und eine Deklamation¹⁰. Im Folgenden

⁶ F. M. PONTANI, *Epigrammi inediti di Demetrio Mosco*, in *Maia*, 15 (1963), S. 501–514; M. GIGANTE, *Epigrammi di Demetrio Mosco*, in *RSBN*, N.S. 1 (1964), S. 79–89; Ph. MPUMPULIDES, ‘*Ἀνέκδοτον ἐπίγραμμα „εἰς Βενετίας“ Δημητρίου Μόσχου τοῦ Λάκωνος*’, in *RSBN*, 1 (1964), S. 91–101; F. M. PONTANI, *Ancora sugli epigrammi di Demetrio Mosco*, in: *Studi in onore di E. Mioni (Università di Padova. Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neogreci. Miscellanea*, 3), Padua, 1982, 83–91.

⁷ Kein Eintrag im *PLP*. Der Vorname Demetrios spricht gegen die Identifizierung mit einem (namentlich nicht bekannten) Sohn des Kopisten Demetrios (Laskaris) Leontares (*PLP*, VI, Nr. 14677; *RGK*, II, Nr. 130), da der Vater des letzteren Ioannes hieß (*PLP*, VI, Nr. 14679). – Der Text ediert nach dem Codex unicus *Ambrosianus* C. 80 inf. (Ae. MARTINI – D. BASSI, *Catalogus codicum graecorum bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, Mailand, 1906 [Ndr. Hildesheim – New York, 1978], S. 950–951) bei Ph. MPUMPULIDES, ‘*Ἀνέκδοτον κείμενον τοῦ Δημητρίου Μόσχου*, in ‘*Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν*, 16 (1965–1966), S. 364–373 (S. 373 Z. 216 lege προτρέψαι statt προτέρψαι). Der Tf. auf S. 371 des zitierten Beitrags ist zu entnehmen, dass diese Rede autograph überliefert ist.

⁸ Notiz des Jahres 1471 im Codex *Vaticanus Palatinus graecus* 236, fol. 3^v (Euripides), wo ein Protostrator erwähnt wird, vgl. P. SCHREINER, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Biblioteca Vaticana* (ST, 344), Vatikan, 1991, 112–113 (S. 113, Z. 3 lies πρωτοστράτορος). Die Handschrift (eine veraltete Beschreibung bei H. STEVENSON, *Codices manuscripti Palatini Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, Rom, 1885 [Ndr. Vatikan, 1975], S. 128–129) enthält eine Reihe von Geschäftsnotizen mit Bezug auf Anna Notara, ihren Bruder Jakobos Notaras und deren Entourage. Der Konnex zur Familie Notaras wird ferner durch die Anspielung auf den Tod des *mezas dux* im Text der Rede an Demetrios Laskaris bestätigt (MPUMPULIDES, ‘*Ἀνέκδοτον κείμενον* [wie Anm. 7], S. 372, Z. 203–206). Zu Anna Notara vgl. zuletzt Ch. MALTEZU, ‘*Ἄννα Παλαιολογίνα Νοταρᾶ, μὴ τραγικὴ μορφή ἀνάμεσα στὸν βυζαντινὸ καὶ τὸν νέο ἐλληνικὸ κόσμον*, Venedig, 2004; zu der Familie Notaras siehe zuletzt Th. GANCHOU, *Le rachat des Notaras après la chute de Constantinople ou les relations „étrangères“ de l’élite byzantine au XV^e siècle*, in M. BALARD – A. DUCÉLLIER (éd.), *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes (X^e–XVI^e siècles)*. *Actes du colloque de Conques (octobre 1999)* (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 19), Paris, 2002, S. 149–229 (mit der dort genannten Literatur). Wenn auch die Rede gerade hier (ebd., S. 372–373, Z. 187–207) zahlreiche Schwierigkeiten bietet, lässt sich der folgende Zusammenhang rekonstruieren: Der Vater des Demetrios Laskaris stammte aus der Peloponnes (ebd., S. 372, Z. 191–193, 196), bekleidete ein wichtiges Amt (ebd., Z. 192), war rhetorisch begabt (ebd., Z. 199–200) und Verfasser eines (heute verlorenen) Berichtes über das Todeslos des Lukas Notaras (ebd., S. 372–373, Z. 206–207: ἀναγράψας τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν [sc. Λουκᾶν τὸν Νοταρᾶν] ἅπαντα καὶ ἀναγράψας ὡς οἷόν τε ἀκριβέστατα τὸ πρέπον τῆς πραγματείας ἐφύλαξεν).

⁹ Ph. MPUMPULIDES, ‘*Ἀνέκδοτα κείμενα τοῦ Δημητρίου Μόσχου*, in *EEBS*, 39–40 (1972–1973), S. 560–562. Der Text ediert nach dem Codex unicus *Vaticanus Palatinus graecus* 428 (STEVENSON, *Codices* [wie Anm. 8], S. 277–278).

¹⁰ Überliefert in dem bereits erwähnten *Ambrosianus* C 80 inf., vgl. MARTINI – BASSI, *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 7), S. 950. Zum Codex siehe auch die Bibliographie bei C. PASINI, *Bibliografia dei manoscritti greci dell’Ambrosiana (1857–2006)* (*Bibliotheca erudita. Studi e*

soll eine weitere, bisher unbekannte Rede aus der Feder des Demetrios Moschos kritisch ediert und kurz kommentiert werden¹¹.

Die zuletzt erwähnte Ansprache scheint in lediglich zwei Handschriften überliefert zu sein: der erste Codex, *Londinensis Harleianus* 5724 [= H], kopiert im ausgehenden 15. Jh. von einem anonymen Schreiber (‘pluritestuale pluriblocco organizzato’), enthält neben unserer Rede (ff. 42^r–50^r) die Hekabe des Euripides, das (ps.)-hesiodische *Scutum*, einige der kleinen Schriften Xenophons (*Apologia Socratis*; *Agésilau*; *Hiero*), acht Reden Demosthenes’ und eine Auswahl aus den Schriften Lukians¹². Der zweite Codex, *Vaticanus graecus* 2248 [= V], im betreffenden Teil von zwei westlichen Kopisten der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jh. geschrieben (‘pluritestuale pluriblocco fattizio’), enthält neben unserer anonym überlieferten Rede (ff. 300^r–307^v) eine Reihe klassischer und byzantinischer Autoren (beispielsweise das *Carmen aureum* des ps.-Pythagoras oder Aischylos)¹³. Obwohl mit Sicherheit keine der Handschriften autograph ist, überliefern beide Codices neben einigen banalen orthographischen Fehlern echte Autorennvarianten; zudem ist der Text des *Harleianus* etwa um ein Drittel länger als jener des (offenbar kompletten) *Vaticanus*. Die zeitliche Abfolge dieser Versionen bleibt unklar, da die Schlichtung stilistischer Unebenheiten in beide Richtungen erfolgt zu sein scheint¹⁴; man wird wohl annehmen müssen, dass zwei voneinander unabhängige, auf den Autor zurückgehende

documenti di storia e filologia, 30), Mailand, 2007, S. 333. Eine Edition beider Stücke bereitet der Verf. vor. Die Bezeichnung des Paulos als „εὐγενής“ lässt eine Verwandtschaft mit Matthaios Palaiologos Sguromalles (*PLP*, X, Nr. 24995) oder Palaiologos Sguromalles (*PLP*, X, Nr. 24996) vermuten, zumal beide Personen auf der Peloponnes belegt sind und Matthaios explizit als „Λακεδαιμόνιος“ genannt wird (Sp. P. LAMPROS, *Λακεδαιμόνιοι βιβλιογράφοι καὶ κτήτορες κωδίκων κατὰ τοὺς μέσους αἰῶνας καὶ ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας*, in *NE*, 4 [1907], S. 152–187, hier S. 183), also gleicher Herkunft mit dem Verfasser der Verteidigungsrede ist.

¹¹ Eine nützliche Übersicht über die Biographie Moschos’ findet sich bei FORMENTIN, *Il punto* (wie Anm. 3), S. 236–241 (mit Quellenverweisen).

¹² *The British Library. Summary Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts*, I, London, 1999, S. 177–178 (Kurzbeschreibung mit lückenhafter Bibliographie, auf deren Vervollständigung hier verzichtet sei). Die Identifizierung des Kopisten mit Aristobulos Apostoles (*RGK*, III, S. 39–40, Nr. 46) durch Schmoll (E. A. SCHMOLL, *The Manuscript Tradition of Xenophon’s Apologia Socratis*, in *GRBS*, 31 [1990], S. 313–321, hier 315) trifft nicht zu. Ein summarischer Nachweis der Wasserzeichen (im zitierten Katalog nicht ausgewiesen) bei Yol. CORRALES PÉREZ, *Die Überlieferungsgeschichte des pseudo-hesiodischen Scutum Herculis*. Diss. (unveröff.), Hamburg, 1994, S. 117 mit Anm. 193. Der Codex stammt aus dem Jesuitenkolleg in Agen (Besitzvermerk f. 1^v).

¹³ Eine detaillierte Beschreibung des Codex bei S. LILLA, *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 2162–2254 (Codices Columnnenses)*, Vatikan, 1985, S. 406–416 (mit Literatur).

¹⁴ Bessere Lesart in V: 45 οὐ προσίενται V: ἀποστρέφονται H (Litotes); 64 ἐν τῇ τῶν τερπνῶν ἐφεξῆς ὑποσχέσει V: ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς τερπνοῖς (entspricht besser der zu erwartenden Aussage); 181–182 τὰ τῆς παιδείας ἐπίπονα V: τὰ σκληρά H (Umschreibung). Bessere Lesart in H: 118 κάρρονες: κρείσσονες (Wiederherstellung der dorischen Form

Bearbeitungen des Urtextes vorliegen. Da der abweichende Schluss eher als Erweiterung des *Harleianus* denn als Kürzung des *Vaticanus* zu verstehen ist, wird im Folgenden nach dem *Vaticanus* ediert, wobei alle Abweichungen der Londoner Handschrift (auch solche orthographischer Natur) im Apparat verzeichnet sind; der Schluss der Rede findet sich in einem separaten Anhang¹⁵.

Die Person des Adressaten der Rede muss aufgrund der Allgemeinheit der zur Verfügung stehenden Angaben leider im Schatten bleiben. Es handelte sich um einen tüchtigen, ehrgeizigen¹⁶, begabten¹⁷ und literarisch interessierten¹⁸ jungen Mann aus guter Familie¹⁹, der – ebenso wie Moschos – aus Mistra stammte²⁰. Er hatte bei letzterem Rhetorik studiert²¹ und gewisse Fortschritte erzielt²²; ein Nachlassen seines Eifers – trotz der Zielstrebigkeit, die ihm Moschos attestiert²³ – gab Anlass zur Abfassung der Ansprache²⁴.

Der Hauptteil der Rede besteht aus einer Paränese an den Schüler, die unter bewusstem Rückgriff auf antike Vorbilder erfolgt²⁵; der Adressat soll in seinem Entschluss, sich weiterhin dem mühevollen Studium der Rhetorik zu widmen, nach Möglichkeit bestärkt werden. Das Ausmaß der Anleihen bei antiken Autoren (etwa Hesiod, Xenophon, Philostrat, Platon) ist hoch; eine direkte Kenntnis ihrer Schriften ist bei Demetrios Moschos durch seine Kopistentätigkeit hinreichend verbürgt. Darüber hinaus reflektiert der hier edierte Text in einem Punkt auch anderwärtig belegte philologische Interessen des Autors: die Philostrat-Zitate hängen wohl mit Moschos' Kopisten- (VS) und Übersetzungstätigkeit (*Imagines*) zusammen; bekanntlich hat er (wohl um 1510) eine Übersetzung der *Imagines*

[falls in V nicht eine Banalisierung der Überlieferung vorliegt]); 159 πολεμικῶν V: τῶν ἐν πολέμοις H (Umschreibung).

¹⁵ Da die Anzahl der Autorenvarianten relativ gering bleibt, schien es nicht notwendig, eine synoptische Edition beider Versionen *en face* zu bieten.

¹⁶ Vgl. Z. 3–6, 168–169 und 209–210 sowie 219–220.

¹⁷ Vgl. Z. 179.

¹⁸ Vgl. Z. 5, 177–178.

¹⁹ Vgl. Z. 1 und 3, 31–32 und 212–213.

²⁰ Vgl. Z. 89–90: πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμῖν γεγονότας πατρίδος, Λακεδαιμονίου γὰρ (...). Der Plural ἡμῖν schließt auch den Adressaten der Rede mit ein; vgl. Z. 120–121: σου πολλαχῆ ζηλωτοῦ φαινομένου τῆς τῶν προγόνων διαγωγῆς (unmittelbar zuvor wird über das antike Sparta berichtet). Vgl. auch H, Z. 12 (überliefert nur im *Harleianus*): σοὶ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. ἐλληνικοῦ/βρωμαϊκοῦ) γένους.

²¹ Vgl. Z. 5 und 11.

²² Vgl. Z. 4 und 12, 74 und 187–188.

²³ Vgl. Z. 190–192.

²⁴ Vgl. Z. 45–46, 14–15, 22–25, 180, 182 und 218.

²⁵ Vgl. Z. 18–19: γνώμας δὲ τινὰς τῶν παλαιῶν ὡς παρέλαβον προτιθέμενος.

ins *volgare* im Auftrag der Isabella d'Este angefertigt²⁶. Für Datierungsfragen scheinen diese Indizien eher unergiebig zu sein; ein fester *terminus ante quem* bleibt die Abschrift des Harleianus²⁷. Da Moschos spätestens seit 1483 bis zu seinem Tode (nach 1519) in Italien (Venedig, Ferrara, später vor allem Mantua) bezeugt ist²⁸, darf man annehmen, dass die Rede in Norditalien vorgetragen wurde²⁹; somit legt sie ein Zeugnis über den Rhetorikunterricht von Griechen durch griechische Gelehrte auf italienischem Boden im ausgehenden 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhundert ab³⁰.

Von Interesse für die zeitgenössische Ideengeschichte sind ferner Moschos' ausgeprägter Lokalpatriotismus sowie seine ausführliche Bezugnahme auf die italienische Renaissance. Der Autor, der stolz auf seine Herkunft aus Lakedaimon hinweist (Z. 89–90), bemüht oft das Beispiel der spartanischen Tugend, um seiner *adhortatio* Nachdruck zu verleihen³¹; er verlegt sogar den Vortrag der berühmten Rede Prodikos' über Herakles am Scheideweg, dessen Paraphrase bei Xenophon erhalten ist (*Memorabilia* II, 1, 21–34), nach Lakedaimon (Z. 97–105), was durch antike Quellen nicht ausdrücklich verbürgt ist³². Zu dieser Haltung mag nicht nur Spartas glänzende Geschichte beigetragen haben, die Moschos als Altertumsfreund wohlbekannt war, sondern auch der Umstand, dass der Autor seine ersten Lebensjahre noch in Mistra verbracht haben dürfte, so dass ihm die politischen Erfolge, welche die Byzantiner noch verhältnismäßig kurz vor der

²⁶ R. WEBB – M. KOORTBOJIAN, *Isabella d'Este's Philostratus*, in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 65 (1993), S. 260–267 (mit Literatur); N. ZORZI, *Demetrio Mosco e Mario Equicola: un volgarizzamento delle "Imagines" di Filostrato per Isabella d'Este*, in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 174 (1997), S. 522–572 (mit Literatur; vgl. ebd. S. 529–530 zu einer [wohl verschollenen] Übersetzung der *Moralia* Plutarchs durch Demetrios Moschos). – Eine Handschrift mit den *Imagines* Philostrats aus der Feder des Demetrios Moschos scheint bisher nicht bekannt zu sein, vgl. FORMENTIN, *Il punto* (wie Anm. 3), S. 243–256; die Sophistenviten hingegen hat Demetrios Moschos im *Parisinus graecus* 1697 kopiert. Zur Stellung dieses Codex in der Überlieferung der Sophistenviten vgl. R. STEFEC, *Zur Überlieferung und Textkritik der Sophistenviten Philostrats*, in *WS*, 123 (2011), S. 63–93, hier S. 79–80.

²⁷ Siehe Anm. 12.

²⁸ FORMENTIN, *Il punto* (wie Anm. 3), S. 236–241.

²⁹ Ein Hinweis auf Italien als Vortragsort liefert auch das Pronomen οὗτοι in H, Z. 38, das auf italienische Humanisten bezogen ist; dazu vgl. weiter unten.

³⁰ Für die Existenz eines griechischen Schülerkreises um Demetrios Moschos scheinen die Z. 200–201 und 207 zu sprechen.

³¹ Vgl. Z. 90–91; 114–118. Siehe auch die Rede an Demetrios Laskaris (MPUMPULIDES, *Ἀνέκδοτον κείμενον* [wie Anm. 7], S. 367, Z. 36–37 und 59–69 [Lykurg]) sowie das Epigramm auf die Stadt Venedig (MPUMPULIDES, *Ἀνέκδοτον ἐπίγραμμα* [wie Anm. 6], S. 98, Z. 31–32 sowie S. 100, Z. 95–96).

³² Vgl. H. DIELS – W. KRANZ, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, II, Dublin – Zürich, 1966¹², 308–319 (Nr. 84); K. VON FRITZ, *Art. Prodikos*³, in *RE*, XXIII, 1 (1957), Kol. 85–89. Der Vortrag der Rede in Sparta (bei Xenophon nicht bezeugt) ist aus Philostrat, *Vitae sophistarum* 1, prooem. (p. 3, 25 – p. 4, 4 KAYSER) kombiniert.

Eroberung der Halbinsel verzeichnen konnten, nicht verborgen geblieben sein dürften. Bemerkenswert scheint, dass sich Moschos auch fernab der nunmehr unerreichbaren Heimat nicht nur weiterhin als 'Lakedaimonios' (und nicht etwa als Ῥωμαῖος oder Ἑλληνας) definierte³³, sondern auch mit einer Reihe griechischer Emigranten peloponnesischer Herkunft verkehrte.

Der letzte, ausschließlich im *Harleianus* tradierte Teil der Rede (H, Z. 1–87), bietet einige interessante Aussagen über die italienische Renaissance, an der Demetrios Moschos selbst aktiv teilgenommen hat, und liefert zugleich einen Schlüssel für das Verständnis seines literarischen Schaffens. Moschos beklagt sich – wenig überraschend – über den Niedergang der griechischen Bildung und den Verlust der einstigen Gesinnung³⁴, bestreitet aber mit Nachdruck die verbreitete Ansicht, dass man in Bezug auf die Literatur mit der Antike nicht wetteifern könne (H, Z. 19–24):

μηδέ σου μειρακιώδης τις καὶ λίαν εὐήθης τὴν γνώμην ὑπαγέσθω λόγος, ὃν ἤδη καὶ πολλοὺς ἀκηκόαμεν ἀπομνημονεύειν, ὡς τάχα γε νεωτέροις οὐκ ἐνέσται τοσοῦτον εὐδοκιμῆσαι περὶ τοὺς λόγους, ὅσον οἱ πάλαι πεπλευονεκτήκασιν. οὔτε φασὶν εὐφυῖας τοσοῦτον μετεχούσης νῦν τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως οὔτε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καιρῶν ταῦτά συγχαρούντων (...).

Er stützt seine Ablehnung der von ihm geschilderten defätistischen Haltung einerseits mit der Beobachtung, dass auch im Altertum auf Perioden der Stagnation erneuter Aufschwung des geistigen Lebens gefolgt sei (H, Z. 25–30), andererseits mit Hinweis auf die erfolgreichen Bestrebungen der italienischen Humanisten, die als Vorbild dienen könnten (H, Z. 72–73, H, Z. 75: οὕτως ἡμᾶς προτρεπόμενοι). Nicht nur sei es den Italienern gelungen, das düstere Mittelalter zu überwinden und ihre römischen Vorfahren in der lateinischen Bildung einzuholen³⁵, sondern sie lernten bereits

³³ An dieser Stelle sei indes darauf verwiesen, dass dies bei griechischen Kopisten und Gelehrten des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts keine Ausnahme darstellt.

³⁴ Vgl. H, Z. 3–4: εἰ καὶ ὡς πάλαι τὰ τῶν λόγων ἤκμαζε καὶ διαφόρους εἶχονεν ἐν ἐκάστοις μαθήμασι τοὺς διδάσκοντας; H, Z. 10–11: νῦν δὲ σχεδὸν γὰρ εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἤκομεν, φρονήματος τοῦ πρὶν στερέντες (ein Zitat aus der Hekabe des Euripides, V. 622–623).

³⁵ Vgl. H, Z. 40–49: τοὺς γὰρ ἐν ταῖς καθ' αὐτοὺς Μούσαις πάλαι διαπρεπεῖς ἐπιπὸλύν τινα χρόνον ἀφανισθῆναι βαρβάρων ἐπιστρατευσαμένων ἄλλοθεν καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν χώραν ἄπασαν ἐργασαμένον ἀνάστατον, ὅθεν ἀνήρπαστο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἐκ πολυτελείας κτημάτων, μετ' ἐκείνων δὲ καὶ βίβλοι τῶν παλαιῶν οὐκ ὀλίγαι, ὃν ἀνηρημένων παιδεία τε καὶ διδασκαλία πάντα σεσίγητο. μετὰ ταῦτα δέ, φασιν, ἔτεσιν ἐξήκοντα πρὸ τῶν νῦν ἢ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλείοσιν αὐθις τὰ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῖς ἀνεφύετο καὶ καταμικρὸν ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνοντα οὕτως ἦνθησεν, ὡς νῦν αὐτοὺς τοῦτους ὁμολογεῖν μὴ παραπολύ τι τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκείνων λείπεσθαι. Vgl. auch die allgemeine Aussage in H, Z. 37–38. Der in H, Z. 45–46 enthaltene Hinweis auf die Datierung der Rede kann leider nicht ausgewertet werden, da unklar bleibt, mit welchem Jahr Moschos die italienische Renaissance beginnen lassen möchte.

Griechisch³⁶ und seien im Begriff, selbst im Griechischstudium die Griechen zu überflügeln³⁷, während letztere an der lateinischen *paideia* sträflicherweise nicht interessiert seien³⁸. Als namentliches Beispiel für erfolgreiche Bestrebungen westlicher Humanisten auf dem Gebiete der lateinischen Literatur führt er Marcantonio Antimaco an³⁹, der ein alter Freund der Familie Moschos war⁴⁰.

Der ansteckende Optimismus der italienischen Renaissance ließ Demetrios Moschos also nicht unberührt; er blickte nicht nur mit neuem Selbstbewusstsein und Zuversicht in die Zukunft⁴¹, sondern zögerte nicht, seiner Hoffnung durch Wiederbelebung alter literarischer Formen (vgl. insbesondere das Epyllion „τὸ καθ’ ἑλένην καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον“ und die Komödie „Νέαιρα“) Ausdruck zu verleihen⁴²; von dieser rebusartigen Rezeption der italienischen Renaissance berichtet auch unser Text. Die Beantwortung der Frage, ob mit dieser Produktion, die sich in Form und literarischer Qualität von jener der um eine Generation älteren Autoren (wie etwa Ioannes Argyropoulos oder Michael Apostoles)⁴³ deutlich abhebt, nicht eigentlich schon ein (vereinzelter) Sprung in die Welt der westeuropäischen Renaissance geschafft wurde, sei Spezialisten der Literaturgeschichte vorbehalten.

³⁶ Vgl. H, Z. 56 und 58–59.

³⁷ Vgl. H, Z. 62–67.

³⁸ Vgl. H, Z. 62–63. Zu Moschos’ lateinischer *paideia* vgl. die (wohl übertrieben relativierende) Aussage in H, Z. 51. An dieser Stelle sei darauf hingewiesen, dass die Geschichte jener Jungfrau, die P. Cor. Scipio Africanus im Jahre 210 v. Chr. bei seinem Spanienfeldzug als Geschenk erhalten haben soll – sie wird von Moschos, der auch sonst seine Quellen frei wiederzugeben scheint, nach Karthago verlegt (MPUMPULIDES, *Ἀνέκδοτον κείμενον* [wie Anm. 7], S. 369, Z. 100–122) –, viel enger an Livius als an Polybius angelehnt ist (Tit. Liv. XXVI, 50; Plb. X, 19), so dass direkte Kenntnis des lateinischen Klassikers bei Demetrios Moschos angenommen werden kann.

³⁹ Vgl. H, Z. 52.

⁴⁰ Marcantonio Antimaco (kein Eintrag im *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*) hatte bei Ioannes Moschos, dem Vater des Autors, in Griechenland studiert, vgl. LEGRAND, *Bibliographie hellénique* (wie Anm. 4), S. LXXXVIII. Zu ihm siehe auch G. BIETENHOLZ, *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, I, Toronto – Buffalo – London, 1985, S. 62.

⁴¹ Vgl. Z. 124–125: παρ’ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τὸ λείπον τοῦ λόγου ποιήσομεν (kontrastiv zu Z. 18–19); H, Z. 17–19: νῦν δὲ αὐτὸ τε τοῦτο ἡμῖν περίεστι καὶ τῶν μεθ’ ἡμᾶς ὡς οὐκ ὀλίγοι συνεφέπονται τὸ μέρος συναίτιοι δόξομεν.

⁴² Ein Werk mit Bezug auf die neuere Geschichte seiner Heimat hat Demetrios Moschos geplant, vgl. MPUMPULIDES, *Ἀνέκδοτον κείμενον* (wie Anm. 7), S. 372, Z. 189–191: καὶ τὰ τῶν νεωτέρων ἄδεται πανταχοῦ, περὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς ἄλλοτε προσεχέστερον θεωρήσομεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ χρέος ἀφοσιούμενοι δίκαιον.

⁴³ So stehen etwa die ‘Komödie’ des Katablattas (ein mit guten Argumenten Ioannes Argyropoulos zugeschriebenes Werk) ganz in der Tradition der byzantinischen Hofsatire (Text bei P. CANIVET – N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, *La comédie de Katablattas. Invective byzantine du XV^e s.*, in *Δίπτυχα*, 3 [1982–1983], S. 5–97) und die Epigramme des Michael Apostoles in jener der religiösen Dichtung der Paläologenzeit (Text [fehlerhaft] bei B. LAURDAS, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀποστόλη ἀνέκδοτα ἐπιγράμματα*, in *EEBS*, 20 (1950), S. 172–208).

Δημητρίου <του> Μόσχου προτρεπτικός,
ὅπως δεῖ ταῖς τῶν λόγων προσεμμένειν μελέταις

Ὅρῳ μὲν, ὃ παῖ πατρὸς περιφανεστάτου, σε πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν νομιζομένων οὐκ ἤδη σπουδὴν ἐνδεικνύμενον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ τῆς φύσεως εὐγενὲς οὐχ ἥκιστα μαρτυρεῖται, παιδεία δὲ τῆ τῶν λόγων καὶ μᾶλλον ἐγκείμενον καὶ ταύτης ἱκανῶς μετεσχηκότα διὰ τε τὸ
5 φιλόπονον, ὃ συνδιατρίβων ἡμῖν μετ' οὐκ ὀλίγης εὐφυΐας ὁσημέραι παρίσσης, καὶ τὸ κοινῆ σου φιλότιμον ἐφ' ἅπασιν, οἷς εὐκλεῆς περιγίνεται δόξα, ἐνταῦθα σου πολλῷ πλέον ἐπιδίδοσθαι, ὅσῳ καὶ τοῦ τῆς σοφίας οὐδεὶς ἀϊδιώτερος ἀναδέδεικται στέφανος. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῖς κτήσασθαι τοῦτον προηρημένοις πολλῶν δεῖ τῶν πόνων
10 καὶ συνεχῶν καὶ σχολῆς ὡς εἰπεῖν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπηλλαγμένης περιπλοκῶν, σὺ δὲ μέχρι καὶ νῦν σαυτὸν ἡμῖν οἷον ἔδει παρεσχηκῶς καὶ κατάληψιν οὐκ ὀλίγην διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ τῆς παιδείας εἰσδεξάμενος χρήματος δοκεῖς καὶ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτῆς βάθος ἐναποβλέπων οἷον ἢ ἀμχανεῖν, ἴσως ἀπεικὸς οὐδὲν πάσχων, πειράσομαί σοι διὰ
15 βραχέων ἀποδείξαι τοῖς εἰς τέλος ἐσπουδακόσιν ὅσον ἀφωσῶται δόξης, περὶ μὲν τοῦ τῆς παιδείας ἀξιώματος οὐδὲν ἀποφαινόμενος ἐνταῦθα προηγουμένως, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ σύμπασιν ἴσως τοῦτο ῥάδιον τοῖς αὐτῆς ἀψαμένοις, γνώμας δὲ τινὰς τῶν παλαιῶν ὡς παρέλαβον προτιθέμενος καὶ ὧν διὰ μνήμην οὐκ ὀλίγης τῷ λόγῳ μετέσται
20 χάριτος ἱστορίαν συμπαραπλέκων· ἔσται δὲ σοι πάντως ὁ λόγος εὐαπόδεκτος.

Καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις ἤδη περὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν δρόμων ἀπειρηκόσιν, εἴ τις ἀναδείξαι τὰ ἄθλα ὧν ἕνεκα τοὺς πόνους ὑπομένουσιν, οὐκ ὀλίγην οἶμαι προθυμίαν ἐγγίνεσθαι πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν
25 τοῦ ἀγῶνος. οὐκοῦν ἄτοπον τούτους μὲν τολμᾶν ὀξυτέρων ἀνέχεσθαι πόνων διηνεκῶς ἕως ἂν ἀφίκωνται πρὸς τὰ τέρματα, ὅπως ἀρετὴν σώματος στεφανώσωσιν, ἡμῖν δέ, οἷς περὶ τὰς κυριωτέρας τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετὰς ὁ ἀγὼν καὶ θειοτέρας εὐφημίας ἐλπίς, εἰ ἑαυτοὺς ἀξίους παρέχοιμεν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀνάγκη συνεχέσι πόνοις καταξαινεσθαι, ἀλλὰ
30 καὶ τερπνοῖς οὐκ ὀλίγοις περιτυγάνουσιν ἐν τοῖς καθέκαστα τῶν λόγων θεωρήμασιν ἢ οὐ ταῦτὸ προσγενήσεται. γινώσκω δὲ σε καὶ οὐχ ἓνα τῶν ὡς ἔτυχεν οὔτε κατὰ γένος οὔτε κατὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν, περὶ ὧν πάλαι καλῶς ὁ σοφὸς ποιητὴς ἀπεφήνατο λέγων περὶ μὲν τῶν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν συνετῶν γεγονότων πολλοὺς ἐπαίνους, περὶ δὲ τῶν
35 πειθομένων ταῖς τῶν τοιούτων παραινέσεσιν ὡς ἐσθλῶν μνήμην ποιούμενος, οἷς δὲ μήτ' ἀγαθοῖς εἶναι πέφυκε μήτε παρ' ἄλλων εἶναι τοιούτοις, ὡς ἀχρεῖους ἀνέγραψεν. οἷς εἰ καὶ δευτέραν ἔχοιμεν εὐρεῖν σύνταξιν, δηλονότι τῶν μὴ μόνον τοῖς συνετοῖς διὰ

μικροψυχίαν ἀπειθούντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων λήρους
 40 ὑπολαμβανόντων δι' ἄγνοιαν, τί ἂν τις τοὺς τοιοῦτους προσείποι,
 πλὴν ὃ φασὶ τινες τοῖς παιδαρίοις ῥῶν γλαυκίνων γευσασμένοις
 συμβαίνειν· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ εἰς ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίαν οὐ μόνον οἶνον
 ἀποστρέφουσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μεθύοντας φοβεῖσθαι· ἐκεῖνοί τε
 ὡσαύτως ἀμέτοχοι τῶν τῆς παιδείας καλῶν γινόμενοι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ
 45 διαπρεπεῖς οὐ προσίενται. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὕτωσι διακείσθωσαν, σὺ
 δὲ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ λόγου τὴν αἰτίαν παρέσχεσ καταλάμβανε προθύμως
 οἷα περὶ τούτου τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐγνωμολόγηται. | πρῶτον μὲν οὖν
 ἐκείνοσε τὸ θρυλούμενον, οὗ καὶ πρόσθεν ποιητοῦ μνήμη
 ἐποιησάμεθα σοφῶς ἅμα καὶ ἀκριβῶς εἰρημένον ἐπιστρεφέτω, λέγω
 50 δὲ Ἡσιόδου. *τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν / ἀθάνατοι·*
μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτὴν / καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον, ἐπὴν δ' εἰς
ἄκρον ἵκηται / ῥηιδίη δ' ἤπειτα πέλει χαλεπὴ περ ἐοῦσα. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔπος
 οὐχ ἅπαν πρὸς σέ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὴ καθάπαξ πείραν ἀρετῆς εἰληφότας.
 ὄρων γὰρ ὁ σοφώτατος ἐκεῖνος διὰ ῥαστώνην τοὺς ἐμποδῶν πόνους
 55 φέρειν ὀκνοῦντας πολλοὺς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα ὠφελείας
 ὀλιγοροῦντας, ἠγήσατο βοηθητέον εἶναι κινδυνεύουσιν ἐπὶ μείζονι
 ζημίᾳ τῇ τῶν λόγων στερήσει βλαβῆναι ἢ τῇ διὰ τῶν πόνων ἀηδία
 λυπησομένοις, ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν χρόνον σπουδάσαι δεήσει. ὅθεν εὐθύς
τῆς ἀρετῆς, φησι, καταρχὰς ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἰδρῶτες καὶ πόνοι
 60 προτέθινται.

Τί δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ δυσχερῆ προαναφωνεῖ βουλόμενος ἐκείνους
 ἐτοιμοτέρως τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ προσδέξασθαι παραίνεσιν, ἴνα
 βεβαιότερον ἀποδείξῃ τὸν λόγον; πάντως γὰρ ἔδοξεν ἂν ὑποπτος καὶ
 65 ἀνελεύθερος ἐν τῇ τῶν τερπνῶν ἐφεξῆς ὑποσχέσει κατακρύπτων τὰ
 προτοῦ πόνων δεόμενα. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν πάντων σοφῶν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν
 δεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὀρῶμεν τοῖς ἐπαγγελιομένοις
 κέρδη μὲν ὅτι μέγιστα, ῥαδίως δὲ καὶ μετ' ὀλιγίστων πόνων
 περιγινόμενα καὶ λίαν ἀπιστοῦντας, ἐπεὶ καὶ στρατηγοῖς μᾶλλον
 70 συμφέρει προλέγειν ὅποτε καθήκοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀντιπάλων ὡς
 ἔχοι καὶ πρὸς ὅσους ἀγωνίζεσθαι δεοί ἢ τοπαρευτικά κρύπτοντας
 μετέπειτα σφάλλεσθαι, πλειόνων φαινομένων τῶν πολεμίων ἢ
 προενομίσθησαν. οὕτω μὲν ὁ τῶν Μουσῶν ὑποφήτης πρὸς τοὺς μήπω
 τῶν τῆς παιδείας ἀρξαμένους πόνων γεύσασθαι. σοὶ δὲ τὸ τερπνότερον
 καὶ δι' ὃ τοὺς παρεληλυθότας πόνους πολλοὺς οὐς ὑπέστης καιρὸς
 75 εὐφροσύναις ἀμείψασθαι λέλειπται. καὶ γεωργὸν μὲν ἴσως καταμέμνη
 περὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀρότρου καιρὸν πολλὰ μεμοχθηκότα καὶ ὅπως τοῖς
 σπέρμασι μηδὲν | ἐνοχλήσῃ πλείστην πρόνοιαν ποιούμενον, πρὸς δὲ
 τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τοῦ καρποῦ τῆς γῆς ἀμειβομένης αὐτὸν ὄρων
 ἀποτρεπόμενον ὑπὸ θέρμης ἡλίου μικρῶ πλείονος καταλαμβανούσης.

80 ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενον ἀθλητὴν, ᾧ τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ
 δρόμου τετέλεσται, τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ μείονι καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἀριστείαν
 καταισχύναντα. ταῦτ' ὃν εἶποις καὶ περὶ στρατηγοῦ τοὺς μὲν
 πολεμίους νενικηκότος, κατὰ δὲ τὸν τοῦ τροπαιοῦ καιρὸν
 ἀποδειλιῶντος· περὶ δὲ σεαυτοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα παραλείψεις ἀνεξέταστα;
 85 καὶ μὴν Πυθαγόρας ὁ θεῖος οὕτως ἐφίεται. πρὸ πάντων δὲ μάλιστα
αἰσχύνου σαυτόν. ὄρα τοίνυν μήπως ἐκείνους ἀφεις σαυτοῦ κατήγορος
 γένη. λάμβανε δὲ εἰς νοῦν καὶ τὰ Προδίκου καὶ ὡς ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ καὶ
 πρὸς Σωκράτην ἐκεῖνον εὖ ἐκέκριτο, ὅς τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀληθῆς
 διαμεμαρτύρηται βάσανος. ἦν δὲ ἢ ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς
 90 αὐτῆς ἡμῖν γεγονότας πατρίδος. Λακεδαιμονίους γὰρ ἐκεῖνος
 σκεψάμενος καθὼς ἐκ τῶν νόμων Λυκούργου μόνον προσετέτακτο τὰ
 εἰς ἀνδρείαν σωμασκούντας, λόγων δὲ τὸ παράπαν ἀπείρους, φήθη
 δεῖν τὰ καθ' Ἑρακλῆ γ' ἐκείνοις ἱστορήσαι τὸν ἑαυτῶν βασιλέων
 πρόγονον, ἅμα μὲν ἐθίζων ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς θίγεσθαι, ἐν
 95 ὑποθήκης μέρει τῶν λόγων ἀναμιμνησκομένων ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐκ νόμων
 ἀεὶ βιαζομένων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ λογικωτέρους ἀποδεικνύς, κόσμον
 ἡγούμενος εὐπρεπέστατον τῆς ἀνδρείας τοὺς λόγους. ὅθεν ἐκείνοις
 τὸν αἰοίδιμον ἐπεδείκνυτο λόγον, ὡς ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία πρὸς Ἑρακλῆν
 ἤδη ἔφηβον ἀφικόμεναι, τὴν τοῦ αὐτῆς βίου προαίρεσιν ἐκάστη
 100 διηγεῖτο καὶ ὧν μετέχοι χαρίτων κοινωνὸν προσελέσθαι τὸν
 Ἑρακλῆν ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο. τὸν δὲ ἀκούσαντα ἀμφοτέρων καὶ πρὸς τὸ
 τέλος τῶν λεγομένων ἀποβλέψαντα, ἢ τῇ ἀρετῇ προσθέσθαι. εὐθὺς δὲ
 ἀρξαμένου τοὺς περιφήμους ἐκείνους ἄθλους ἐκπονήσασθαι, ἐν οἷς
 καὶ τοσοῦτον περιεποιήσατο κλέους, ὡς καὶ κορυφαῖος τῶν ἡμιθέων
 105 νενόμισται. ταῦτα διερχόμενος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Πρόδικος οὐ μέσως
 ἠδδοκίμει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον οἱ Λάκωνες τοὺς σοφιστὰς οὐ λίαν
 ἀσμενίζοντες τούτου τε καὶ μάλα ἠδέως ἠκροῶντο καὶ διαπρεπῶς
 ἐξήρτηντο καὶ κατεφαίνοντο ζηλωταί. ὁ γὰρ τὸν Ὀμηρον ἐπαινῶν
 καὶ σφετεριζόμενος ὡς ἀνδρείας ἐγκώμια ῥαψωδῆσαντα, θάτερον δὲ
 110 ἀποδοκιμάζων καὶ τοῖς εἴλωσιν ἐγκαταλείπων, ὡς οἷς τὸ ἔργον
 γεωργία προσήκοντα, τοιαῦτα διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ἐκπαιδεύοντα, πάντως
 ἐντεῦθεν ἔσχηκε τὰς ἀρχάς. καὶ δημοσίᾳ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ποιήσεως
 ἤγοντο μνήμην, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν χορῶν ἢ ἐκείνοις ᾄδόμενα.
 τριστοιχεῖ γὰρ καθιστάντες ἐκείνους καὶ τῶν μὲν γερόντων
 115 προτεταγμένων, μετ' αὐτοὺς δὲ τῶν νεανίσκων, ἐξῆς δὲ καὶ τῶν
 παίδων, ἦδετο παρὰ μὲν τῆς προτέρας ἡλικίας· *ἀμὲς ποτ' ἤμεες ἄλκιμοι
 νεανίαί*, παρὰ δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων· *ἀμὲς δέ γ' ἐσμέν, αἱ δὲ λῆς αὐγάσδεο*,
 παρὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν παίδων· *ἀμὲς δέ γ' ἐσσόμεσθα πολλῶ κάρ' ῥ' ὄνες*.
 Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως καὶ ἄλλης ὑποθέσεως ἔχεται. ἀπέοικε δ' οὐ
 120 τῷ λόγῳ παντάπασι, καὶ μάλιστα σου πολλαχῆ ζηλωτοῦ φαινομένου

τῆς τῶν προγόνων διαγωγῆς. εὐρήσεις γάρ οὐδ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους
 μικρὸν ἠγουμένους τὸ τῆς παιδείας τῶν λόγων ἀξίωμα, πείραν αὐτοῦ
 λαβόντας. ἵνα δέ σοι μὴ τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀεὶ καταλέγων ἔωλος
 φαίνωμαι, οὐ̄περ οὐδὲν ἀηδέστερον ἔμοιγε, παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τὸ
 125 λείπον τοῦ λόγου ποιήσομεν. καὶ οἶα τῶν ἐλευθέρων λόγων ἢ
 παιδεία σκοπῶμεν, ὡς κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐγχωρεῖ. ὄρᾳς γάρ, ὡς οὐδὲν
 τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων οὔτε μέγα οὔτε μικρὸν ἄλλως εἰ μὴ διὰ
 λόγων ἡμῖν γνωρίζεται. τούτῳ καὶ τοὺς ἀξίους ἐπαίνων ἀμειβόμεθα
 καὶ ἡμῖν ἢ ἐλπίς οὐδὲν ἄλλο προευαγγελίζεται ἀγαθοῖς γινομένοις
 130 ὡς εὐφημίαν. λόγοις εὐχαριστηρίοις ὡς ἔχομεν καὶ τὸν πάντων
 ὑμνοῦμεν δημιουργὸν καὶ οὔτε προσφοραὶ θυσιῶν οὔτε λιβανωτὸς
 οὔτ' ἄλλο τῶν θεῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀφωσιωμένων τοσοῦτον ἡμῖν εἰς
 εὐσέβειαν συμβάλλεται, ὡς ὁ ἀπὸ γνώμης εἰλικρινοῦς αὐτοῦ πρὸς
 εὐχαριστίαν λόγος ἀναφερόμενος. πάντως γάρ καὶ τοῦ ἔπους ἀκούσεις
 135 ἐκείνου· *μέλλοντες ἐκάεργον, ὁ δὲ φρένα τέρπετ' ἀκούων*. λόγῳ ψυχῆς
 εὐγένεια κρίνεται καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν εἶδωλον ἐκείνης ἐστὶν
 ἀκραιφνέστατον. τούτῳ ἢ καὶ τὰ πάλαι γεγονότα καθ' ἐκάστην ὡς
 ἐνεστῶτα παρίσταται καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προδηλοῦται καὶ τὰ παρόντα
 κρίνεται. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς τὸ τιμιώτατον ἄνθρωπος, ὅτι καὶ
 140 ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας ἠξίωται, λόγος δὲ ἄρα μέγιστον καὶ τούτου
 τεκμήριον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο μόνον πολλοὺς ἀποτρέπειν ἔοικε τῆς
 πολυπράγμονος δόξης ἐκείνης, ἣν μετεμψύχωσιν προσειρήκασι. καὶ
 τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον γεγενῆσθαι – τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη τὸ
 τῆς ψυχῆς ἀξίωμα ὑπεμφαίνει – μόνος ἡμῖν ἐπιστάσαστο λόγος, καὶ
 145 τῶν ἀπόντων κατάληψις ἡμῖν διὰ τούτου γίνεται καὶ τῶν πλησίον
 γνώσις, ἣδη καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώτερον ἐπισταμένοις χρῆσθαι τῶν πάντων
 οὐδὲν ἀντίσταται περὶ τῶν καὶ πάνυ πόρρω ἀφισταμένων ὡς παρόντων
 βουλευέσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ πτερῶδες οὐδὲν ἄλλο
 σημαίνει νόμιζε. καὶ νοῦς ἢ μὲν περὶ ὧν μόνον ἐώρακε φαντάζεται,
 150 λόγος δὲ τι καὶ πλεον σοφίζεται, σαφεστάτην ἔχων καὶ περὶ τῶν
 οὐ̄πω θεαθέντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν. ποῦ δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς φήμης ἀθάνατον;
 πολλῶν γὰρ πολλαχόσε τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπαινούντων ἀθανασίας μετέχειν
 ἐπὶ γῆς τὸν εὐφημούμενον, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλως ἔχει τις ἂν ἀποδείξει·
 νενόμισται καὶ τοῖς μὲν παισὶ τῶν καλλίστων διδάσκαλος, ἀνδρὶ δὲ
 155 νεώτερον βουλομένῳ χρῆσθαι σύμμαχος. καὶ Φωκυλίδης οὕτω
 μαρτύρεται, *ὄπλον φάσκων ἀνδρὶ λόγος τομώτερον ἔστι σιδήρου*,
 γέροντι δὲ ἤδη μία τέρψις συμπαραμένει τῇ τοῦ γήρωος χαλεπότητι
 παραμυθίαν ἐφευρίσκουσα. καὶ ὡσπερ ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ καὶ πείραν
 ἐσχηκότι πολεμικῶν ἀγώνων ὄπλα κόσμος εὐπρεπέστατος, οὕτω καὶ
 160 τοὺς ἐν γῆρᾳ λόγος καὶ παιδεία ποιοῦσιν ἀποθειάζεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ
 πᾶσι καιροῖς τὸ τῆς παιδείας ἐπανθεῖ δόκιμον καὶ πολέμου μὲν τὸ

συμφέρον ἀπανταχόθεν τούτοις θηρᾶται καὶ μόνος τὸ δίκαιον δοκεῖν
 γίνεσθαι λόγος παρέχει. τῆς εἰρήνης δὲ τῶν τερπνῶν ἀπάντων
 ὡσαύτως ἡγεμὼν φανήσεται· μόνος γὰρ συνέστησε πανηγύρεις,
 165 ὕμνους, ἐγκώμια, καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν αὐθις ἀνατέλλουσι χάριτες· ὡς δὲ
 εἶπεῖν συνελόντι, μόνος οὗτος ἡμῖν ἀρετὰς εἰσηγεῖται, κακίας
 ἀποτρέπει καὶ τοῦ τῆς σεμνοτέρας τυγχάνειν ἡμᾶς ἐπωνυμίας αἴτιος
 γίνεται. σὺ τοίνυν εἰς πεῖραν οὐπω τῶν ἐκ τῆς παιδείας τερπνῶν
 ἀφικόμενος, δι' ἃ καὶ τῶν πόνων μετεῖχες, εἰ τὰ τῆς σπουδῆς ἐνταῦθα
 170 σου καταλύσεις, παντάπασι σαυτὸν ἐγκαταλείψεις ἀπαραμύθητον,
 ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἤδη χρόνον ἱκανὸν ἀρρωστίᾳ τρυχόμενος ἰατροῦ
 φάρμακον δεδωκότος καὶ μικρὸν ἰ μεταλαβὼν αὐθις ἐναποπτύσαι, τῆς
 ἐξ αὐτοῦ πικρίας μόνον γευσάμενος καὶ τῶν τῆς ὑγείας ἐλπίδων αὐθις
 οὐκ ἔχων γενέσθαι, πεῖραν ἐνδειξαμένης τῆς φύσεως τὰ πρὸς
 175 ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς νόσου μὴ παραδέχεσθαι φάρμακα, βέλτιον δ' ἦν αὐτῷ
 μηδὲν ἴσως προσενεγκεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν εἰς τελείαν
 κατηνέχθη τῆς ὑγείας ἀπόγνωσιν. σὺ τε ὡσαύτως, ἐπειδὴ σου τὸ
 πρόθυμον ἦν οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀπανταχοῦ τοῦ βυθοῦ τῆς ἀμαθίας ἐξαναδῦναι
 καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἔσχες εἰς τοῦτο συντείνουσαν, μεθ' οὗ χαλεπότερα
 180 διέδραμες ἀπαγορεύσεις πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις
 ἀτεχνῶς τὴν σεαυτοῦ φύσιν χαίρουσαν ἀποδείξεις; ἦν τε γὰρ τὰ τῆς
 παιδείας ἐπίπονα λογιζόμενος φαίνη καταλωφῶντι παραπλήσιος, νῦν
 οὐ τοιούτων καιρός, ἀλλ' εἰ τῶν ἀηδεστέρων ἐρρωμένως ἠνέσχου,
 πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ τοῖς εὐφροσύνης καρποὺς ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη
 185 χορηγήσουσι προσενδιατρίψεις, ἦν τε τὸ δυσχερὲς ἀνασκοπούμενος
 ἀπορῆς ὡς οὐχ οἷόν τε μετασχεῖν ἱκανῶς οὐ σπουδάζεις, καὶ τοῦτο
 δεῖ σε προσενθυμείσθαι πάντως, ὡς τῷ ἐκ παντελοῦς ἀπειρίας
 τοσαύτην ἐσχηκότε τῶν λόγων ἐπίγνωσιν, εἰκὸς καὶ ταύτην εἰς τὸ
 μεῖζον ἐπιδοθήσεσθαι, ὅσῳ καὶ δυσχερέστερον ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ὅλως τι
 190 κτήσασθαι ἢ τὸ κτηθὲν ἐπαυξῆσαι. ἔτι δὲ πρὸς διαλογίζου καὶ τὸ
 δοκεῖν εὐμετάβολον ὅσον, οὗ σε παντάπασι μέχρι καὶ νῦν
 ὑπειλήφωμεν ἀπηλλάχθαι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἴχομέν τι σπούδασμα
 θαυμαστότερον τούτου καὶ μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπῳ προσῆκον, χρῆ μὲν οὐδ'
 οὕτως ἀρξάμενον καὶ τὸ πλεῖον κατορθωκότα πρῦμναν ἐξαίφνης, ὃ
 195 φασί, κρούειν. τὸ γὰρ ἡμιδεᾶ πολλοῖς ἐγχειρεῖν, κἂν τύχῳσι χρήσιμα,
 βεβαίαν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ δόξαν ἀφήσει κτήσασθαι· τόσην δὲ ὅμως οὐκ ἂν
 ἠγούμεθα τὴν ζημίαν. νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰς ὃ βλέψας εὐρήσεις τούτου
 τιμιώτερον σπούδασμα. ἔσται δέ σοι οὐδ' ἦσσαν ὁ πόνος ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 200 προτεθέντος συμπλήρωσιν. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς σοι σπουδῆς
 ἐχόμενοι πάντως σε τῆς αὐτῶν νομίσουσιν ἐκπεπτωκέναι συντάξεως·
 οἷς δὲ σαυτὸν ἐπιθήσεις, οὐ βέβαιον ἔξουσιν, ἢ ὀρῶντες καὶ νῦν

ἀνατετραμμένον. καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτο ῥάδιον ἠγάμεθα, ὡς πρὸς τὰς πρὶν
 διατριβὰς πάλιν ἐπανελεθεῖν ἐξέσται σοι βουλομένῳ. λήθη γὰρ
 205 ἐμπεσοῦσα καὶ τὰ προδιεγνωσμένα συγγέασα τὸν νοῦν οὐκέτι
 καθαρὸν συμβάλλεσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς συγχωρεῖ. ταῦτα δὴ καὶ σὲ μὴ
 λεληθέναι λογιζομένῳ καὶ μετ' ἄλλων πολλάκις, ἐμοὶ τε κἀκείνοις
 ἐδόκει μηδὲν εἶναι τῶν πάντων, ὃ σε τῆς προτεθείσης σπουδῆς
 ἀποσπάσειεν· εἰκότως. οὐ γὰρ μέτριον σαυτὸν ἐν τῷ σπουδάσειν τοῖς
 210 πόνοις ἐπεδίδως. καὶ τότε μὲν ἵνα μικρὸν ἐπικτήσῃ μέρος τῶν λόγων
 τοσοῦτον ἐταλαιπώρεις, νῦν δ' ἵνα τὸ σύμπαν κατορθώσῃς οὐ
 προσανέξῃ μικρὸν, ὅτε καὶ τὸ τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ τῆς φύσεώς σοι
 μᾶλλον ἔρρωται; πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴ τις σοι τοιαῦτα παρήνῃ, δικαίως ὡς
 ἐχθρὸς ὑπωπτεύετο; μὴ τοῖνυν, ἐφ' οἷς οὐδεὶς ἂν σε προὔτρεψεν
 215 ἀνυπόπτως, ταῦτα παρὰ σεαυτοῦ προελόμενος προσηκόντως σοι
 νόμιζε βεβουλεῦσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἀνεπέγκλητον χορηγεῖς εὐφροσύνην
 τοῖς ὑπεναντίως διακειμένοις σοι. μηδ' ἀποκολοβώσῃς τὴν παιδείαν,
 πάντως ἀπεικὸς ἠγούμενος διὰ μικρὰν ῥαθυμίαν τοσαύτης δόξης
 ἀειμνήστου καὶ χάριτος ἀποστερηθῆναι. ἀλλ', ὃ ἴαθέ, δεῖξον σου
 220 καὶ νῦν τὸ γενναῖον καὶ ἡμῖν μὲν τὴν προσήκουσαν τέρψιν
 εὐδοκιμοῦντος σου χάρισαι, σαυτῷ δὲ τὴν μεγίστην ἀπόδος ὠφέλειαν.

codex H ad finem omnino discrepat, nam post l. 216 sic pergit:

πάντως γὰρ ἀνεπέγκλητον τοῖς ὑπεναντίως σοι διακειμένοις
 χορηγεῖς εὐφροσύνην, τὴν σὴν σπουδὴν ἀποκολοβούμενος. ἔδει
 τοῖνυν, εἰ καὶ ὡς πάλαι τὰ τῶν λόγων ἤκμαζε καὶ διαφοροὺς εἴχομεν
 5 ἐν ἐκάστοις μαθήμασι τοὺς διδάσκοντας. ἔτι δὲ καὶ πλῆθος ὀρώμεν
 τῶν σπουδαζόντων οὐδ' οὕτω τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπαναβάλλεσθαι δόξαν διὰ τὸ
 πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς φιλοτιμουμένους – τὸ γὰρ καλὸν
 οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅτε οὐ καλὸν ὡς ὀρθῶς ἐγνωμολόγηται, ἄλλωστε καὶ τὸ τοῖς
 ἄλλοις κρίνεσθαι παραπλήσιον ἐπὶ κρείττοσι μεῖζον εἰς ἔπαινον ἢ
 10 πρῶτον ἐφ' οἷς ἐλάττων δόξα περιγίνεται – ἀδήλου πρὸς τούτοις
 ὄντος καὶ τοῦ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερβάντα μεῖζονος τυχεῖν δόξης. νῦν δὲ
 σχεδὸν γὰρ εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἤκομεν, φρονήματος τοῦ πρὶν στερέντες, πῶς οὐ
 καὶ σοὶ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους προὔργου ἂν εἴη τὸ
 συναίρειν ὡς οἶον τε ἐκάστω τουτί τὸ σπούδασμα, ὅθεν καὶ διπλοῦν
 ἡμῖν περιγίνεται κλέος; μετὰ πολλῶν μὲν γὰρ εἰ τὰ τῶν λόγων
 15 ἡσκοῦμεθα, τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκα ὠφελείας ἐδοκοῦμεν φιλοτιμεῖσθαι· τῆς
 δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ ταῦτα προτροπῆς οὐδεὶς ἂν ἡμᾶς αἰτίους ἐνόμιζεν
 τοὺς οὐ μικρὸν ἠγούμενους ἐκείνοις ἐγκαταλέγεσθαι. νῦν δὲ αὐτὸ τε
 τοῦτο ἡμῖν περίεστι καὶ τῶν μεθ' ἡμᾶς ὡς οὐκ ὀλίγοι συνεφέπονται
 τὸ μέρος συναίτιοι δόξομεν. μηδέ σου μεираκιώδης τις καὶ λίαν

20 εὐήθης τὴν γνώμην ὑπαγέσθω λόγος, ὃν ἤδη καὶ πολλοὺς ἀκηκόαμεν
 ἀπομνημονεύειν, ὡς τάχα γε νεωτέροις οὐκ ἐνέσται τοσοῦτον
 εὐδοκιμῆσαι περὶ τοὺς λόγους, ὅσον οἱ πάλαι πεπλεονεκτήκασιν.
 οὔτε φασὶν εὐφυΐας τοσοῦτον μετεχούσης νῦν τῆς ἀνθρωπείας
 φύσεως οὔτε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καιρῶν ταῦτ' ἀσχετοῦντων, ἐγὼ δ' ὅτι
 25 μὲν καὶ πάλαι τὰ τῶν λόγων εἰς σπάνιν οὐχ ἦττω κατέστη, πολλαχόθεν
 ἂν ἐπιδείξαιμι, ἐν δέ σοι καὶ τόδε γινέσθω τεκμήριον. πάντη γὰρ
 ἀπορίας καταλαβούσης τοὺς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους τῶν τοιούτων
 διατριβῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν σοφιστικοῖς ἤδη γυμνασίοις ἀπειρηκότων,
 Νικήτης μόνος ὁ Συμρναῖος ἐπαναλαβὼν αὐθις ἀναστῆσαι λέγεται τὰ
 30 τῶν λόγων πρὶν κατενηνεγμένα, μεθ' ὃν οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν νεωτέρων
 διέπρεψαν πρὸς ἅπαν ἀξίωμα λόγων. Ῥώμη δέ σοι τούτων μάρτυς
 ἰκανωτάτη καὶ Σμύρνα μετὰ χρυσᾶς Ἀθήνας δύναμιν λόγων
 ἀσκήσασαι. Ἀθήνησι μὲν γὰρ ἀπανταχόθεν ἐφοίτων, ἐκεῖ δέ τῆς
 ἀκηράτου τῶν Μουσῶν πηγῆς ἐμφορούμενοι. μετέβαινον ἄλλοι μὲν
 35 ἄλλοσε, οἱ πλείστοι δὲ ἐν ταῖς προειρημέναις διεγίνοντο πόλεσιν.
 ὅλως δὲ ἡμῖν τί δεῖ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀναμνήσεως, ἐφ' οἷς ἴσως καὶ
 διψυχῆσεῖ τις μὴ λίαν ἔμπειρος τῶν τοιούτων; ἀλλ' οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς νῦν
 οὔτοι πῶς διαδεξάμενοι τὰ τῆς αὐτῶν παιδείας εἰς τοῦτο προήγαγον;
 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἔλεγχος σαφέστατος τῆς οὐκ ἀληθοῦς ἐκείνης
 40 ὑπολήψεως. τοὺς γὰρ ἐν ταῖς καθ' αὐτοὺς Μούσαις πάλαι διαπρεπεῖς
 ἐπιπολύν τινα χρόνον ἀφανισθῆναι βαρβάρων ἐπιστρατευσαμένων
 ἄλλοθεν καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν χώραν ἅπασαν ἐργασαμένων ἀνάστατον, ὅθεν
 ἀνήρπαστο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἐκ πολυτελείας κτημάτων, μετ' ἐκείνων
 δὲ καὶ βίβλοι τῶν παλαιῶν οὐκ ὀλίγαι, ὧν ἀνηρημένων παιδεία τε
 45 καὶ διδασκαλία πάντα σεσίγητο. μετὰ ταῦτα δέ, φασιν, ἔτεσιν
 ἐξήκοντα πρὸ τῶν νῦν ἢ καὶ ὀλίγω πλείοσιν αὐθις τὰ τῶν λόγων
 αὐτοῖς ἀνεφύετο καὶ καταμικρὸν ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνοντα οὕτως
 ἦνθησεν, ὡς νῦν αὐτοὺς τούτους ὁμολογεῖν μὴ παραπολύ τι τῶν
 παλαιῶν ἐκείνων λείπεσθαι, καὶ ἴσως οὐ καθάπαξ ἀναποδείκτως
 50 ταῦτα σεμνύονται. ὀρῶμεν γὰρ τούτων ἐνίους καὶ καθ' ἣν παρὰ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἐσχῆκασι δόξαν καὶ ὡς ἡμῖν οἶον τε τὰ ἐκείνων διασκέψασθαι
 καὶ πάνυ θαυματούμενους, Μάρκον ἐκεῖνον Ἀντώνιον τὸν τὰ ἐνετικά
 συγγραψάμενον, πραγματεῖαν οὔτε φαύλης ὑποθέσεως οὔτε μὴν
 φαύλως μεθοδευθεῖσαν. πολλοὺς δ' ἂν ἔχοι τις καὶ ἄλλους εὐρεῖν
 55 ὡσαύτως ἐν τοῖς καθέκαστα τῆς αὐτῶν παιδείας ἐπαινουμένους καὶ
 οὐ τῆς αὐτῶν μόνον, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀπτομένους, ὃ σοι
 καὶ μέγα σύμβολον ἔστω τοῦ περιφανῶς ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν τιμᾶσθαι
 μαθήμασι. μὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖ τὰ εἰκότα κατορθώσαντες τῆς ἐτέρων οὐκ ἂν
 ἔσπευδον μετεσχηκέναι παιδείας. εἴτα τούτους μὲν ὀρῶμεν τσαύτην
 60 περὶ αὐτῶν ποιουμένους πρόνοιαν, ὡς μὴ μόνον τῆς καθ' αὐτοὺς
 οἰκειότατα προστατεῦσαι παιδείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἔχουσθαι,

πρᾶγμα ἴσως οὐ μείοσι κατορθούμενον πόνοις. ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐκ αἰσχυρόμεθα μὴ περὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα καὶ μόνα σπουδάζοντες, τὰ μηδὲν μήτε τῆς τούτων μήτε τῆς ἑτέρων δεόμενα ἐνεργείας ὡς
 65 αὐταρκέστατα; καὶ πῶς οὐ λίαν ἀπειρόκαλοι καὶ παντελῶς ἀγνώμονες δόξομεν, εἰ ἄπερ ἡμῖν μόνοις ἀγαθὰ παρέσχεν ἢ φύσις οἰκεῖα, ἐν τούτοις ἄλλους πλεονεκτοῦντας ὀρώντες ἡμᾶς ἀνεξόμεθα; περιορῶμεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμῖν συμφερόντων τοσοῦτον ἐσπουδακότας, ὡς μηδὲ ὧν παρ' ἐκείνων ἠξιώμεθα χαρίτων ἐλθεῖν
 70 εἰς πεῖραν ἐθέλοντες, παρ' ὧν καὶ τοῦτο δὴ σαφέστατα διδασκόμεθα μόνων, τὸ μηδεμίαν ἔχειν τὸν χρόνον καθ' αὐτὸν εἰς τοῦτο ῥοπὴν. μὴ γὰρ ἂν ἐκείνους τοὺς αὐτῶν παλαιότερους ἀποκρύψασθαι, ἀλλ' ὧν αὐτοὶ γεγόνασιν ἔργω μάρτυρες καὶ ἡμῖν ἐλπίδα κατέλιπον καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι πολὺ τῶν πάλοι διενηνόχασιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀποροῦμεν ἐξ
 75 ὅτου καὶ τοῦτο πιστεύομεν. οὕτως ἡμᾶς προτρεπόμενοι τὰς αὐτῶν ἀναγράψαντες ἡμῖν παρακατέθεντο βίβλους, ἅμα μὲν αὐτῶ πιστούμενοι τὸ μηδὲ τοὺς νεωτέρους εἴργεσθαι λαμπρῶν τε καὶ γενναίων λόγων περιποιήσασθαι κλέος καὶ καθόσον σπουδάσωσιν ἐνευδοκιμῆσαι καὶ οὐ καθ' ὅσον ὁ κατ' ἐκείνους ἐπέχει χρόνος, ἅμα
 80 δὲ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐκπαιδεύοντες, ὅσα παρὰ τῶν ἔτι παλαιότερων δεξάμενοι δεινότητι φύσεως ὑπερέβαλον. τούτων δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ πλείω μὲν εἶχον ἐπεξιέναι σοι, ἱκανὰ δὲ σε καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τε συμπλήρωσιν τῆς προτεθείσης σπουδῆς προτρέψασθαι τῆς θ' ἡμετέρας πρὸς σὲ διαθέσεως ἀποφέρεσθαι πίστιν. ἐπεὶ τὸ πλεῖον καὶ παρὰ σαντοῦ
 85 προσγενήσεσθαι πιστεύομεν, εἰ δὲ μὴ τούτοις πειθόμενος, τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ὀφθήσῃ προθυμότερος, οὐ πρὸς καιρὸν σοι καὶ τοὺς ἔτι περισσοτέρους πάντως ἂν λόγους ἐπορισάμεθα.

6–7 εὐκλεῆς ... δόξα cf. e. g. Pl. Smp. 208d 33–37 τῶν-ἀχρεῖους Hes. Op. 293–297 41–43 τοῖς παιδαρίοις-φοβεῖσθαι Philostr. Imag. 2, 17, 8 (p. 97, 10–13 BENNDORF – SCHENKL); cf. etiam Philostr. VA 3, 40 (p. 116, 1–7 KAYSER) 48–49 μνήμην ἐποιησάμεθα cf. I. 33–37 50–52 Hes. Op. 289–292 (cum uu. ll.) 59–60 τῆς ἀρετῆς-προτέθεινται Hes. Op. 289 64 ὑποσχέσει fort. Hes. Op. 301, 307–308 85–86 πρὸ-σαντόν Carm. aur. 12 87 τὰ Προδίκου (praesertim 89 ὁ λόγος–102 προσθέσθαι) X. Mem. 2, 1, 21–34 (= D.-K. 84B 2) | 88 πρὸς Σωκράτην cf. e. g. Pl. Charmid. 163d, praesertim autem Protag. 337a–c (= D.-K. 84A 13) 91–92 νόμων-ἀπείρους cf. Plu. Lyc. 16, 10 105–106 διερχόμενος-ἠὺδοκίμει de re cf. Philostr. VS 1, prooem. (p. 4, 2–4 KAYSER) 109 θάτερον sc. Hesiodum; de fonte non liquet 113–118 παρὰ τῶν χορῶν-κάρρονες ps.-Plu. Apophth. Lac. 238A–B (cf. etiam Diogen. 2, 30 [CPG I, 199, 13–200, 3] atque M. Apost. Viol. 2, 72 [CPG II, 282, 2–9] 135 Hom. II. 1, 474 137–138 τὰ πάλοι-τὰ παρόντα cf. e. g. Hom. II. 1, 70 143 κατ' εἰκόνα e. g. Gen. 1, 26 148 τὸ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ περῶδες cf. e. g. Hom. Od. 5, 43–49 156 ps.-Phocyl. 124 194–195 πρύμναν ... κρούειν I. c. sed cf. (propter ὄφασιν) e. g. M. Apost. Viol. 14, 77 (CPG II, 623, 5–9) 216 ἀνεπέγκλητον saepius apud Nic. Chon. (e. g. Io. Comm. p. 47, 1 VAN DIETEN) H 11 E. Hec. 622–623 H 29–30 Νικήτης-κατενηνεγμένα Philostr. VS 1, 19 (p. 24, 20–25 KAYSER) H 32 χρυσᾶς Ἀθήνας cf. Gr. Naz. or. 43, 14 (p. 148, 1 BERNARDI) H 33–35 Ἀθήνησι-πόλεσιν de re cf. Philostr. VS 2, 1, 12 (p. 69, 29–30 KAYSER [de Athenis]) atque I, 21, 5 (p. 31, 15–23 KAYSER [de Smyrna])

V (= *Vat. gr.* 2248, ff. 300^r–307^v) H (= *Lond. Harl.* 5724, ff. 42^r–50^r)

Tit. Δημητρίου τοῦ Μόσχου om. V | τοῦ del. H | π. ταῖς τῶν λόγων H 13 β. αὐτῆς H 15 ἀποδείξειν V^{ac}: ἀποδείξει V^{pc} 17 μὴ δὲ VH 23 –δείξει V 31 ταυτὸ VH 34 συνετῶν V: σοφῶν H 36 εἶναι πέφυκε: πεφυκέναι H | εἶναι: γεγονέναι H 40 ἄλλο προσείποι H 45 οὐ προσίενται: ἀποστρέφονται H | ἐκείνοι–διακείσθωσαν: ἐκείνους μὲν ὡς τοιούτους ἐῶμεν H 48 ἐκείνοσε VH | θρυλλ- VH | ὡς ποιητοῦ H 49 σοφῶς–ἐπιστρεφέτω: πειθέτω H 52 δὴ ἔπειτα Hesiodus: δ’ ἤπειτα H: δ’ ἔπειτα V 54 ῥαστώνην VH 61 τὰ δυσχερῆ om. H 63 βεβαιότερον–λόγον: δήπου τὸν λόγον βεβαιότερον ἀποδείξει H | ἂν ἔδοξεν H 64 τῆ–ὕποσχέσει: τοῖς ἐφεξῆς τερπνοῖς H 66 πολλοὺς καὶ H 71 ἐναντίων H 74 παρελθόντας H 74–75 εὐφροσύνη καιρὸς H 85 οὗτος V 87 αὐτοῦ H 89 διαμαρτύρηται H 92 –ίαν VH 93 ἥρακλιν σκοῦντας H | ἥρακλῆν ἐκείνοισ V^{ac} | γ’ om. H | ἐαυτῶν: αὐτῶν H (αὐτὸν H^{ac}) 95 –μένοις H 96 –μένοις H 97 εὐπρεπέστεiton (!) V | –ίας VH 98 τὸν αἰοιδίμον: ἀείμνηστον H 99 ἔ. ἦδη H 99 αὐτῆς: ἰδίου H 100 χαρίτων ἔχοι H 103 περιφήμους: αἰοιδίμους H 108 ζ. κατεφαίνοντο H 109 τῆς ἄ. H | –ίας VH 112 καὶ δημοσίᾳ–καὶ τὰ: τοῦτο δὲ σοὶ μαρτυρήσει καὶ τὰ πάλοι H 114 τριστι- V 116 ἄμμες VH | ἡμες VH 117 ἄμμες H ἄμμες V | ἀγάζεο V 118 ἄμμ- H | ἐσσόμεθα V | κάρονες H: κρείσσονες V 124 οὐπερ om. H | παρ’: ἀφ’ H 132 οὐτ’ ἄλλο–ἡμῖν: ἡμῖν τοσοῦτον H | ἄλλω V 133 εἰς εὐχαριστείαν αὐτοῦ H 136 ἀπλῶς: ὡς ἀπλῶς H 138 καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προδηλοῦνται καὶ τὰ παρόντα κρίνεται καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προδηλοῦνται H 140 μέγιστον–τεκμήριον: καὶ του τεκμήριον μέγιστον H 141 μόνον om. H 144 καὶ–κατάληψις: ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων κατάληψιν H 145 διὰ τούτου: διαλόγου H | πλησίον H 151 μήπω H 154 ἀνδρῖ–χρηῖσται: τοῖς νεωτέρους δὲ καὶ τολμηρότερον αὐτῶ χρωμένους H 155 φωκυλλ- VH 156 –ρηται V^{ac} | τομώτερος H | ἐστί V 157 γέρουσι H | τῆ–χαλεπότητι: ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ γήρωσ θλίψει H 159 πολεμικῶν: τῶν ἐν πολέμοις H 160 ἔστι: εὐρήσεις H 161 παιδείας ἐπανθεῖ: σοφίας ἐπανθοῦν H 162 τούτοις: ταύτη H 165 καὶ: οἷς H 167 τῆς om. H 171 εἶ om. H 172 ἐναπτύσαι H 173 οὐκ ἔχων αὐτῆς H 174 πείραν–φάρμακα om. H 175 ἴσως αὐτῶ μηδὲν H 177 ὑγείας: σωτηρίας H | ἀπόγνωσιν, πείραν ἐνδειξαμένης τῆς φύσεως τὰ τῆς ὑγείας φάρμακα μὴ προσίεσθαι H 178 οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀπανταχοῦ: ἀπανταχοῦ πλείστον H | βυθοῦ τῆς ἀμαθίας ἐξαναδῦναι: τῆς ἀμαθίας ἐξαναδῦναι βυθοῦ H 179 –τατα H 181 τῆς παιδείας ἐπίπονα: σκληρὰ H 182 καταλο- VH 184 εὐφροσύνης–ἦδη: ὅσον οὐπω τῆς εὐφροσύνης καρποῦς H 187 δεῖ–πάντως: προσενθυμοῦ H | τὸ H 188 εἰληφότι H 190 τὸ¹ om. V 190 ἔτι–διαλογίζου: λογίζου δὲ πρὸς τούτοις H 192 εἴχομεν τι H 193 χρῆν H 194 πλέον H 194 ἐξαίφνης–τύχωσι: ἔχωσι H 197 ἔστην V 198 ἦττων H 200 οἶ: ἡ H 202 ἔξουσιν VH 203 μὴ δὲ VH | νομίζωμεν H 204 βουληθέντι H 206 καὶ σὲ–πολλάκις: πάντα πολλάκις λογιζομένῳ περὶ σοῦ καὶ μετ’ ἄλλων H 209 ἐν τῶ–ἐπεδίδως: ἐπεδίδως τοῖς ἐν ταῖς μαθήσεσι πόνοις H 213 καὶ τοιαῦτα H 214 ἂν om. H | –πεν H 215 σεαυτοῦ: σοῦ H | προσηκόντως–βεβουλευῆσθαι: ὀρθῶς περὶ τῶν σῶν βουλευῆσθαι νόμιζε H 216 οὕτω: πάντως H 3 εἰκαίως H 7 ἄλλως τε H 11 τομηδὲν H | ἤκομεν H 15 ἐδοκῶμεν H 16 ταυτὰ H 19 μὴ δὲ H 21 γεννεωτέρους H | τὸ σοῦτον H 24 ταυτὰ H 32 μεταχρυσᾶς H 40 αὐτοῦς H 44 –ία H 46 ἐξῆ- H | προτῶν H 48 αὐτοῦς: αὐτοῦ H^{ac} 53 –μενος H^{ac} | –τίαν H 56 τῆς¹: τοῖς H | ὅσοι H 58 ἀνέσπευδον H 59 ὄρ- H 71 μὴ δεμίαν H | αὐτὸν H 77 μὴ δὲ H | εἴργασθαι H 78 περὶ ποιήσασθαι H

KOMMENTAR

50–52 τῆς δ’ ἀρετῆς–εἰσοῦσα] Hesiod, *Opera et Dies* 289–292 in Weiterführung einer Anspielung auf *Opera et Dies* 293–297 in Z. 33–37; die Stelle wird Z. 59–60 und 64 abermals aufgegriffen. Demetrios Moschos ist als Kopist Hesiods im *Parinus graecus* 2877 belegt (RGK, II, Nr. 131). In V. 290 folgt Moschos mit ἐπ’ αὐτήν (statt ἐς αὐτήν) dem byzantinischen

Text. In V. 292 versucht Moschos (oder seine Vorlage), die metrische Correptio (δὴ ἔπειτα) zu beseitigen (δ' ἤπειτα in H); V hat δ' ἔπειτα, was metrisch inakzeptabel ist.

56–58 βοθητέον–δεήσοι] Hier liegt eine für didaktische Zwecke instrumentalisierte Uminterpretation der Intention Hesiods, der sich in Wirklichkeit in einem Erbstreit an seinen Bruder Perses wandte (z. B. *Opera et Dies* 10 und 286); vgl. auch Z. 72–73.

64 ἐν τῇ τῶν τερπνῶν ἐφεξῆς ὑποσχέσει] Das anschließende Versprechen des Angenehmen (τερπνόν) bezieht sich möglicherweise auf die Verheißung irdischer Güter, welche die Götter als Belohnung für den Fleiß gewähren (Hesiod, *Opera et Dies* 301, 307–308).

87–88 τὰ Προδίκου–εὖ ἐκέκριτο] Auch an dieser Stelle geht Moschos mit den Quellen sehr frei um; Prodikos ist als Gesprächspartner des Sokrates nur sporadisch belegt, vgl. Plato, *Charmides* 163d und insbesondere *Protagoras* 337a–c. Zum Mythos des Herakles am Scheideweg vgl. die Ausführungen in der Einleitung.

117–118 ἀμῆς–κάρρονες] Moschos folgt dem (korrupten) mittelalterlichen Text der pseudo-plutarchischen *Aphrothegmata Laconica* (238A–B); zur Verdeutlichung wurden hier gegen die Handschriften die dorischen Formen restituiert.

221 ἀπόδος ὠφέλειαν] Die Apostrophe in Z. 219 legt die Vermutung nahe, dass hier ein vollständiger, da harmonischer und wirkungsvoller Schluss der *peroratio* (Z. 168–221) vorliegt, so dass die Annahme einer Kürzung des Textes im Vaticanus (oder in seiner Vorlage) nicht zwingend ist; vielmehr scheint der Harleianus ein Textplus gegenüber der Urfassung aufzuweisen, auf die er unabhängig vom Vaticanus rekuriert haben dürfte.

H, Z. 40–50 τοὺς γὰρ–σεμνύονται] Moschos' Bewusstsein um die Überwindung des Mittelalters und die Ursachen für den zeitweiligen Niedergang der Kultur (Teilverlust antiker Buchbestände) sind nicht weniger bemerkenswert als sein Wunsch, die Bestrebungen der italienischen Humanisten selbst auf das Gebiet der griechischen *paideia* auszuweiten und hierin Nachfolger zu finden (vgl. H, Z. 11–17).

H, Z. 52 Μάρκον ἐκεῖνον Ἀντώνιον] Marcantonio Antimaco (†1551); zu ihm vgl. die Anm. 40. Eine venezianische Geschichte (τὰ ἐνετικά) aus seiner Feder scheint bisher nicht bekannt zu sein. Das Demonstrativpronomen steht hier in seiner klassischen Bedeutung (*ille*) und nicht in jener des byzantinischen Griechisch, so dass es für die Datierung der Rede ungeeignet ist.

SUMMARY

The paper offers a critical edition of a hitherto unknown oration written by Demetrios Moschos († after 1519), a prolific Greek scribe of the Renaissance, transmitted in two non-autograph manuscripts which both offer a different version of the text. The oration is addressed to an anonymous Greek pupil of Demetrios Moschos and offers an interesting insight into the reception of the Italian Renaissance by the learned Greek émigrés in Italy.

ΤΡΙΒΟΛΟΣ: A BYZANTINE LANDMINE

A device with four points is preserved in the arms repository of the Georgian National Museum which, despite its small size, played a fairly large role in classical and medieval warfare.

The iron device, called *tribolos*, weighs 23 g, and its points slightly differ from one another in size: the length of three of them being almost equal (4.6, 4.8 and 4.9 cm), with a fourth point being comparatively shorter – 4.3 cm. Far from being a simple device with sharp points, it is made elaborately, in the form of four welded arrowheads (fig. 1). For comparison, the Roman *tribulus* has only sharpened points,¹ while the present specimen has a more complex form, each of its points practically representing an arrowhead.² We may be dealing here with some innovation or local peculiarity. At any rate, the diligence with which this device of mass use³ is made is significant and points to its importance. It should be noted that this caltrop was preserved in Lechkhumi, in Oqureshi church.⁴ Along with other weaponry (maces, bow, arrowheads), it too was donated to the church – a fact noteworthy in itself, pointing once again to its importance and diffusion.

Using the example of the caltrops in question, we may retrace the development of a combat device from classical times to the Middle Ages, when a device of seemingly not so great importance or wide use turned into a significant weapon in Byzantine hands, and the theoretical principles of its use were worked out in detail.

The *tribolos* consisted of four sharp points of equal length, one point of which always projected upward no matter how it fell on the ground, creating a hazard to humans and animals. Caltrops were a kind of “landmine” of the ancient world. They were used to “mine” the approaches to a camp

¹ For the specimens of Roman caltrops, see M. C. BISHOP and J. C. N. COULSTON, *Roman Military Equipment: from the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome*, Oxford, 2006², fig. 121.8-11. The Byzantine caltrops found on Crete have the same form; see G. THEOTOKIS, *The Campaigns of the Norman Dukes of Southern Italy against Byzantium, in the Years between 1071 and 1108 AD*, PhD Dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2010, p. 346.

² This complex form, where each point of the caltrop has barbs, may be a “modification” from the late medieval period. Two rare specimens of barbed caltrops of the same period found in Germany and existing in private collections (*Strong Collection*, Item 1689, dated 1300-1400; *Gaukler Medieval Wares*, Item Z7405) seem to point to this fact. The Roman and Byzantine caltrops known to me do not have such barbs.

³ Caltrops were effective when used in hundreds and thousands.

⁴ It was brought to the Museum by G. Bochoridze from Lechkhumi; see G. BOCHORIDZE, *Racha-Lechkhumis istoriuli dzegelebi da sidzveleebi*, Tbilisi, 1994, p. 372.

or city, as well as the battlefield against the enemy's infantry and, especially, cavalry. Piercing the horses' hoof, making them fall to the ground and causing disarray in the enemy's ranks.⁵ An unsuspecting enemy would suffer sizable losses and could lose the battle.

Caltrops were first mentioned in the classical period. According to Polyaeus, a Greek author of the 2nd century BC, caltrops were first used by the Athenian commander Nicias against the Syracusans in his Sicilian expedition (415-413 BC). He spread the field in front of the camp with caltrops, where on the following day the Syracusan cavalry suffered a shameful defeat. The cavalry, entangled in the "minefield," was destroyed by the Athenian peltasts, the latter wearing stiff shoes.⁶ According to the same author, in the battle at Gaugamela in 331 BC, Darius attempted to use caltrops against the cavalry of Alexander the Great.⁷ The use of caltrops by the Persians in this battle is noted by the Roman historian Quintus Curtius as well.⁸

In sources we find frequent use of caltrops by the Romans. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in 279 BC in the battle at Asculum, the Roman light infantry used iron caltrops against Pyrrhos' elephants.⁹ Archaeological excavations at Alesia have brought caltrops to light, indicating their use by Caesar's legions.¹⁰ Caltrops were also found in Roman military bases (Caerleon, Corbridge).¹¹ In 217, in a fake retreat at the battle of Nisibis, the Romans led by the Emperor Macrinus made successful use of caltrops against the Parthian cavalry, that failed to notice the iron devices lying in the sand and suffered appreciable loss as a result.¹²

According to Flavius Vegetius Renatus, who wrote at the turn of the 4th-5th centuries, the Romans used caltrops in their fight against Mithridates and Antiochus. He was the first to describe the *tribolos* as "a defensive weapon made out of four spikes; whichever way you throw it, it stands on three spikes and is armed by the fourth which is erect."¹³

The 6th-century Byzantine historian Procopius narrates that in 547, during the siege of Rome by Totila, Belisarius used caltrops to defend the open

⁵ Cecaumenus, ed. G. LITAVRIN, *Soviety i rasskazy: Pouchenie vizantiiskogo polkovodtsa XI veka*, St Petersburg, 2003², pp. 574-575.

⁶ Polyaeus, *Strategemata*, I.39.2, ed. A. NEFYODKIN, St Petersburg, 2002. This stratagem is reflected thoroughly in treatises of the Byzantine period.

⁷ Polyaeus, *Strategemata*, IV.3.17.

⁸ Quintus Curtius, *Historia Alexandri*, IV.13.36, ed. J. C. ROLFE, I (*The Loeb Classical Library*), London, 1946.

⁹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae*, XX.1, ed. E. CARY, VII (*The Loeb Classical Library*), London, 1950.

¹⁰ BISHOP and COULSTON, *Roman Military Equipment*, pp. 69-70.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 185, 187 and 266.

¹² Herodian, IV.15.2-3, ed. C. R. WHITTAKER, I (*The Loeb Classical Library*), London, 1969.

¹³ Vegetius, *De re militari*, III.24, ed. N. P. MILNER, Liverpool, 1996².

gateways. Procopius gives much attention to the description of the *tribolos*, which coincides with the evidence of Vegetius; only he points out that its four spikes are of the same length.¹⁴

Notwithstanding the use of caltrops in the classical period, they turned into real military weapons only in Byzantine times.¹⁵ Indeed, their systematic and wide use by the Byzantines is noticeable. The latter were successors of the Greco-Roman world, and one part of their legacy was warfare, many principles of which they reworked creatively and expanded.

The wide diffusion of caltrops was facilitated by new circumstances in military art and altered balance between the infantry and cavalry. In V. Kuchma's view, owing to the enhanced role of cavalry in the 6th century, much importance was attached to hampering the cavalry attack and restricting its ability of movement, which could be easily effected in the field with the use of caltrops. Being light, handy and inconspicuous, caltrops were ideal for hampering and entrapping the enemy.¹⁶

In a 6th-century Byzantine anonymous treatise, the use of caltrops is presented as a full-fledged war stratagem.¹⁷ The author of the treatise raises the supply of caltrops to the rank of a defensive measure in preparing for war.¹⁸

In his view, while laying out the camp, caltrops had to be placed in front of the ditch and along it at a width of twelve and a half meters. The commander of each unit deployed along the ditch was responsible for gathering the caltrops for their re-use if needs be, and to prevent injuring their own soldiers while leaving the camp.¹⁹

According to the anonymous, caltrops were especially effective against the cavalry, allowing the possibility of showering the enemy horsemen with arrows from a distance.²⁰ It was highly important for the rearguard soldiers to have an adequate supply of caltrops to use in delaying the enemy. This stratagem appears to have been tested many times, for the author is sure that it would yield the desired result. If the enemy persisted in its pursuit,

¹⁴ Procopius of Caesarea, *Bella*, VII.24.15-18, ed. H. B. DEWING, IV (*The Loeb Classical Library*), London, 1924.

¹⁵ A. REINACH, *Tribulus*, in Ch. DAREMBERG et E. SAGLIO (eds.), *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, V, Paris, 1892, p. 417.

¹⁶ V. KUCHMA, *Vizantiiski Anonym VI v.: osnovnye problemy istochnikov i sodержaniya*, in *Voennaya organizatsiya Vizantiiskoi imperii*, St Petersburg, 2001, p. 231.

¹⁷ KUCHMA (*Vizantiiski Anonym VI v.*, p. 223) paid attention to the fact that in the treatise caltrops has multiple use both in protecting the camp and in field conditions; of course, this is due to the realities of the time, and the work reflects and analyses the established practice, as Procopius contends.

¹⁸ *The Anonymous Byzantine Treatise on Strategy*, ed. G. T. DENNIS, in *Three Byzantine Military Treatises* (CFHB, 25; DOS, 9), Washington, 1985, p. 23; KUCHMA (*Vizantiiski Anonym VI v.*, p. 223), p. 231.

¹⁹ *The Anonymous Byzantine Treatise on Strategy*, p. 91.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 101.

he would suffer more loss than the pursued, and if he moved cautiously, he would lose time.²¹

The anonymous gives much attention to protection from caltrops, which means that these devices were used by the enemies of the Byzantines as well. Iron plates were used to protect the horses' hooves,²² while footmen were advised to use iron soles.²³

The use of caltrops found further development in a Byzantine military treatise, traditionally ascribed to the Emperor Maurice. In *Strategikon* the theory of the use of caltrops is practically presented in complete form. The static measures to be taken to protect the camp are enriched with minute details; in addition, the use of caltrops is described interestingly in such a dynamic setting as the battlefield.

According to Maurice's *Strategikon*, the light wagon assigned to each dekarchy of the Byzantine army should bear, among other indispensable items, "caltrops tied together with light cords attached to an iron peg so they can be easily collected."²⁴ If these wagons were attacked on the march from the rear, the caltrops were thrown on the path of the enemy, and a different road was taken in returning, so as to avoid falling victim to their own caltrops.²⁵

In Maurice's view, in pitching a camp the use of caltrops was a must. Ordinarily, caltrops were thrown in front of the ditch but if the ground was rocky or lack of time precluded the digging of a ditch, caltrops were used which, in this case, performed the function of a ditch.²⁶

Nor is the author oblivious to caltrops in an emergency: when part of the army is forced to leave the main force to carry out some task, they should make sure to take caltrops along.²⁷

Among all the stratagems designed to entrap the enemy, Maurice calls a field "mined" with caltrops the best and easiest to implement. The enemy was decoyed into the "minefield" in the following way: in the battlefield – unobserved by the enemy – caltrops, tied with cord, were scattered along the entire length of the battle line and one hundred feet in depth. In the middle – at four or five places – passages three or four hundred feet wide were

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 115.

²² *Ibidem*, pp. 57-59. This means that horseshoes were unknown in the middle of the 6th century; cf. V. KUCHMA, *O strategii: Vizantiiskii voennyi traktat VI veka*, St Petersburg, 2007, p. 93.

²³ *The Anonymous Byzantine Treatise on Strategy*, p. 116.

²⁴ *Maurice's Strategikon: Handbook of Byzantine Military Strategy*, translated by G. T. DENNIS, Philadelphia, 1984, p. 139.

²⁵ *Maurice's Strategikon*, pp. 151-152.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 158-160.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 161.

left; at the beginning and at a depth these passages were marked off with tree branches, piles of stones or earth, etc. At feint withdrawal, these markings were removed or shifted aside.²⁸ It was easy to annihilate the enemy enticed into the “minefield.”

In the *History* of the Arab chronicler al-Tabari, we come across instances of the use of caltrops by the Arabs. They must have borrowed this stratagem from their enemies. Thus, e.g. in 642 the Sassanians used caltrops in the battle with the Arabs at Nihawand.²⁹ However, the way of using caltrops by Arabs directly points to Byzantine treatises. Thus, according to Byzantine instructions, the Arabs scattered caltrops in front of the ditch in 756, during one civil war.³⁰ Especially noteworthy is the action of the Arab commander al-Afshin, sent in 837 against Babak, when he arranged a protective belt of caltrops round the camp, instead of a ditch.³¹ In this case al-Afshin seems to have acted as prescribed in Maurice’s Treatise.

The *Taktika* of the Emperor Leo VI, written at the turn of the 9th-10th centuries, among other sources, makes use of Maurice’s *Strategikon* as well. He repeats many statements of his predecessor, often copying him in the use of caltrops. On the other hand, he shows that use of caltrops at the time was still the practice and it occupied a place of honour in Byzantine military doctrine.

In the beginning of his work, Leo notes that caltrops are needed for the protection of an encamped army.³² On two occasions, he points out that in preparing for war, along with various objects, a supply should be made of caltrops tied to one another with a cord, attached to an iron peg and sharpened.³³ Here Leo repeats Maurice, only adding that the caltrops must be sharpened. Neither is Leo original in describing the defence of the camp: here too Maurice is his source, when he discusses the use of caltrops for the defence of the camp and outside of the ditch.³⁴ As to the use of caltrops in the battlefield, here Leo practically repeats Maurice verbatim, beginning with the descriptions of the trap and ending with an assessment of the stratagem of the “minefield.”³⁵ The description of the use of caltrops

²⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 54-55.

²⁹ *The History of al-Tabari*, vol. XIII, translated and annotated by G. H. A. JUYNBOLL, New York, 1989, pp. 180-181 and 187-189.

³⁰ *The History of al-Tabari*, vol. XXVIII, translated and annotated by J. DAMMEN MCAULIFFE, New York, 1995, p. 52.

³¹ *The History of al-Tabari*, vol. XXXIII, translated and annotated by C. E. BOSWORTH, New York, 1991, p. 51.

³² *The Taktika of Leo VI*, IV.55, ed. G. T. DENNIS (*CFHB*, 49; *DOS*, 12), Washington, 2010.

³³ *Ibidem*, V.4 and VI.23.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, XI.8 and XI.13.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, XIV.41 and XIV.46.

during an attack on the wagons from the rear also repeats Maurice.³⁶ To protect themselves from caltrops Leo advises the infantry to wear shoes with stiff soles, i.e. wooden soles in place of iron ones.³⁷

Leo is relatively original in his advice to throw caltrops on board an enemy ship in the naval battle, to hamper the action of the crew.³⁸ In a naval battle he also advises the use of larger iron caltrops hammered into wooden spheres and wrapped in hemp. Such a “ball”, set on fire, had to be thrown at the enemy vessel in order to cause fire on board.³⁹

The Byzantine *De obsidione toleranda*, written in the first half of the 10th century, is a manual for the commander of a besieged stronghold, which stands out for its detailed instructions. According to it, the defenders of the fortress had to scatter caltrops tied with strings over the space in front of the ditch. The author notes that stringing is necessary in order to “demine” the caltrops rapidly and easily when the garrison intends to make a sortie against the besiegers.⁴⁰

De castrametatione, written at the end of the 10th century by a professional of high military qualification, gives the most detailed and practical advice for protecting a camp with the use of caltrops. Each infantryman should have eight caltrops tied to a single cord, and each dekarchy a small iron peg to which the end of the cord with caltrops was attached. Upon fixing the peg in the ground, the cords had to be thrown to the distance of approximately 19 m from the ditch.⁴¹ By this technique, eighty caltrops are attached to a single peg of one dekarchy, radially deployed on ten cords.

The Byzantine anonymous, tentatively referred to as Heron of Byzantium, who, in the 10th century, wrote the two important works *Parangelmata Poliorketica* and *Geodesia* considers it necessary to protect oneself from invisible caltrops to use wooden soled shoes; the path may also be cleared with farm rakes with large tines.⁴²

³⁶ *Ibidem*, XIV.76.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, XX.147.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, XIX.62.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, XIX.65.

⁴⁰ *A Byzantine Instructional Manual on Siege Defense: The De obsidione toleranda*, introduction, English translation and annotations by D. F. SULLIVAN, in by J. W. NESBITT (ed.), *Byzantine Authors: Literary Activities and Preoccupations. Texts and Translations Dedicated to the Memory of Nicolas Oikonomides (The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, Economies and Cultures 400-1453, 40)*, Leiden, 2003, p. 167.

⁴¹ *Campaign Organization and Tactics*, ed. DENNIS, in *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, p. 263.

⁴² Heron of Byzantium, *Parangelmata Poliorketica*, ed. D. F. SULLIVAN, in *Siegecraft: Two Tenth-Century Instructional Manuals by “Heron of Byzantium” (DOS, 36)*, Washington, 2000, p. 43.

Nicephoros Ouranos, a successful Byzantine commander and military theoretician of the 10th-11th centuries, advises the besiegers to scatter caltrops in front of the ditch to protect themselves.⁴³

In the second half of the 11th century, Kekaumenos believed that the capital (Constantinople) should always be ready for a siege. It is interesting that in the list of defensive measures he proposes, he points separately to the need for a supply of caltrops, along with other war machines.⁴⁴

Towards the end of the eleventh century, the Byzantine Empire was confronted by the Normans who had landed on the Balkan peninsula. For the Byzantines, the main tactical problem on the battlefield was to stop the charge of knightly cavalry. In the battle with Bohemond in 1082, the main hope of emperor Alexios I Komnenos, who had already been beaten twice by the Normans, was to rely on the use of caltrops. Anna Komnene tells us in detail of her father's intentions: "He marched against Bohemond with a new idea for victory. He had iron caltrops made and since he expected the battle to take place on the next day, the evening before scattered them over the plain between the two armies at the point where he guessed that the Kelts⁴⁵ would make a heavy cavalry attack. The plan was to frustrate the first and irresistible charge when the caltrops pierced the horses' hooves."⁴⁶ It seems Bohemond somehow learned about the Byzantines stratagem, avoided battle on the "minefield", outflanked the enemy and gained victory.⁴⁷ This episode which once again points to the significance of caltrops in Byzantine warfare,⁴⁸ at the same time gives a good example of the restrictions this device faced.

Thus, caltrops held a significant place in Byzantine military doctrine and in the arsenal of the Byzantine army. For its part, the caltrop discovered in Lechkhumi once again warrants the assumption that Byzantine warfare, military treatises and armament were known well in Georgia.⁴⁹

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⁴³ Nikephoros Ouranos, *Taktika*, ed. E. MCGEER, in *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth: Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century* (DOS, 33), Washington, 1995, p. 157.

⁴⁴ Cecaumenus, p. 305.

⁴⁵ Anna refers to Latins as Kelts.

⁴⁶ Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, translated by E. R. A. SEWTER, revised with introduction and notes by P. FRANKOPAN, London, 2009, p. 137.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 138.

⁴⁸ THEOTOKIS (*The Campaigns of the Norman Dukes*, p. 240) rightly states that the use of caltrops by Alexios "proves the continuity of long-established battle tactics".

⁴⁹ For the resemblance of Byzantine and Georgian armament see M. TSURTSUMIA, *The Evolution of Splint Armour in Georgia and Byzantium: Lamellar and Scale Armour in the 10th-12th Centuries*, in *Βυζαντινὰ Σύμμεικτα*, 21 (2011), pp. 65-99.



Fig. 1. The caltrop preserved in the Georgian National Museum. Author's photo.

SUMMARY

A device with four points is preserved in the arms repository of the Georgian National Museum which, despite its small size, played a fairly large role in classical and medieval warfare. The iron item, called *tribolos*, is done elaborately, in the form of four welded arrowheads.

The *tribolos* consisted of four sharp points of equal length, one point of which always projected upward no matter how it fell on the ground, creating a hazard to humans and animals. Caltrops were a kind of “landmine” of the ancient world. Caltrops were first mentioned in the Classical period. Nevertheless, they turned into real military weapons only in Byzantine times. Their systematic and wide use by the Byzantines is noticeable.

Caltrops held a significant place in Byzantine warfare. For its part, the caltrop discovered in Lechkhumi warrants the assumption that this specimen of Byzantine armament was known in Georgia and was perhaps actively used in battle.

LE VATICANUS, REGINENSIS GR. 48 : DÉCOUVERTE DE QUELQUES TRÉSORS INCONNUS

Ce manuscrit de papier de II + 221 folios a été décrit il y a plus d'un siècle¹, mais cette description a aujourd'hui beaucoup vieilli. Nous allons donc essayer de la refaire.

Il y a d'abord deux folios de garde de parchemin, provenant d'un prophétologue ; les fragments conservés sont tirés de l'office du samedi-saint².

Les ff. 1-8^v contiennent un florilège compilé par le moine Marc qui a travaillé au XIII^e siècle et dont l'importance a été révélée dans une dissertation défendue en 2007³, ainsi que dans une édition critique établie en 2009 par le même chercheur⁴. Malheureusement, il n'est pas facile d'esquisser la vie de cet auteur, car il n'est connu que par des notices éparses ; sous son nom circulent quelques ouvrages ascétiques, qui semblent revenir aux années 1259-1261 et dont la plupart sont dédiés à Irène, sœur de l'empereur Michel VIII Paléologue (née vers 1218 et décédée en 1284). Les ff. 1-8^v de notre manuscrit renferment le traité C de Marc, conservé uniquement dans le *Reginensis* et dans le *Vaticanus, Chisianus gr. 27*, un manuscrit de byzantin datant de l'année 1266 et dicté par Marc lui-même ; il est clair que le *Chisianus* constitue un *terminus post quem* pour la date de confection du *Reginensis*, celui-ci étant une copie directe du *Chisianus*⁵. Le titre du traité C est λόγος περιεκτικὸς ἐκ διαφόρων λόγων τῶν ἁγίων καὶ θεοφόρων πατέρων ἡμῶν, συντεθειὸς ὡς τυπικὸν πρὸς ψυχᾶς σπουδαζομένας

¹ H. STEVENSON Senior, *Codices manuscripti graeci Reginae Suecorum et Pii PP. II Bibliothecae Vaticanae (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti)*, Rome, 1888, pp. 40-42. Une description un peu plus détaillée se trouve dans P. VAN DEUN, *Maximi Confessoris Liber Asceticus (CCSG, 40)*, Turnhout - Leuven, 2000, pp. CXXII-CXXIII.

² Le f. 2 va de ἔθραυσεν ἐχθροὺς à ἵκετεύοντάς με (voir C. HØEG - G. ZUNTZ, *Propheetologium [Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Lectionaria, I]*, Copenhagen, 1939-1970, p. 458, 37 - p. 461, 12), et le f. 1 de ἰσὺς κατοικήσουσιν à σαβῆκ καὶ (p. 467, 4 - p. 469, 4).

³ Ph. O. ROELLI, *Asketisches Florilegium eines Mönchs Markos (s. XIII). Einleitung, Erstedition und Übersetzung*, Zürich, 2007 ; après la défense de cette dissertation de doctorat, Peter Van Deun a signalé l'existence du *Reginensis* à Monsieur Roelli.

⁴ Ph. O. ROELLI, *Marci monachi Opera ascetica. Florilegium et Sermones tres (CCSG, 72)*, Turnhout, 2009 ; on ajoutera encore l'article du même auteur, *Teaching Hesychasm by Means of Florilegia : Sources of Mark the Monk's Florilegium*, paru dans P. VAN DEUN - C. MACÉ (éd.), *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium ? (OLA, 212)*, Leuven - Paris - Walpole (MA), 2011, pp. 287-296.

⁵ Cf. ROELLI, *Marci monachi Opera ascetica*, p. XXXVI.

σωθῆναι ; ce τυπικόν dont on ignore la date exacte, contient des prescriptions adressées à une communauté de religieuses⁶.

Les ff. 8^v-9 contiennent, sous le titre λόγοι γερόντων, quatre apophtegmes. Les trois premiers (respectivement aux ff. 8^v, 8^v-9 et 9) sont les numéros 325, 572 et 575 de la *Collectio anonyma* des *Apophthegmata Patrum* (CPG 5561)⁷. Le quatrième, qu'on trouve au f. 9, est très bref lui aussi (πάλιν εἶπε· φεῦγε λόγους ἀνωφελεῖς ἵνα μὴ ἐμπέσης εἰς λογισμοὺς ῥυπαροῦς) ; il s'agit d'un extrait tiré de l'*In illud : Attende tibi ipsi* d'Éphrem (CPG 3932)⁸.

Aux ff. 9-11, on lit une κανονικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ διδασκαλία, πρὸς τοὺς θέλοντας θεαρέστως ζῆν, ἄνευ ἀσθενείας σωματικῆς καὶ κατεπιγούσης (*sic*) βίας. Il s'agit d'un texte marqué de tournures démotiques ; il débute par les mots ἀπὸ μὲν τῆ ἀγία καὶ λαμπρᾶ κυριακῆ τοῦ Πάσχα μέχρι καὶ τῆ κυριακῆ τοῦ Θωμᾶ, καταλύειν ἐκάστη ἡμέρα, οἱ μὲν κοσμικοὶ εἰς κρέα, οἱ δὲ μοναχοὶ εἰς τυρόν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆ μετὰ τοῦ Θωμᾶ κυριακῆ, σὺν τῆ τετάρτῃ τῆς αὐτῆς πεντηκοστῆς. Le texte, dans lequel sont cités des passages du patriarche Nicéphore I de Constantinople, de Grégoire de Nazianze et de Jean Climaque, traite des aliments qu'on peut manger en dehors des périodes pénitentielles et finit sur la fête de l'Exaltation de la Croix (le 14 septembre), par les mots ἐν σαββάτῳ ἢ κυριακῆ, ἐσθίωμεν ἔλαιον μόνον, ἐγγράφως δὲ περὶ ταύτης τῆς ἑορτῆς οὐχ εὕρωμεν τί. Malheureusement, l'opuscule n'a pas pu être identifié, malgré les riches informations dont on dispose à ce propos⁹ ; le contenu de cette section du manuscrit est apparenté à ce qu'on lit dans les textes du moine Marc dont nous avons traité plus haut.

Aux ff. 11-14^v, on rencontre deux professions de foi.

La première (ff. 11-12), intitulée λίβελος (*sic*) τῆς ἀμωμήτου καὶ ὀρθῆς πίστεως τῶν ὀρθοδόξων χριστιανῶν, a pour *incipit* πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα θεόν, Πατέρα ἀγέννητον, καὶ εἰς ἓνα Υἱόν, γεννητόν ; les derniers

⁶ Cf. ROELLI, *Marci monachi Opera ascetica*, pp. XXXI-XXXII.

⁷ L'apophtegme 325 a été édité par F. NAU, *Histoires des solitaires égyptiens*, dans *ROC*, Sér. II, 7 (17) (1912), p. 209 ; le même apophtegme se lit dans la collection systématique XV, 106, éd. J.-Cl. GUY (†), *Les Apophtegmes des Pères. Collection systématique. Chapitres X-XVI* (SC, 474), Paris, 2003, p. 350. Les deux autres apophtegmes cités dans notre codex restent inédits (à leur propos, voir J.-Cl. GUY, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum* [SH, 36], Bruxelles, 1984², pp. 69-70).

⁸ Voir l'édition de J. S. ASSEMANI, *Sancti Patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera omnia quae exstant Graece, Syriace, Latine*, tomus graecus I, Rome, 1732, p. 239F6-8 (=K. G. PHRANTZOLES, *Ὅσιον Ἐφραίμ του Σύρου ἔργα*, II, Thessalonique, 1989, p. 165, 29).

⁹ Voir par exemple la contribution assez détaillée dans J. THOMAS et A. CONSTANTINIDES HERO, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, V (DOS, 35), Washington, 2000, pp. 1696-1716 (Appendix B).

mots sont : ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων αὐτὰ παραγαγοῦσαν. Elle traite exclusivement de la foi trinitaire et peut être identifiée avec une partie du *De orthodoxa fide* de Michel le Syncelle¹⁰.

La seconde profession de foi qu'on lit dans le *Reginensis* (ff. 12-14^v), est intitulée σύνοψις σαφῆς καὶ σύντομος καὶ διάγνωσις τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀγία τριάδι ; elle a pour *incipit* ὁφείλομεν πιστεῦειν ὡς ἐβαπτίσθημεν, et se termine par οἰκονομούσης γὰρ καὶ παραχωρούσης τῆς θεότητος, ἐπομένης δὲ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, ἐνεργεῖ τὰ ἀμφοτέρα. Il s'agit d'un extrait tiré du *Syntagma ad quendam politicum* du Pseudo-Athanase, une œuvre qui semble devoir être attribuée à Étienne, métropolitaine de Nicomédie (X^e-XI^e siècle) (CPG 2286)¹¹.

Les ff. 14^v-15^v renferment deux textes qui forment une unité et semblent provenir d'une œuvre anti-latine.

Le premier texte (ff. 14^v-15^v) porte le lemme ἐκ τῆς βίβλου τοῦ Διαλόγου. Après un prologue très court qui se lit κανὼν πεντηκοστὸς ἕβδομος σημαίων ὅτι ψευδῶς λέγουσιν οἱ Λατῖνοι ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔλαβον τὰ ἄζυμα, καὶ μάρτυς ἀξιόπιστος αὐτὸς ὁ Διάλογος, ὃς καὶ διηγεῖται διὰ τὰς παρούσας προσφοράς, vient un extrait fort remanié du 4^e livre, chapitre LV, des *Dialogues* de Grégoire le Grand, dans la traduction grecque du pape Zacharie (741-752) (BHG 1448)¹². Suit un épilogue (f. 15^v) où l'autorité de Grégoire le Grand, pape "à l'époque des iconoclastes", est invoquée pour montrer qu'à cette époque les Romains se faisaient pas l'eucharistie avec les azymes ; cet épilogue se lit ἐντεῦθεν δῆλον ἐστὶν ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους καιροὺς, ὡς ἡμεῖς ποιοῦμεν τὴν θυσίαν, οὕτως ἐποίουν οἱ Ἴταλοὶ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ Ῥώμη· τίς γὰρ ἀξιοπιστότερον τοῦ παρόντος ἀγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ καὶ Διαλόγου, ὃς καὶ πάπας ὑπῆρχεν, ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τῶν εἰκονομάχων, ὀρθοδοξότατος πάντων καὶ ἀγιώτατος, ἐλέγχων πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν, καὶ αὐτὴν τῶν εἰκονομάχων, οὕτως ὡς φανερῶς διαλέγεται, ὅτι προσφοραὶ ἐτελοῦντο ἐν ζυμοῖς, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἡ ἀνάιμακτος θυσία ἐπετελεῖτο, τὰ δὲ ἄζυμα ἂ νῦν τελοῦσιν, ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς ἐφευρέθησαν ὑπὸ πλάνων ἀνθρώπων καὶ κακοδόξων.

Le second texte (f. 15^v), beaucoup plus court, cite les versets 27-28 du chapitre 19 du *Leviticus* (suivi des mots ἐθνικῶν ἔργων ἀπαγορεύσεις εἰσίν), pour prouver qu'on doit porter la barbe ; le titre du fragment est :

¹⁰ Éditée par B. DE MONTFAUCON, *Bibliotheca Coisliniana, olim Segueriana, sive Manuscriptorum omnium graecorum, quae in ea continentur, accurata descriptio*, Paris, 1715, p. 90 (πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα θεόν, c'est-à-dire le début du texte) - p. 91, 34 (αὐτὰ παραγαγοῦσαν).

¹¹ Voir PG 28, 1401D11-1405C10.

¹² *Inc.* ἐν τὰ παισίματα μετὰ θάνατον ἀσυγχώρητα οὐκ εἰσὶ (PL 77, 415D10) ; *des.* ὑποστρέψας εἰς τὰ θερμά, οὐχ εἶρε τὸν ἄνθρωπον (PL 77, 418C12).

ἀπὸ τοῦ Λευϊτικοῦ, ὅτι καὶ παλαιὸς νόμος ἀπαγορεύει μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοῦ τίλειν (*sic*) τὸν πόγωνα (*sic*).

Le bas du f. 15^v est occupé par la phrase ὡσπερ αἰχμηταὶ ῥιψασπίδων καὶ δραπετῶν σκύλα φιλῶσιν (*sic*) ἐρρανίζειν (*sic*), οὕτω πᾶς τις ἂν εἶη δρῶν ἔργον καταληῖσαι ἐν τέλει, qui semble être une formule de fin de copie analogue à celles qu'ont recensées K. Treu et P. Eleuteri¹³. Elle est d'ailleurs suivie, au haut du f. 16, par le nom du copiste ; nous y reviendrons.

Aux ff. 16-17^v, on lit quatre textes disparats, à savoir :

- * f. 16^{r-v} : θεολογία ἦν ἐμυσταγωγῆθη ὁ μέγας Γρηγόριος ὁ θαυματουργὸς παρὰ τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου καὶ τοῦ θεολόγου Ἰωάννου (CPG 1764) ; il s'agit d'un extrait de la *Vita* du Thaumaturge écrite par Grégoire de Nysse ; ce fragment constitue la soi-disant profession de foi de Grégoire le Thaumaturge¹⁴.
- * ff. 16^v-17 : ἐρμηνεία τῆς ἱερατικῆς στολῆς. Nous ne connaissons pas l'origine de cet extrait inédit, dont l'originalité a déjà été relevée par Dom René Bornert en 1966¹⁵. En voici le texte intégral : Εἰ οὖν δοκεῖ, τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν μόνην στολὴν συμβολικὴν οὕσαν καὶ τυπικὴν πᾶσαν, διὰ βραχέων ὡς ἔνεστι θεωρήσωμεν. Ταύτης τὸ μὲν ὁμοφόριον διατρανοῖ ὅτι τὴν εἰκόνα φέρει τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Θεοῦ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως καὶ θύματος οὐ καὶ τὸν τύπον ὑπέχει, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀσφράγιστον οὐδὲ ἐσταυρωμένου βίου ἀνάξιον ἔχειν δεῖ τὸν ἀρχιερέα. Τὸ δὲ φελώνιον ὑπαινίττεται τὸν ἄνω ὑφαντὸν χιτῶνα δι' ὅλου (cf. *Io.* 19, 23), τὸ δὲ στιχάριον τὴν σάρκωσιν τοῦ κενωθέντος Λόγου. Οἱ δὲ λῶροι οἱ κατερχόμενοι διὰ τῶν μασχαλῶν, τὴν τῆς πλευρᾶς νύξιν παραδηλοῦσι καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖθεν ἐκρεῦσαν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ (*Io.* 19, 34). Τὸ ἐπιτραχήλιον δέ, τὸ φακίόλιον ὑφ' οὗ δεθεῖς ὁ Κύριος εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι ἀπήγετο, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ ὁμοίως, μετὰ λόγου τινὸς μυστικοῦ καὶ πνευματικοῦ ἐπιτίθενται, τῶν διὰ Θεοῦ μέλλοντι καταξιούσθαι τῆς ὑψηλῆς ταύτης ἀξίας, καὶ ὑπερανφοκισμένης

¹³ K. TREU, *Der Schreiber am Ziel. Zu den Versen "Ὡσπερ ζένοι χείρουσιν ... und ähnlicher*, dans *Studia codicologica* (TU, 124), Berlin, 1977, pp. 473-492 ; P. ELEUTERI, *Altri manoscritti con i versi 'H μὲν χεῖρ ἢ γράψασα, "Ὡσπερ ζένοι χείρουσιν ... e simili*, dans *Codices manuscripti*, 6 (1980), pp. 81-88.

¹⁴ Éditée par G. HEIL, dans *GNO*, X, 1, Leyde - New York - Copenhague - Cologne, 1990, p. 17, 24 (Εἷς θεός) - p. 19, 5 (ἡ αὐτὴ τριάς αἰεὶ). Notre codex a été collationné jadis par E. SCHWARTZ ; cf. R. RIEDINGER, *Das Bekenntnis des Gregor Thaumaturgus bei Sophronius von Jerusalem und Macarius von Antiocheia*, dans *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 92 (1981), p. 312, n. 6.

¹⁵ *Les commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du VII^e au XV^e siècle* (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 9), Paris, 1966, pp. 212-213. Dans les symbolismes des différents vêtements ecclésiastiques évoqués dans ce manuscrit, on perçoit, par exemple, quelque similitude avec certains passages de l'*Historia mystica* de Germain de Constantinople (CPG 8023), surtout les §17 à 19 du texte édité par F. E. BRIGHTMAN, *The Historia Mystagogica and other Greek Commentaries on the Byzantine Liturgy*, dans *JThS*, 9 (1908), p. 262. Notons au passage que c'est par erreur que le même auteur, p. 252, signale les ff. 48-52 de notre manuscrit comme un témoin partiel du texte de Germain ; cette erreur a été reprise un peu plus tard par un auteur anonyme dans *Roma e l'Oriente*, 2 (1911), p. 145.

τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὕτως καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα. Ζητεῖται καὶ ναὸς Θεοῦ καὶ ψαλμῶν ἱερολογία καὶ λαμπροφωρία συνάξεως καὶ ἀρχιερέων χειροθεσία καὶ ἀνάρρυσις πάνδημος καὶ ἱερᾶς θυσίας προσκομιδὴ καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα. Καὶ οὕτως τελειοῦσθαι πιστεύεται ὁ χειροτονούμενος.

* f. 17 : περι τῶν τριῶν βαπτισμάτων. C'est un petit extrait tiré des *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem pseudo-athanasiennes* (CPG 2257)¹⁶.

* f. 17^v : sous le nom trompeur de Ἰσιδώρου, se lisent des extraits de la lettre III, 243 de Nil d'Ancyre (CPG 6043)¹⁷.

Les ff. 17^v-37^v renferment une partie du *Viae Dux* d'Anastase le Sinaïte (CPG 7745) : cette partie va, dans l'édition de K.-H. Uthemann, de I, 3, 1 à II, 8, 100, y compris le titre, mais sans les scholies¹⁸.

Au f. 37^v, on trouve une ἐρωταπόκρισις, introduite par les mots πῶς εἰκονίζει τὸ θεῖον ἄνθρωπος, περι τὸ κατ'εἰκόνα ; la réponse commence avec les mots τὸ κατ'εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τοῦτο δηλοῖ τὸ ἐν τρισὶν ιδιώμασιν εἶναι, et s'achève avec ὁμοφυᾶ τε καὶ ὁμοούσια συνυπάρχοντα ἀλλήλοις ἀεὶ ; il s'agit d'un fragment pseudo-damascénien intitulé *Qua ratione homo imago dei* (CPG 8087 [4])¹⁹.

L'intégralité du *Liber Asceticus* de Maxime le Confesseur (CPG 7692) se lit aux ff. 37^v-64^v²⁰.

Au f. 64^v, on trouve, peut-être écrits *in fugam vacui*, trois petits extraits :

* un extrait de l'*Homilia IX in Hebraeos* de Jean Chrysostome (CPG 4440)²¹.

* un autre renvoyant au Ps. 30, 10 : τὸ Ἐταράχθη ἀπὸ θυμοῦ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς μου, ἡ ψυχὴ μου καὶ ἡ γαστήρ μου τὸ τριμερὲς δηλοῖ τῆς ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμὸν γὰρ λέγει τὸ λογικόν, ψυχὴν δὲ τὸ θυμικόν, καὶ γαστέρα τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν ; malheureusement, on n'a pas pu identifier ces lignes.

¹⁶ Il correspond à PG 28, 644C11 - D2, avec quelques variantes (il s'agit d'une partie de la question LXXIII) ; le même fragment se lit dans le *Florilegium Coislinianum* (anthologie du IX^e-X^e siècle), Lettite Bèta, fragment 26, éd. I. DE VOS, E. GIELEN, C. MACÉ et P. VAN DEUN, *La Lettre B du Florilège Coislin : editio princeps*, dans *Byz*, 80 (2010), p. 113 ; une étude détaillée nous a permis de conclure que la version de notre manuscrit se rapproche plutôt de celle du Pseudo-Athanase que de celle du *Florilège Coislin*.

¹⁷ *Inc.* πάντοι μοι δοκεῖς τὴν θεῖαν ἠγνοῦσθαι φησὶν γραφήν. *Des.* ἵνα ἀπόλληται εἷς τῶν μικρῶν τούτων. Ces extraits correspondent à PG 79, 496D13, 497A4-12, 13-14, B3-7, et 500C2-4.

¹⁸ *Anastasioi Sinaitae Viae Dux* (CCSG, 8), Turnhout – Leuven, 1981, pp. 18-72 ; Monsieur Uthemann a utilisé le *Reginensis* (voir p. LVII, codex 104).

¹⁹ Édité dans la PG 95, 228C9 (Τὸ κατ'εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν θεοῦ) – D10 (συνυπάρχοντα ἀλλήλων ἀεὶ). Il s'agit d'un texte d'origine inconnue, attesté dans de nombreux florilèges. J. Noret en a publié une variante dans la *RHT*, 24 (1994), p. 326, ll. 12-19.

²⁰ Voir VAN DEUN, *Maximi Confessoris Liber Asceticus*, pp. CXXII-CXXIII.

²¹ Voir la PG 63, 82, ll. 20-25 et 44-45 (une version légèrement abrégée par rapport à l'édition imprimée).

* un autre extrait, plus court encore : τῶν ὑπὲρ κατάληψιν ἢ ἔρουνα κατα-
γέλαστος ; assez curieusement, on retrouve exclusivement ces mots dans
les *Commentarii in Apocalypsin* d'André de Césarée (CPG 7478)²².

Les ff. 65-70 renferment la lettre 2 de S. Basile (CPG 2900)²³.

Les ff. 70-71, sous le titre ἔκθεσις ἐν ἐπιτομῇ πίστεως, portent une profession de foi relativement tardive (elle fait allusion au *Filioque*), dont nous n'avons pu retrouver l'auteur. En voici le texte intégral : Πιστεύω καὶ ὁμολογῶ καρδιά, νοῦ τε καὶ στόματι πάντα ὅσα οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ προφητῶν πνευματοκινήτως προήγγειλαν, ὅσα οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐδίδαξαν, ὅσα οἱ μάρτυρες ὡμολόγησαν. Πιστεύω καὶ ὁμολογῶ τὴν ἀναρχον καὶ ἀΐδιον καὶ δημιουργικὴν τῶν ἀπάντων ὀρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων τρισυπόστατον μίαν θεότητα, τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, τὸν μὲν Πατέρα ἀγέννητον, τὸν δὲ Υἱὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐκπορευόμενον παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς. Πιστεύω καὶ ὁμολογῶ καὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον οἰκονομίαν, ἣ γον τὴν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκ τῆς ὑπερενδόξου ὑπερευλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς ἀπειράνδρου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Θεοτόκου Μαρίας ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου κατὰ σάρκα γέννησιν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν βάπτισιν, τὰ ἔκουσια καὶ σωτήρια πάθη αὐτοῦ, τὴν σταύρωσιν, τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν τριήμερον ἔγερσιν, τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸς μετὰ σαρκὸς ἀνάληψιν, τὴν τοῦ παρακλήτου καὶ παναγίου Πνεύματος ἀποστολὴν ἐκ Θεοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐν εἶδει πυρίνων γλωσσῶν αὐτοδέσποτον κάθοδον. Ὅμολογῶ ἐν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Προσδοκῶ ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, ἀμήν. Πιστεύω τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον ἀπαρεργάρακτον καὶ ἀπαραποίητον, καὶ καθὼς αὐτὸ συνεγράψαντο οἱ αὐτόπται καὶ μαθηταὶ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ καθὼς αὐτὸ ἐξηγήσατο καὶ ἡμῖν διεσάφησεν ὁ μέγας φωστὴρ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκκλησίας ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Χρυσόστομος. Ὡσαύτως ὁμολογῶ τὰς Πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ τὰς Ἐπιστολάς, τὰς ἱεράς τε καὶ ἁγίας καθολικὰς συνόδους, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον σύμβολον τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ θεοφόρων πατέρων ἐν αὐταῖς ἐκτεθὲν καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Χριστιανῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πιστευόμενον καὶ ὁμολογούμενον. Προσκυνῶ καὶ ἀσπάζομαι καὶ

²² IV, 10, 4, 5b-6, ll. 12-13, éd. J. SCHMID, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, I, *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia* (*Münchener theologische Studien*, 1, Historische Abteilung 1, Ergänzungsband), Munich, 1955.

²³ La moitié supérieure du f. 65a manque aujourd'hui, entraînant la perte de presque tout le passage allant de κτήσει (*Saint Basile. Lettres*, I [*Collection des Universités de France*], éd. Y. COURTONNE, Paris, 1957, p. 6, §2, l. 13) jusqu'à ἔοικον, ἀνίλ (*ibidem*, p. 7, l. 25) et de τοῦς (*ibidem*, l. 31) à τὸ (*ibidem*, l. 43).

ὀρθοδόξως σεβάζομαι καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις εἰκόσιν ἐκτυπώματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς Θεοτόκου καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀπάντων. Μακαρίζω καὶ οὐς οἱ ῥηθέντες ὀρθόδοξοι μακαρίζουσιν ἐπ' ἐκκλησίαις διὰ τοῦ ἐνδόξου καὶ σεβασμίου συνοδικοῦ, καὶ ἀναθεματίζω πάντα οὐς αὐτοὶ ἀναθεματίζουσι, πρὸ πάντων δὲ ἐκ βρεφικῆς ἡλικίας καὶ ἕως τοῦ νῦν καὶ μέχρι ἐσχάτης ἀναπνοῆς καταργίζω καὶ ἀναθεματίζω καὶ πατάσσω καὶ καταπτύω τὸν διάβολον, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θεοστυγῆ καὶ ζοφερὸν στρατιὰν ὡς ἀνάρτας Θεοῦ καὶ ἀοράτους ἐχθροὺς καὶ πολεμίους ἡμῶν, τοὺς δὲ τοῦδε ὡς προσθήκην ποιήσαντας ἀπρεπῆ τε καὶ μὴ ὀρθόδοξον τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ παραποιήσαντας τὸ ἅγιον σύμβολον, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ διατυπώσαντας νοερῶς τῇ ὀρθοδόξῳ πίστει καὶ καταστάσει ἀνοικεῖα. Καθὼς λογίζεται καὶ ἔχει αὐτοὺς ἡ ἁγία ἐκκλησία τῶν ὁμοφύλων ὀρθοδόξων Χριστιανῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οὕτως κἀγὼ λογίζομαι καὶ ἔχω αὐτούς, ὡς μηδέπω κατ' αὐτῶν γεγονότος συνόδου.

Aux ff. 71^v-129^v, on lit les *Capita de caritate* de S. Maxime, avec leur prologue (CPG 7693)²⁴.

Les ff. 129^v-134 contiennent quatre textes disparates, à savoir :

- * ff. 129^v-132 : ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἱστορίας ἦτοι Αἰθιοπικῆς ὁμιλία ὠφέλιμος τοῖς προσέχουσιν. C'est un extrait, quelque peu adapté pour avoir une existence indépendante, de la *Historia Barlaam et Ioasaph* (CPG 8120 ; BHG 224)²⁵.
- * ff. 132-133^v : περὶ μοναχικῆς πολιτείας. Il s'agit d'un petit texte apparenté à quelques passages du *De octo spiritibus nequitiae* d'un Pseudo-Jean Damascène (CPG 8110)²⁶.

²⁴ PG 90, 960-1080. Ouvrage également présent dans le *Vaticanus gr.* 735 (daté de 1331), ff. 199-229 (voir les notes suivantes).

²⁵ *Inc.* Δέον ἐστὶ παντὶ τῷ πιστεύσαντι, ὡσπερ προσῆλθε Θεῷ. *Des.* οὗ τί γένοιτ' ἂν ὄντως μακαριώτερον καὶ ὑψηλότερον. Il s'agit de 19, l. 139 - 20, l. 66 dans l'édition monumentale établie tout récemment par R. VOLK, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, VI, 2, *Historia animae utilis de Barlaam et Ioasaph (spuria). Text und zehn Appendices* (PTS, 60), Berlin - New York, 2006, pp. 189-197 (il semble que l'éditeur ignore l'existence du *Reginensis*). Nous avons trouvé le même extrait, avec le même titre, dans le *Vaticanus gr.* 735, ff. 185^v-188^v (voir la note qui précède, ainsi que celle qui suit).

²⁶ PG 95, 80A1-81B7, 81C1-12, 81D6-84A3 et 84B1-3 ; dans notre manuscrit, ces extraits sont précédés de quelques lignes que, malheureusement, nous n'avons pas pu identifier (ἔργον τοῦ μοναχοῦ, ἀνάγνωσις καὶ μελέτη τῶν θείων γραφῶν καὶ ψαλμοῦν καὶ διηγετικῆς εὐχῆς καὶ μικρὸν ἐργόχειρον καὶ διακονία πρὸς τὸν πλησίον καὶ συντριβὴ καὶ ταπεινώσις καὶ τῶν ἐπερχομένων λογισμῶν ἐξαγόρευσις καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἀσθενούντας συμπάθεια. Ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα μετ' ἐγκρατείας γινόμενα, καθαίρουσι τὴν ψυχὴν, καθαιρομένης δὲ ταύτης, ἐπίγνωσις γίνεται καὶ φωτισμὸς τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ὁ ἀληθὴς μοναχός). Le même texte, avec pour titre λόγος ἕτερος περὶ μοναχικῆς πολιτείας, se trouve dans le *Vaticanus gr.* 735, ff. 188^v-190 (voir les notes précédentes).

- * ff. 133^v et 134 : deux petits textes mis sous le nom de Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου et de Γρηγορίου, et apparentés à deux passages des *Quaestiones aliae* (CPG 2261) éditées indûment, semble-t-il, sous le nom d'Athanase d'Alexandrie²⁷.

Les ff. 134-148 contiennent un opuscule intitulé Ἀλεξάνδρου περὶ τῶν τῆς διανοίας καὶ περὶ τῶν τῆς λέξεως σχημάτων. Il ne s'agit pas réellement de l'œuvre du rhéteur Alexandre, fils de Numenius, mais d'un *rifacimento* chrétien dont on connaît au moins 6 autres copies²⁸.

Aux ff. 148-162^v, suit une série de 108 extraits numérotés ; elle est précédée du lemme τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Συμεῶν τοῦ Νέου Θεολόγου, mais ce lemme ne concerne que les 4 premiers morceaux.

Les extraits 1-4 (f. 148^{r-v}) sont les chapitres 1, 11, 29 et 63 de la première centurie des *Κεφάλαια* de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien²⁹.

Les extraits numérotés de 5 à 54 (ff. 148^v-154^v) sont tirés des *Capita alia* attribués à l'énigmatique Élie l'Ecdicos (CPG 7716 ; PG 90, 1401-1462) ; il s'agit des chapitres 138-141, 143-145, 147, 149, 152, 154, 159-163, 165-166, 169, 171-172, 175-180, 183-184, 187, 203, 205-207, 212-213, 215-217, 219-220, 223, 229-231, 234-236, 240 et 243 du texte³⁰.

Les extraits 55 à 60 (ff. 154^v-155) proviennent, eux, d'une paraphrase chrétienne du Manuel d'Épictète (CPG 6075) ; ce sont, dans l'édition de G. Boter³¹, les chapitres 11 (jusqu'à ὡς γίνονται), 17, 28-29, 33c et 50.

Les extraits 61 à 70 sont fort disparates et ont peut-être été empruntés via un florilège qui nous échappe : ils proviennent respectivement d'Élie l'Ecdicos (n° 61, f. 155)³², d'Isaac de Ninive (n° 62, f. 155^{r-v})³³, de l'abbé Isaïe (numéros 63-64,

²⁷ Le premier extrait est très court : ὅσπερ ἄμα ἡλίου δίσκος, καὶ ἀκτίς, καὶ φῶς, οὕτω πατήρ, υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· αἴτιος μὲν τοῖν δυοῖν ὁ πατήρ (se rapprochant de ce qu'on lit dans la PG 28, 777B9-14). Le second extrait, qui est un peu plus long, est vaguement inspiré par PG 28, 777C1-780C5 : *inc.* ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νοῦς, λόγος, πνεῦμα, τὰ τρία ἀχώριστα καὶ ἴσα· καὶ γεννᾷ ὁ νοῦς τὸν λόγον ἀπαθῶς, ὁ δὲ λόγος δίχα τοῦ πνεύματος προελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ νοῦς οὐ δύναται, ὅθεν καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, εἷς δὲ ἄνθρωπος, κατὰ τὸ νοούμενον ἐν ταῖς τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσι ; *des.* γεννᾷ ὁ πατήρ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπαθῶς, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐκπορευτῶς.

²⁸ Cf. G. BALLAIRA, *Sulla fortuna del Περί σχημάτων di Alessandro di Numenio*, dans *Giornale italiano di filologia*, 30 (1978), pp. 190-198.

²⁹ Voir l'édition du Père J. DARROUZÈS, *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien. Chapitres théologiques, gnostiques et pratiques* (SC, 51bis), Paris, 1980², respectivement pp. 40, 46, 56 et 74.

³⁰ Eva De Ridder, qui prépare une dissertation de doctorat à l'Université de Leuven sous la direction de Peter Van Deun, nous a dit que, pour cette œuvre, elle n'a pas encore rencontré ce choix de chapitres.

³¹ *The Encheiridion of Epictetus and its three Christian Adaptations. Transmission and Critical Editions* (Philosophia Antiqua, 82), Leyde - Boston - Cologne, 1999, respectivement pp. 373, 375, 377, 380 et 383-384.

³² Ce fragment fait partie du chapitre 3 dans la PG 90, 1401B12-13.

³³ L'extrait est tiré de son *Discours* 86 (CPG 7868), éd. par un hiéromoine NIKEPHOROS, *Τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰσαὰκ ἐπισκόπου Νινεῦν τοῦ Σύρον τὰ εὐρεθέντα ἀσκητικά*, Leipzig, 1770, seconde édition par J. SPETSIERIS, Athènes, 1895 (= Thessalonique, 1977), p. 352, 26 -

ff. 155^v-156)³⁴, de Macaire l'Égyptien dans la métaphore de Syméon (n° 65, f. 156)³⁵, de Marc le Moine (numéros 66-67 et 69, ff. 156-157 et 157^v-158)³⁶ et de Philothée le Sinaïte (numéros 68 et 70, ff. 157^{r-v} et 158^{r-v})³⁷.

Avec les extraits 71 à 87 (ff. 158^v-160^v), nous retrouvons pour la troisième fois les *Capita alia* d'Élie l'Ecdicos, à savoir les chapitres 7-8 (en un seul ensemble), 20, 30, 43-45, 48, 54, 58, 62, 73, 79-83 et 85 de la *PG* 90.

Les extraits 88 à 107 (ff. 160^v-162^v) proviennent du *De oratione* d'Évagre (*CPG* 2452 ; *PG* 79, 1165-1200), souvent transmis sous le nom de Nil ; ce sont les chapitres 1-2, 37, 39, 41, 58, 76-80, une partie de 99, 100, 106-109, 111-112, 110 et 95.

Enfin, l'extrait 108 (f. 162^v) a une origine que nous n'avons pu déterminer. En voici le texte complet : Τί περί πολλοῦ ποιούμεθα τὴν ὕλην, ἧς καταφρονεῖν ἐδιδάχθημεν, χρημάτων καὶ κτημάτων ἀντεχόμενοι καὶ εἰς πολλὰς καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς φροντίδας τὸν νοῦν μερίζοντες, ὧν ἡ σπουδὴ ἡμᾶς μὲν ἀπίστησι τῆς ἀναγκαιοτέρας προσεδρείας, καὶ ἀμελεῖν τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς παρασκευάζει καλῶν, εἰς μέγα δὲ βάραθρον ἄγει τοὺς πρὸς τὰ τοῦ βίου κεχηνότας πράγματα, λαμπρὰν καὶ τὴν ἀνωτάτω νομίζοντας εὐκκληρίαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πλοῦτου ἀπόλαυσιν, ὁρῶντας τοὺς φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπαγγελμαμένους³⁸ καὶ ἐπάνω ἡδονῶν ἀρχοῦντας εἶναι πλέον ἐαυτῶν περὶ ταῦτα ἐσπουδακότας.

Les ff. 162^v-164 contiennent une nouvelle série de 9 extraits numérotés, précédée du titre (trompeur, car il porte seulement sur le premier extrait) τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου.

L'extrait 1 (ff. 162^v-163) commence par les mots ὁ βουλόμενος οὖν ἐπιβῆναι τῶν οὐρανῶν, et se termine par καὶ τοὺς κειμένους ἐγείρειν· ἐὰν ἀμαρτήση εἰς σὲ ὁ ἀδελφός σου καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Il s'agit d'une paraphrase, simple

p. 353, 5 ; le même fragment, avec des divergences analogues par rapport à l'édition, se lit dans le *Parisinus gr.* 1145, ff. 183^v-184 (un manuscrit qui daterait de la seconde moitié du XIV^e siècle).

³⁴ Fragments des *Discours* 17 et 25 (*CPG* 5555), éd. par le moine AUGUSTINOS, *Toῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἡσαίου Λόγοι καθ'*, Jérusalem, 1911, seconde édition par S. N. SCHOINA, Volos, 1962 : p. 115, 1-3 ; p. 116, 2-4 ; p. 156, 2 *ab imo* - p. 157, 1 ; p. 157, 7-10, 11-14 et 27-28 ; p. 159, 7-10 et 13. Les mêmes extraits se lisent dans le *Parisinus gr.* 1145, ff. 14-15.

³⁵ C'est le §3 du *De custodia cordis* (= *Opusculum* I) (*CPG* 2413 [1]) ; cf. *PG* 34, 824B9 - C4.

³⁶ Les deux premiers extraits sont tirés du *De baptismo* (= *Opusculum* IV) (*CPG* 6093) : voir, dans l'édition de G.-M. DE DURAND (†), *Marc le Moine. Traités*, I (*SC*, 445), Paris, 1999, une combinaison de XIII, 11-23 (p. 374), XIV, 25-31 (p. 378) et XVI, 22-33 (pp. 384-386). Le troisième extrait est pris aux *Praecepta animae salutaria ad Nicolaum* de Marc (= *Opusculum* V) (*CPG* 6094) : consulter G.-M. DE DURAND (†), *Marc le Moine. Traités*, II (*SC*, 455), Paris, 2000, XII, 1-11 (p. 148) suivi de XIII, 1-9 et 32-37 (pp. 150-154).

³⁷ Ce sont respectivement les chapitres 11, 1 et 2 (jusqu'à τὰ δίκτυα τοῦ νοητοῦ ἐχθροῦ) de ses *Capita de temperantia* (*CPG* 7864) ; voir l'édition de la *Φιλοκαλία* de Macaire de Corinthe et Nicodème l'Hagiorite, quatrième édition, volume II, Athènes, 1975, pp. 277 et 274.

³⁸ Un mot absent de nos dictionnaires ; le verbe simple, κέλομαι, est attesté.

mais évidente, de passages des *homiliae* LIX et LX in *Matthaeum* de Jean Chrysostome (CPG 4424)³⁹ ; cette paraphrase se lit telle quelle dans la *Catena integra* sur l'Évangile de Matthieu (CPG C 110.4)⁴⁰.

Quant aux extraits 2 à 9 (ff. 163-164), ils sont tirés du commentaire de S. Basile sur Isaïe (CPG 2911) ; comme dans les autres séries d'extraits de notre manuscrit, les emprunts suivent l'ordre du texte, allant de PG 30, 144C1 à 220D2⁴¹ où un extrait finit inachevé sur ἄρχοντα ἑαυτόν, ce qui permet de dire qu'on doit déplorer une lacune entre les folios actuels 164 et 165.

Les ff. 164^v-189^v donnent des extraits de l'*Évergétinon* ou florilège de Paul de l'Évergétis, compilé vers le milieu du XI^e siècle (BHG 1450s) : les passages recopiés suivent l'ordre de l'original, depuis le livre II, chapitre 19, 1, 1 (*inc.* εἶπε γέρων· ἐὰν εἶπη σοι ὁ λογισμός, ἐν ἑορτῇ ποιεῖται διάφορα βρώματα) jusqu'au livre IV, chapitre 6, 6, 6 (*des.* φεύζεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν)⁴².

³⁹ *Homilia* LIX : PG 58, 580, ll. 12-14, 17-18, 38-39, 41-46 et 49-51 ; 581, ll. 4-5. *Homilia* LX : PG 58, 583, l. 1.

⁴⁰ Édition par J. A. CRAMER, *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, I, Oxford, 1840 (= Hildesheim, 1967), p. 146, 11-21.

⁴¹ Voici les détails : PG 30, 144C1-4 (fragment 2) ; 144C6-12 (fragment 3) ; 148B14 - C9 (fragment 4) ; 149B9-14 (fragment 5) ; 157B1-6 (fragment 6) ; 208A1-8 (fragment 7) ; 209C4-7 (fragment 8) ; 220C13 - D2 (fragment 9, qui s'achève abruptement).

⁴² Ces extraits sont donc nettement moins étendus que ne le laissait espérer M. RICHARD, *Florilèges spirituels grecs*, dans *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, V, Paris, 1962-1964, col. 503 (repris dans M. RICHARD, *Opera minora*, I, Turnhout - Leuven, 1976, n° 1), selon lequel ceux-ci commenceraient au f. 162^v et iraient jusqu'au f. 213. Nous avons consulté le florilège dans sa sixième édition, *Εὐεργετινὸς ἦτοι Συναγωγὴ τῶν θεοφθόγων ῥημάτων καὶ διδασκαλιῶν τῶν θεοφόρων καὶ ἁγίων πατέρων*, 4 vol., Athènes, 1976-1978. Les fragments conservés dans notre manuscrit sont : II, 19, 1, 1 (f. 164^v) ; II, 19, 1, 5 (écrit d'une autre main ; ff. 164^v-165) ; II, 20, 1-2 (f. 165^v, précédé du titre général du chapitre 20) ; un apophtegme (*collectio anonyma* 269 ; *collectio systematica* XI, 99) que nous n'avons pas pu trouver dans l'*Évergétinon* (εἶπε γέρων, ἀνιστάμενος τῷ πρωί· λέγε σεαυτῷ, σῶμα, ἔργασαι, ἵνα τραφήῃ· ψυχὴ, νῆφε, ἵνα κληρονομήσῃς) (f. 165^v) ; un autre apophtegme que nous n'avons pas pu identifier (εἶπε γέρων· τὸν ὀκνηρὸν καὶ τὸν ἀργὸν οὐ θέλει ὁ θεός) (f. 165^v) ; III, 2, 8, 1 (f. 166) ; III, 2, 8, 36 (ff. 165-166^v) ; un autre apophtegme que nous n'avons pas pu identifier (*inc.* μοναχός τις νεώτερος οὐ πάνυ πόρρω τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἀντωνίου οἰκῶν, γέροντάς τινας πρὸς τὸν ἀββᾶν Ἀντώνιον ἀπιόντας, ἰδὼν καὶ κατανοήσας αὐτοὺς κάμνοντας ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ) (f. 167^v) ; III, 13, 7, 1-2 (ff. 167^v-168) ; III, 14, 3, 1-2 (f. 168^v) ; III, 21, 7, 1 (f. 168^v) ; III, 25, 2, 1-5 (ff. 169-170) ; III, 25, 4, 1 (f. 170) ; III, 26, 8, 9-11 (ff. 170-171) ; III, 27, 3, 1 (f. 171) ; III, 29, 3, 4 (f. 171^v) ; III, 30, 2, 17-22 (ff. 171^v-172^v) ; III, 31, 3, 1-30 (ff. 172^v-179^v) ; III, 32, 1, 1-2 et 15-17 (précédé du titre général du chapitre 32 ; ff. 179^v-181) ; III, 34, 7, 2-3 (f. 181^v) ; III, 35, 2, 29-30 (ff. 181^v-182) ; III, 38, 1, 10-14 (ff. 182-183) ; III, 46, 9, 2-4 (f. 183^v) ; III, 49, 1, 3 (f. 183^v) ; IV, 1, 15, 3-4 (ff. 183^v-184) ; IV, 1, 17, 2 (f. 184^v) ; IV, 1, 18 (f. 184^v) ; IV, 2, 1, 22 (f. 184^v) ; IV, 5, 1, 11-21 (ff. 184^v-187) ; en bas du folio 186^v, une autre main a encore ajouté un autre apophtegme que, malheureusement, nous n'avons pas pu identifier (ὁ σωματικὸς κόπος καὶ ἡ μελέτη τῶν θείων γραφῶν φυλάσσει τὴν καθαρότητα, τὸν δὲ κόπον βεβαίωι ἡ ἐλπίς καὶ ὁ φόβος, τὴν δὲ ἐλπίδα καὶ τὸν φόβον συνιστᾷ ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ ὁ μακρυσμός τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἡ ἀδιάλειπτος προσευχὴ) ; IV, 5, 6, 1-19 (ff. 187-189) et IV, 6, 6, 1-6 (f. 189^v).

Aux ff. 190-205^v, on lit des extraits de la *Scala Paradisi* (CPG 7852) de Jean Climaque : les phrases et passages recopiés ont été pris dans l'ordre de l'écrit original ; les retours en arrière sont rares, de même que les emprunts aux scholies. Ces extraits s'étendent du 4^e au 23^e degré. *Inc.* οἱ μὲν ἡσυχία πατρὶ ὑποτασσόμενοι (PG 88, 712C1). *Des.* ὀρέγεται (965D8)⁴³.

Les ff. 206-213^v sont écrits par une autre main ; ces folios, dont la partie supérieure a été rognée et est, de plus, souvent endommagée et peu lisible, contiennent de nouveaux extraits de l'Évergétinon, mais en désordre ; ce sont les sections I, 45, 1, 83 (ff. 206-207) ; I, 45, 6 (f. 207) ; II, 1, 1 (ff. 207-208) ; I, 18, 1, 4 (f. 208^v) ; I, 18, 5, 1 (f. 208^v) ; I, 18, 3 (f. 208^v) ; I, 19, 2, 6-7 (f. 208^v) ; I, 19, 2, 5 et 8 (f. 209) ; I, 15, 4 et 7 (f. 209) ; I, 15, 5 (f. 209^v) ; II, 35, 2 (f. 209^v) ; II, 35, 7, 5-6 (f. 209^v) ; I, 33, 4-5 (f. 210). Le bas du f. 210 a été rempli par une autre main encore, mais le texte, du moins sur microfilm, est illisible. Au f. 210^v, on voit d'abord, devenu fort peu lisible, le chapitre 153 et dernier du *De oratione* d'Évagre (CPG 2452) déjà rencontré plus haut (PG 79, 1200) ; puis viennent trois paragraphes du *De temperantia et virtute* (CPG 7862) d'Hésychius le Sinaïte (PG 93,

⁴³ En voici les détails : *gradus* IV (f. 190^v) : PG 88, 712C1-4 ; 713A6-8, B14 - C1 et C14 - D2, 716C12-13, 717B10, 11 et 14-15, 717C4-6, 720A6-7, scholion 94 (760D8-10), 724D10-725A3, 725B4-12, B14 - C1 et D1-3, scholion 100 (761D8-11), 728B3-8 et D2-5 ; *gradus* V (ff. 190^v-191) : 764B6 et 7-8, 773A14 - B1, 777A2 et B13 - C3, 777D13-780A2, 780A4-5 et B10-12, 780D9-781A1 ; *gradus* VI (ff. 191-192) : 793B7-9, B10-11 et B13 - C3, 796A1-3, A10-14, B1-3, B8 - C5, 797A7-8, B2-5 et B13 - C5 ; *gradus* VII (ff. 192-193^v) : 804A14 - B11, C12-15 et D2-5, 804D11-805A5, 805A11-15, B10 - C12, D2-6 et 7-10, 808A7-10, B1-3, B6-10 et D6-11, 809C1-8 et D1-8, 816C2-3 et D1-6 ; *gradus* VIII (ff. 193^v-194) : 828D3-6, D2-3 et C15-D1, 829B5 ; *gradus* IX (f. 194) : un scholion inédit (τράπεζα ἀγάπης διέλυσε μῖσος, καὶ δῶρα καθαρὰ κατεμάλλαξε ψυχὴν), 841C3 et D3-5 ; *gradus* X (f. 194^v) : 845D10-12, 848A13-15, A11-12, A15 - B3, B4-6 et C3-8, 849A1-3 ; *gradus* XI (ff. 194^v-195) : 852A13, A14 - C9, D8-9 et 6-7, scholion 5 (853D9-11) ; *gradus* XII (f. 195) : 853D14-16, 856C7-9 et C14 - D2 ; *gradus* XIII (f. 195) : 860A2-4, A9, C4-6 et C13-14, 861A7 ; *gradus* XIV (ff. 195-196^v) : 864C7-8, C12 - D2 et D4-8, 865A5-8, B11 - C1 et D1-4, 865D12-868A1, 868A3-7, A12-14, B3-5, B7-10, B11 - C11, C14 - D6 et D8-10, 869A12 - B5, C12, D1 et D5-11 ; *gradus* XV (ff. 196^v-199) : 880D2 ; un scholion inédit (ἀγνεία ἐστὶν οἶκος Χριστοῦ ἀπέραστος καὶ οὐρανὸς καρδίας ἐπίγειος), 880D8-10, 881A9-10, B1-2 et C14 - D4, 884A9-11, 885C13 - D4, 888A5-8 et C7 - D1, 889A7-9, A12 - B12, C10-13 et C16, 892A1-5, 893A7-14, B1-11, C2-13, 893D4-896A2, 896C1-3, 5-8 et 11-12, 897C11-14 et D10-11, 900C14 - D2, 901B12-13, B6-12 et C1-3, scholion 51 (924A2-4), un scholion inédit (ὁ κρίνων τὸν ἕτερον, ἑαυτὸν κατακρίνει) ; *gradus* XVI (f. 199^v) : 924D3-13, 924D15-925A3, 925A7-8 et A6-9 ; *gradus* XVII (ff. 199^v-200^v) : 928B11 - C4, C6-9 et D1-9, 929A2-15 ; *gradus* XVIII (ff. 200^v-201) : 932B5-9, B12-14, C1-4 et C6 - D10, 932D12-933A5, une partie du scholion 5 (936C12-14) ; *gradus* XIX (f. 201^v) : 937A6-7, A12-13, B1 et D6-7 ; *gradus* XX (ff. 201^v-202) : 940D4-941B5 et 941B13-14 ; *gradus* XXI (ff. 202-203) : 945B5-7, B11, C9-10, C3-8 et C11-14, 945D7-948A4 ; *gradus* XXII (ff. 203-205^v) : 949A3-8, A12 - B3 et B13 - C11, 949D3-952B1, scholion 15 (961B5-6), 952D3-6, 953B2-12, un scholion inédit (*inc.* ὁ δῶρα ἀντὶ κόπων ἀπαιτῶν, σφαλερὸν κατέλαβε τὸν θεμέλιον ; *des.* αἰφνίδιον λήγεται), 953C1-3, 953D11-956A3, 956B4-5, B8-10, C10-13 et D4-7, 957A1-2 ; *gradus* XXIII (f. 205^v) : 965B7 - C1, C5-6 et C13 - D8.

1537D1-1540A6) ; dans le bas du même verso, une autre main a copié le chapitre 146 (PG 79, 1197) du *De oratione* d'Évagre (CPG 2452). À partir du f. 211 et jusqu'au f. 213^v, la main principale de la section a copié l'histoire de l'anachorète Philémon (BHG 2368) jusqu'au mot ἐξηγόρε<υ>σεν⁴⁴. Enfin, le bas du f. 213^v porte deux nouveaux extraits du *De oratione* (CPG 2452) d'Évagre, à savoir les chapitres 134 et 137 (PG 79, 1196) : c'est la quatrième et dernière fois que des extraits de ce texte ont été transcrits dans ce manuscrit.

Les ff. 214-221^v, écrits d'une nouvelle main encore, contiennent des éléments de typikon et des tropaires, avec pour titre ὑπόμνησις μικρά ἐκ τοῦ τριωδίου τῆς μεγάλης Τεσσαρακοστῆς ... μέχρι τῶν ἁγίων πάντων. Les premières indications concernent le dimanche du Publicain et du Pharisien, les dernières celles du dimanche de tous les saints, c'est-à-dire celui qui suit la Pentecôte. Cette partie du manuscrit ne semble pas antérieure aux xvi^e siècle et correspond, avec des variantes, aux parties du Triodion et du Pentekostarion actuellement publiés dans les éditions liturgiques de l'Horologe⁴⁵.

Il est clair qu'il s'agit d'un volume factice ; en effet, des restes de manuscrits différents, d'époques différentes, ont été reliés ensemble ; il n'y a donc rien d'étonnant à ce qu'on y rencontre la main de plusieurs scribes. Concentrons-nous sur celui qui a transcrit les folios 1-205^v et qui a travaillé au XIV^e siècle, semble-t-il. Au haut du f. 16, il a laissé son nom : ὁ ἀμαρτωλὸς Γρηγόριος ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἔγραψε τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἱερὰ γράμ<μ>ματα οὐχὶ ἐμπόνως. Cela confirme le caractère personnel et occasionnel de cette collection d'extraits, mais ne nous éclaire pas sur le lieu où elle fut réalisée : aucun Γρηγόριος du XIV^e siècle et d'écriture semblable n'est connu actuellement des répertoires de copistes. On notera que, par endroits, dans cette partie principale du manuscrit, une autre main a rempli les marges de notes ou de fragments supplémentaires.

Plus tard, entre 1650 et 1652⁴⁶, la Reine Christine acheta ce volume à Christian Ravius (alias Raue) dont le nom se voit encore au haut du f. 1.

⁴⁴ *Φιλοκαλία*, II, pp. 241-244, l. 8.

⁴⁵ Par. ex., *Ἵρολόγιον τὸ Μέγα*, Athènes, 1977, pp. 441-478. On notera qu'au premier dimanche, celui du Publicain et du Pharisien, on lit la note suivante : χρή γινώσκειν ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἑβδομάδι νηστεύουσιν οἱ τρισκατάρατοι Ἀρμένιοι τὴν βδελυρὰν αὐτῶν νηστείαν, τὴν λεγομένην τοῦ Ἀρτζιβούρη (*sic*)· ἡμεῖς δὲ καθεκάστην ἐσθίομεν τυρὸν καὶ ὄα, ἀνατρέποντες τὸ ἐκείνων δόγμα τῆς τοιαύτης αἰρέσεως. On rapprochera cela de ce qu'on lisait au f. 6 du manuscrit : la polémique avec les Arméniens est bien vivante dans notre codex.

⁴⁶ Sur Christian Raue (Ravius), né à Berlin en 1613 et décédé à Francfort-sur-l'Oder en 1677, voir *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XXVII, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 396-397.

Comme Ravius avait acheté ses manuscrits lors d'un voyage en Orient (1639-1642) et que ce voyage l'avait amené à Smyrne, à Constantinople et dans les villes voisines d'Asie mineure⁴⁷, nous avons une idée de la région d'où provient la copie que nous étudions : elle n'était pas très loin de la capitale lorsqu'elle tomba pour la première fois dans des mains occidentales.

Le manuscrit porte le n° 907 sur la liste des manuscrits de la Reine composée par les Mauristes Romains entre 1680 et 1689⁴⁸. Il fut acheté peu après par le Pape Alexandre VIII (1689-1691) et donné à la Vaticane.

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RÉSUMÉ

Dans cet article, on trouvera une description détaillée du *Vaticanus, Reginensis gr. 48* (du XIV^e siècle semble-t-il), ainsi que le texte intégral de quelques opuscules cités dans ce témoin important et restés inconnus jusqu'ici.

⁴⁷ Cf. Chr. CALLMER, *Königin Christina, ihre Bibliothekare und ihre Handschriften. Beiträge zur europäischen Bibliotheksgeschichte* (*Acta Bibliothecae Regiae Stockholmiensis*, 30), Stockholm, 1977, p. 163.

⁴⁸ *Les manuscrits de la Reine de Suède au Vatican. Réédition du catalogue de Montfaucon et cotes actuelles* (*ST*, 238), Cité du Vatican, 1964, p. 51.

JOHN OF ANTIOCH, INFLATED AND DEFLATED. OR:
HOW (NOT) TO COLLECT FRAGMENTS
OF EARLY BYZANTINE HISTORIANS

The spectre of John of Antioch haunts scholarship again. His *historia chronike*, variously dated to the early sixth or seventh century, was until recently the last major early Byzantine historian awaiting edition. The task of editing the fragments is rendered difficult by the fact that the work is only known through later Byzantine compilations. Discrepancies between the various excerpts generated extensive debates about the nature of the work in the late nineteenth century, to the point that the editor of *Byzantische Zeitschrift*, Karl Krumbacher, felt obliged to put an end to the endless discussion in 1901¹. Not even the discovery of a long, new fragment in 1904 dragged John of Antioch from his slumber², which would last for much of the twentieth century. After an important monograph on the textual tradition by G. Sotiroudis in 1989, two recent editions of the fragments have recalled John from the grave, a first one by U. Roberto in 2005 and another by S. Mariev in 2008³. Both diverge so profoundly in their treatment of the fragments that a renewal of the debate is unavoidable – and as mutual accusations of incompetence by both editors show,⁴ the gloves have already come off.

The purpose of this contribution is not to come down in favour of either side⁵, but rather to raise some methodological issues, which question both

¹ After the article by J. PATZIG, *Die Abhängigkeit des Johannes Antiochenus von Johannes Malalas*, in *BZ*, 10 (1901), pp. 40-53, p. 53.

² Sp. LAMBROS, *Ἀνέκδοτον ἀπόσπασμα Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀντιοχείως*, in *NE*, 1 (1904), pp. 7-31; L. ZUSI, *L'età Mariano-Sillana in Giovanni Antiocheno (Università degli studi di Padova. Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di storia antica, 16)*, Rome, 1989.

³ U. ROBERTO, *Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta ex Historia chronica (TU, 154)*, Berlin, 2005; S. MARIEV, *Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta quae supersunt omnia (CFHB, 47)*, Berlin, 2008.

⁴ S. MARIEV, *Neues zur "Johannischen Frage"?*, in *BZ*, 99 (2006), pp. 535-549; U. ROBERTO, *Research Prospects on John of Antioch. Notes on the Edition by S. Mariev*, in *JÖB*, 60 (2010), pp. 115-128.

⁵ Support for Roberto is expressed in various reviews (all written before the appearance of Mariev's edition): A. CAMERON, in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, 2006.07.37; P. MARAVAL, in *RHE*, 101 (2006), pp. 737-739; B. LUISELLI, *Ioannis Antiocheni fragmenta ex historia chronica*, in *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 43 (2007), pp. 345-350; S. RATTI, *Jean d'Antioche et ses sources latines*, in *Antiquité Tardive*, 17 (2009), pp. 327-337; T. PRATSCH, in *Gnomon*, 80 (2008), pp. 119-122; P. BLAUDEAU, in *Adamantius*, 15 (2009), pp. 587-590. Support for Mariev comes from M. WHITTOW, in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, 2009.12.06.

editions and which may open up new perspectives. Indeed, the contrasting choices of both collections drive each of their authors to widely diverging presentations of the evidence, which, I would argue, is satisfactory in neither case. While Roberto inflates John of Antioch by incorporating numerous fragments that do not belong in the collection, Mariev deflates him to the point of excluding excerpts that are nominally ascribed to John. Notwithstanding these marked differences, both share a common methodology that needs to be questioned in order to advance the debate and to avoid that the discussion gets bogged down again in trenches already dug in the nineteenth century. In this paper, I shall first raise some questions about the method of both scholars, who are more concerned with reconstructing the original John than collecting fragments, two related enterprises that nevertheless need to be kept apart. Then I shall suggest that the original John may be beyond reconstruction, and that we may have to rethink the nature and circulation of some early Byzantine chronicles.

A RETURN TO JACOBY

Much, if not everything, is debated in relation to John, but the main points of discussion relate to three issues. I have to simplify the issues at stake: fuller discussion with bibliography can be found in the editions of Mariev and Roberto. First, the main source for John of Antioch are the *excerpta historica* commissioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (905-959 A.D.). The *excerpta de insidiis* and *de virtutibus* regularly include excerpts drawn from a work called *historia chronike* of John of Antioch, which runs from Creation to the reign of Phocas (602-610). These obviously have to be the backbone of any edition. Yet it was soon pointed out that the fragments relating to events after the reign of Anastasius (491-517) are written in a much less elevated style than the earlier ones and that most of these are terse notes. Only for the reign of Phocas excerpts are longer⁶. Since then scholars have split into two camps, a division also visible in the two recent editions: Roberto includes all Constantinian excerpts and hence considers

Critical of Roberto are B. BLECKMANN, in *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft*, 9 (2006), pp. 1071-1075 and (less so) F. PASCHOUD, *Chronique d'historiographie tardive*, in *Antiquité Tardive*, 14 (2006), pp. 325-344, spec. 332-337. D. BRODKA, in *H-Soz-u-Kult*, 25.05.2009 (<http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/2009-2-139>) and M. MEIER, in *Sehepunkte* 6/12 (2006) (<http://www.sehepunkte.de/2006/12/10017.html>) remain undecided.

⁶ G. SOTIRIADIS, *Zur Kritik des Johannes von Antiocheia*, in *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Suppl. 16 (1888), pp. 1-126; P. SOTIROUDIS, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichtswerk des Johannes von Antiocheia*, Thessaloniki, 1989, pp. 37-51.

John an early seventh century author, whereas Mariev has the work end with the reign of Anastasius.

The second issue are the so-called *excerpta salmasiana*, named after the French humanist Claude Saumaise who copied them from a mid-twelfth century manuscript (Codex Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 93). The list is headed by the title ἀρχαιολογία Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως ἔχουσα καὶ διασάφησιν τῶν μυθευομένων. This initially led to the ascription of the entire list of fragments, which cover history until the mid-fifth century, to John of Antioch⁷. Yet it was soon pointed out that the Salmasian fragment differ considerably from the Constantinian excerpts⁸ and that after the third excerpt (Fr. 4 R) a note is inserted in the manuscript with a new title, namely ἑτέρα ἀρχαιολογία. The logical conclusion was that only the first derived from John of Antioch. Not everybody, however, wished to abandon the vast majority of the Salmasian excerpts: E. Patzig argued the counterintuitive thesis that the first two excerpts do not derive from John but the others do⁹. On this issue Roberto and Mariev split too: Mariev only accepts the *excerpta salmasiana I*, whereas Roberto rejects them. In order to explain the obvious differences between the *excerpta salmasiana II* and the *excerpta historica* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, he suggests that the *excerpta salmasiana* do not derive directly from John of Antioch but from an intermediate source. He also includes the so-called *Wiener Troica* and the *Hypothesis to the Odyssey*, because these show up parallels with the *excerpta salmasiana II*. Roberto must be wrong in this instance, for several reasons¹⁰. His solution is counterintuitive, and involves, for example, ascribing the first two *excerpta salmasiana* to a Pseudo-John of Antioch: in line with Patzig, he has the marginal note “another archaeology” referring to the preceding fragments rather than the ones that follow it. The latter is, however, the natural option¹¹. Moreover, Roberto’s own apparatus of parallels demonstrates that the *excerpta salmasiana II* belong to a different

⁷ C. MÜLLER, *FHG*, IV, Paris, 1851, pp. 538f.

⁸ U. BOISSEVAIN, *Über die dem Ioannes Antiochenus zugeschriebenen Excerpta Salmasiana*, in *Hermes*, 22 (1887), pp. 161-178; C. DE BOOR, *Zu Iohannes Antiochenus*, in *Hermes*, 34 (1899), pp. 298-304; SOTIRIADIS, *Zur Kritik*.

⁹ E. PATZIG, *Die hetera archaiologia der Excerpta Salmasiana*, in *BZ*, 9 (1900), pp. 357-369.

¹⁰ The same error is made in M. WALRAFF (ed.), *Iulius Africanus Chronographiae: the extant fragments* (GCS, NF 15), Berlin – New York, 2007, pp. XL-XLII. W. TREADGOLD, *The Byzantine World histories of John Malalas and Eustathius of Epiphaneia*, in *International History Review*, 29 (2007), pp. 709-745, p. 734. W. TREADGOLD, *The Early Byzantine Historians*, Basingstoke and New York, 2007, pp. 311-329, and A. Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome*, New York - Oxford, p. 680 also treat the *excerpta salmasiana II* as belonging to John.

¹¹ MARIEV, *Neues*, p. 546; PASCHOUD, *Chronique*, pp. 333-334.

historiographical tradition. Whereas Roman history in the *excerpta historica* is based on Eutropius, the *excerpta salmasiana II* derive from Cassius Dio. For the fourth century, as has been shown by B. Bleckmann¹², the *excerpta salmasiana II* show up parallels with Ammianus Marcellinus, which are absent in the *excerpta historica* derived from John of Antioch. Whether one accepts Bleckmann's identification of this strand as a lost pagan tradition or not, the conclusion is unavoidable that the *excerpta salmasiana II* represent a different tradition than that of John of Antioch. In addition, Roberto's own juxtaposition of parallels between the *excerpta salmasiana II* and the main tradition for John of Antioch shows up significant divergences, as the following examples illustrate: Frg. 174.1 R (= *Exc. de ins.* 37) and 174.2 R (= *Exc. Salm. II* 52) have different last words of Nero; Frg. 251.1 (= *Exc. de ins.* 52) derives from Herodian whereas Frg. 215.2 (= *Exc. Salm. II* 65) follows Cassius Dio; Frg. 251.1 R (= *Suda* Δ 1156) and Frg. 251.2 (= *Exc. Salm. II* 71) ascribe different lengths to the private life of Diocletian (three resp. twelve years). Such divergences rule out that they ultimately go back to the same source, as Roberto maintains.

Finally, while other excerpts have been ascribed to John of Antioch, for example the so-called *excerpta planudea* and many a lemma from the *Suda*, the *Codex Parisinus Graecus* 1630 (folia 234r-239v) is another bone of contention. The title of the list of excerpts is ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκθέσεως Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως τῆς περὶ χρόνων καὶ κτίσεως κόσμου πονηθείσης, ὡς φησιν, ἀπὸ βιβλίων Μωσέως, Ἀφρικανοῦ, Εὐσεβίου, Παππίου καὶ Διδύμου καὶ ἑτέρων.¹³ This title has been taken to ascribe the excerpts to John of Antioch, and were classed as such by Müller in the FHG, and most recently, Roberto¹⁴. It was soon argued, however, that it is actually a fragment of John Malalas¹⁵. Indeed, the title picks up key elements from the title and preface of John Malalas, including the authors he lists. In addition, John Malalas was also called John of Antioch, in particular but not exclusively in the Syriac and Slavonic tradition¹⁶. As a recent study by S. Mariev

¹² BLECKMANN, Review of Roberto; B. BLECKMANN, *Fragmente heidnischer Historiographie zum Wirken Julians*, in A. GOLZ, H. LEPPIN, H. SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN (edd.), *Jenseits der Grenzen*, Berlin, 2009, pp. 61-78.

¹³ J. A. CRAMER, *Anecdota graeca*, II, Oxford, 1835, p. 379.

¹⁴ Also TREADGOLD, *Malalas*, p. 733. See also E. JEFFREYS, *The Chronicle of John Malalas, Book I: A Commentary*, in P. ALLEN and E. JEFFREYS (edd.), *The Sixth Century – End or Beginning?* (*Byzantina Australiensia*, 10), Brisbane, 1996, pp. 52-74, p. 54.

¹⁵ BOISSEVAIN, *Excerpta Salmasiana*, pp. 173-177; SOTIRIADIS, *Zur Kritik*, p. 8.

¹⁶ W. WITAKOWSKI, *Malalas in Syriac*, in E. JEFFREYS (ed.), *Studies in John Malalas (Byzantina Australiensia, 6)*, Sydney, 1990, pp. 299-311, here pp. 305-6; S. FRANKLIN, *Malalas in Slavonic*, in JEFFREYS, *Studies in John Malalas*, pp. 276-287, here p. 284. See also John of Damascus PG 94, 1369.

has shown, the first part of the excerpts derives straight from Malalas, whereas for the second half he suggests a tradition derivative of Malalas¹⁷. The fact that the *Codex parisinus* is not a witness to John of Antioch but to John Malalas, creates a new set of problems¹⁸. In fact, several of the *excerpta historica* that are nominally ascribed to John of Antioch are identical with passages from John Malalas. Even if the *Cod. Parisinus Gr.* 1630 can be confidently ascribed to the Malalas tradition, there were clear links between that tradition and John of Antioch. In a cavalier attempt to clearly distinguish both, Mariev has excised every trace of Malalas from his collection: apparently on the presupposition that what belongs to John Malalas cannot have been in John of Antioch, he declares spurious all excerpts nominally ascribed to John of Antioch but containing clear parallels with Malalas (e.g. Frg. 17 and 18 R = *Exc. de virt. et vit.* 2; Frg. 38 = *Exc. de virt. et vit.* 7)¹⁹. This decision is based on two assumptions: (1) that the original John of Antioch only ran until 518 and hence cannot have incorporated material by John Malalas, who published his chronicle a decade later; (2) that the hypothesis of a common source does not solve the problem²⁰. Mariev is therefore forced to accept that the John of Antioch excerpted in the tenth century was interpolated with material from Malalas. Obviously, the first and hence also the second assumption become unnecessary once one accepts a termination date of 610.

This overview shows that we have ended up in a most unfelicitous situation. Including virtually every text that ever has been related to the *historia chronike*, Roberto has presented us with a seriously inflated John of Antioch. This has the advantage of making his edition a good starting point for an exploration of the texts involved, but one that must be used with great caution. Indeed, as just has been shown, and argued with more

¹⁷ S. MARIEV, *Über das Verhältnis von Cod. Paris. Gr. 1630 zu den Traditionen des Johannes Malalas und des Johannes von Antiochien*, in *JÖB*, 59 (2009), pp. 177-190.

¹⁸ It led to E. W. Brooks, *The Date of the Historian John Malala*, in *The English Historical Review*, 7 (1892), pp. 291-301, here p. 299 suggesting the existence of a third John of Antioch. The entire *Nachleben* of Malalas is very complex and is closely linked to the issue of the various editions that circulated. On this, see further below and the contributions in JEFFREYS, *Studies in John Malalas*; M. DEBIÉ, *Jean Malalas et la tradition chronographique de langue syriaque*, in J. BEAUCAMP (ed.), *Recherches sur la chronique de Jean Malalas*, I (*Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. Monographies*, 15), Paris, 2004, pp. 147-164. John of Antioch's position in this tradition can thus not be determined without studying it entirely.

¹⁹ He follows SOTIROUDIS, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 43-50.

²⁰ TREADGOLD, *Historians*, p. 316 argues that John of Antioch and John Malalas both copied Eustathius. A forthcoming review of Treadgold's book by B. Croke (in *The English Historical Review*) strongly disputes that idea.

detail by Mariev,²¹ Roberto has sometimes reintroduced arguments that should have been laid to rest long ago, notably regarding the *excerpta Salmasiana*. Mariev, in turn, clearly is too radical in excising many excerpts that have been nominally ascribed to John but do not seem to meet his idea of what John of Antioch actually wrote. What use is it to have an edition of fragments that declares spurious a substantial portion of the tradition and simply leaves them out?

Whilst presenting widely diverging reconstructions of the work of John of Antioch, both collections are based on a similar methodological flaw, namely the failure to distinguish between collecting fragments and reconstructing a lost work. This is the more regrettable as this key distinction was made long ago in the foundational work in this line of research: Felix Jacoby's *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. In his introduction to the first volume, he stated the following: "Für den nachlass der einzelnen autoren war die selbstverständliche erwägung massgebend, dass eine fragment-sammlung nicht rekonstruieren kann und soll, sondern dass sie unter möglichster ausschaltung aller subjektiven ansichten die überlieferung vorzulegen hat. Damit ergab sich 1. die trennung der mit buchtitel oder buchzahl überlieferten von den nur mit autornamen versehenen bruchstücken, 2. die beschränkung auf die namentlich überlieferten fragmente. Beides erforderte überwindung; man kann wohl sagen, dass die schwierigste und unerfreulichste arbeit für den sammler nicht die entscheidung ist, was er aufnehmen soll, sondern der entschluss, was er weglassen muss"²². Similar positions were taken by an earlier generation of scholars, who emphasised that opinions about a lost author had to be based on the *Minimalbestand* of fragments nominally ascribed to that author²³. The reasons for such a method can be gauged from what Jacoby wrote in the preface to the second volume: "es ist doch eine banale wahrheit, daß in der mehrzahl der fälle die tradition, wie sie von den primären autoren geformt ist, bis sie zu den uns erhaltenen kompilationen gelangt, durch eine reihe von händen gegangen ist und zahlreiche, kleine oder große, tiefgehende oder oberflächliche veränderungen erfahren hat. die aufnahme unter bestimmtem namen ist nicht möglich, und noch weniger kurze hinweise im anhang oder in einem besonderen apparat zu den einzelnen büchern und fragmenten, ohne daß sicheres mit allen graden von unsicherem gemischt und der benutzer, der

²¹ MARIEV, *Neues and Cod. Paris. Gr. 1630*.

²² F. JACOBY, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker (FGrHist)*, I, *Genealogie und Mythographie*, Berlin, 1923, p. vi.

²³ W. NIETZOLD, *Die Überlieferung der Diadochengeschichte bis zur Schlacht von Ipsos*, Dresden, 1905, pp. 9-11; R. SCHUBERT, *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Diadochenzeit*, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 2-3.

schon im allgemeinen nur zu geneigt ist, solche sammlungen als autoritativ anzusehen, getäuscht wird über das maß dessen, was wir wissen und wissen können. ich kann hier nicht auf die methodischen fragen nach art und berechtigung unserer üblichen quellenkritik und dem nach der lage der sache jeweilig erreichbaren grad von sicherheit ihrer resultate eingehen. aber das glaube ich behaupten zu dürfen: diese sicherheit wird meist überschätzt²⁴.

In the light of these remarks it is easy to detect the crucial problems in the collections of both Roberto and Mariev. (1) The *Minimalbestand* should have been presented clearly to the reader. In this case, one must accept that in the tenth century there existed a work of John of Antioch, called *historia chronike* which ran from Creation to Phocas. Most of the other fragments, except for the *excerpta salmasiana I*, are ascribed to John on the basis of textual parallels with these core fragments but without explicit mention of him as being the author. One may hold the view, as does Mariev, that the “original” John only ran until 518 and did not include the Malalas material, but the reader should be presented with all the texts that the tradition ascribes to John. A commentary should assume the role of presenting one’s own tentative reconstruction. (2) Neither Mariev nor Roberto clearly distinguishes between nominally ascribed fragments and those that for various reasons have been ascribed to John. It is striking, for example, that, whereas only one fragment from the Suda is nominally ascribed to John (Δ 1000), both editors include a huge number of entries from the encyclopaedia (Roberto’s list has 13 pages, Mariev’s 5)²⁵. Sometimes the argument is simply linguistic or based on similarity in content²⁶. Whilst good arguments can be made for the closeness of Suda entries to John, including all these references on the same level in fragment collection is a sign of the overconfidence Jacoby warned for. Indeed, a good collection of fragments provides the reader with the material to form his own judgment, rather than imposing the editor’s view on the fragments. Scholars have disagreed with Jacoby’s interpretation of particular historians, but his collection of fragments still stands. (3) None of the two collections extensively reflects on the method of the excerptors²⁷. Yet the transmission of the fragments of John of Antioch is unique in that he is entirely

²⁴ F. JACOBY, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, II, *Zeitgeschichte*, A, *Universalgeschichte und Hellenika*, Berlin, 1926, pp. VI-VII.

²⁵ ROBERTO, *Fragmenta*, pp. LXXXIX-CI; MARIEV, *Ioannis fragmenta*, pp. 9*-13*.

²⁶ MARIEV, *Ioannis fragmenta*, p. 9*.

²⁷ Roberto has now made up for this. U. ROBERTO, *Byzantine Collections of Late Antique Authors: Some Remarks on the Excerpta historica constantiniana*, in W. WALLRAFF and R. MECELLA (edd.), *Die Kestoi des Julius Africanus und ihre Überlieferung (TU)*, 165), Berlin, 2009, pp. 71-84 and ROBERTO, *Research prospects*, pp. 117-119.

known through excerpt collections and not through citations by later authors²⁸. Excerpt collections pose specific problems: whilst suggesting that they accurately report the original text, they tend to abbreviate and may even partially rewrite the text²⁹. On the other hand, there often is a logic in their work: as Malcolm Errington has shown, the Constantinian excerptors tend to list the excerpts in the order in which they appeared in the original work, in this case the historian Malchus³⁰. Roberto, for example, ascribes not only the usual nr. 5-44 of the *excerpta planudea* to John of Antioch, but also nr. 2 (= Frg. 68)³¹. As far as I can tell, he does not explain if we hence have to see these *excerpta* as jumbled together (with nr. 1 and 3-4 coming from a different source). Confusingly, he admits that nr. 2 can only represent an indirect testimony to John of Antioch³². More and extensive reflection on excerpting, as is happening now on citation practices, is a precondition for a good edition.

LIVING TEXTS

In the previous section I have argued for the methodological distinction between collecting fragments and reconstructing the original work. In the case of John Antioch, the latter is fraught with serious difficulties, the major one being that the Constantinian excerpts run until Phocas, whilst showing up both a clear break after Anastasius in style and, apart from two one-sentence notes on Justinian and Justin II (Frg. 314 and 315 R), a complete

²⁸ ROBERTO, *Fragmenta*, pp. CLVII-CLXVIII traces John's *Nachleben* in Byzantine historiography. If one excludes the *excerpta salmasiana II*, as one should, it is not very grandiose: direct use is only plausible in the case of Nicephoros' *breviarum* and Theophanes' chronicle. ROBERTO, *Research prospects*, pp. 125-126 is more optimistic but he does not distinguish very clearly between direct use and indirect dependency.

²⁹ See the following recent work: E. PARMENTIER-MORIN, *Les fragments de Denys d'Halicarnasse attribués à Nicolas de Damas. Recherches sur la composition des excerpta constantiniens*, in S. PITTIA (ed.), *Fragments d'historiens grecs. Autour de Denys d'Halicarnasse (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 298)*, Paris, 2002, pp. 461-479; B. FLUSIN, *Les excerpta constantiniens. Logique d'une anti-histoire*, in PITTIA, *Fragments d'historiens grecs*, pp. 537-559; B. FLUSIN, *Les excerpta constantiniens et la chronographie de Jean Malalas*, in BEAUCAMP, *Recherches*, I, pp. 119-136.

³⁰ R. M. ERRINGTON, *Malchos von Philadelpheia, Kaiser Zenon und die zwei Theodoriche*, in *Museum Helveticum*, 40 (1983), pp. 82-110.

³¹ The attribution is based on a similarity with Frg. 57 (= *Suda* K 341), itself ascribed to John of Antioch because it corresponds to the *excerpta planudea* (ROBERTO, *Fragmenta*, p. XCIV), and on the possible use of sources and content that are similar to other fragments (p. CXI).

³² ROBERTO, *Fragmenta*, p. CXI.

silence until 602 (Frg. 316 R)³³. This is an important obstacle to anyone arguing that a single author composed the entire *historia chronike* that the Constantinian excerptors read³⁴. The solution Mariev proposes, to excise all fragments after 518, is equally problematic, as he is not really concerned with the fact that this does not eliminate the fact that in the tenth century the excerptors did possess a “John of Antioch” which ran until 610. I presume he supposes that updated versions circulated after John published his work³⁵. This only compounds the problem, rather than solving it: the version the Constantinian excerptors read is apparently the only one that is traceable in the sources, and hence potentially reconstructable.

We are thus faced with a particular conundrum: the extant fragments do not show the coherence of style that one would expect of a single author but on the other hand we can be sure that a work covering the history until 610 circulated under the name of John of Antioch. This is an important fact. Let us assume that Mariev is right in setting an end date for the “original” John in 518. This means that after 610 someone updated the chronicle and then circulated it again under the name John of Antioch. Recently a second continuation to 640 has been suggested, traceable in the *brevarium* of Nicephorus³⁶. This is a circulation pattern that we know well for anonymous chronicles: as R. Burgess has shown, for example, the *consularia constantinopolitana* were regularly updated in the fourth and fifth century and circulated all over the Mediterranean³⁷. Indeed, for anonymous texts, the stability that authorship lends to a text, is absent. Yet this tendency to change and update an existing chronicle did not remain limited to chronicles³⁸ and anonymous works. Some manuscripts of Jerome’s chronicle are interpolated and slightly developed, without identifying themselves as a new text composed by another author³⁹. If one looks close enough,

³³ MARIEV, *Neues*, pp. 537-539.

³⁴ ROBERTO, *Fragmenta*, p. XLIV argues on grounds of content: “ritengo che i caratteri storiografici costanti in tutta la *historia chronike* (in particolare l’insistenza sul tema della tyrannis), siano decisivi per assegnare questi testi a Giovanni di Antiochia.” Thematic links remain a rather weak argument. ROBERTO, *Research Prospects*, p. 118 suggests that a deficient copy was used for the Constantinian excerpts.

³⁵ MARIEV, *Neues*, p. 538, n. 20 seems to suggest this.

³⁶ J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Witnesses to a World Crisis. Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century*, Oxford, 2010, pp. 247-251.

³⁷ R. BURGESS, *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana: two contemporary accounts of the final years of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1993.

³⁸ The so-called Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, who composed a church history running from Genesis to 559/560, probably went through various reworkings: G. GREATREX (ed.), *The chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor. Church and War in Late Antiquity (Translated Texts for Historians, 55)*, Liverpool, 2011, p. 60.

³⁹ See the variants collected in A. SCHOENE, *Eusebii Chronicorum canonum quae supersunt*, Berlin, 1866.

there are sufficient signs to indicate that historiographical texts were not as stable in the early Byzantine period as we intuitively assume. The *Life of Origen* by Pamphilus and Eusebius clearly circulated in various versions in the early fifth century, still ascribed to both authors⁴⁰. One strand of the manuscript tradition of Socrates' church history has quite a different version of an episode from the life of John Chrysostom⁴¹. This has been plausibly interpreted as the insertion of the text of Socrates' source into his own narrative, presumably by a copyist⁴². Given the wide presence of the different version in the manuscript tradition, and the fact that the copyist had to have access to that source, this must have happened fairly early on. It has been argued that the so-called "new edition" of Eunapius' history was in fact interpolated version by Christian author, circulated under Eunapius' name⁴³. From the Latin world, one can cite the example of Isidore of Seville's *Historia Gothorum, Wandalorum et Sueborum*, which takes three forms in the manuscripts, dated between 611/612 and 635/636⁴⁴. Not all of them seem to represent Isidore's own work. The same may go for the *de viris illustribus*: an extended edition circulated under his name, but must postdate his death⁴⁵. We cannot simply dismiss all these phenomena as "interpolations", implying the intrusion of extraneous material into an original text and the possibility that it can be neatly excised in order to reconstitute the original. In absence of earlier versions, it would be very hard to clearly define the original core. We are thus coming close to a situation that scholars have detected much longer among so-called lesser genres, such as apocryphal gospels and hagiography: many of these texts can be dubbed "living", in the sense that they could often be rewritten and adapted to new needs⁴⁶. This is a situation that should not cause great wonder, even in the context of historiography: translations, such as that by Rufinus of Eusebius' church history, did not hesitate to summarise the original and add to

⁴⁰ P. VAN NUFFELEN, *Two fragments from the Apology for Origen in the Church History of Socrates Scholasticus*, in *JThS*, 56 (2005), pp. 103-114. One may wonder to what extent, for example, the various versions of the *Martyrs of Palestine* all were by the hand of Eusebius.

⁴¹ SOCRATES, *Historia ecclesiastica* 6.11.9-20.

⁴² M. WALLRAFF, *Der Kirchenhistoriker Sokrates. Untersuchungen zu Geschichtsdarstellung, Methode und Person (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, 68)*, Göttingen, 1997, pp. 65-66.

⁴³ A. BAKER, *Eunapius' nea ekdosis and Photius*, in *GRBS*, 29 (1988), pp. 389-402.

⁴⁴ T. MOMMSEN, *Chronica minora saec. IV, V, VI, VII*, vol. 2 (*MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi*, XI), Berlin, 1894, pp. 267-295.

⁴⁵ C. CODOÑER MERINO, *El "De viris illustribus" de Isidoro de Sevilla. Estudio y edicion crítica*, Salamanca, 1964.

⁴⁶ See, e.g., C. M. THOMAS, *The Acts of Peter, gospel literature, and the ancient novel: rewriting the past*, Oxford, 2003, pp. 87-105.

it⁴⁷. I wish to propose the idea that we should entertain the possibility that early Byzantine historiographical works, even when nominally authored, could be “living texts”, and that they thus could be reworked repeatedly by copyists or other authors and still continue to circulate under the name of their original author as in the examples given above⁴⁸.

This change of perspective may be helpful, as some early Byzantine works of history seem to have been rather unstable entities. The best-known of these, and in the context of John of Antioch also the most relevant, is John Malalas. The church historian Evagrius, writing in the 590s, explicitly states that his edition of “John the rhetor” ended in 526⁴⁹. The *chronicon paschale*, it has been argued, only uses Malalas until 533⁵⁰. The Slavonic translation breaks off in 528 (at 18.13), noting “here ends the Hellenic chronicle”⁵¹. The main but incomplete Greek manuscript breaks off in 563 and John of Ephesus knows of a version that runs until the death of Justinian (565)⁵². Finally, the so-called *laterculus malalianus*, a brief chronicle based on Malalas, contains the duration of imperial reigns down to 574. Moreover, there circulated briefer versions of the chronicle (the extant Greek tradition) and more extensive ones (illustrated in the so-called Tusculan fragments and the Slavonic version). Desirous to maintain the unity of authorship, scholarship has tried to distil an “original” edition out of these references, which ran to 528-533, and a second one which concluded with Justinian’s death, both written by the same person⁵³. While this orthodoxy still stands firm, it is not without its problems. It involves, for example, some special pleading: one has to explain away the explicit statements of Evagrius and the Slavonic translation, which indicate different endpoints for the chronicle (did the first edition end in 526 or 528?). Also, the style and content of the section on Justinian is different from the earlier books. Whereas the earlier focus is

⁴⁷ M. HUMPHRIES, *Rufinus’ Eusebius: translation, continuation, and edition in the Latin Ecclesiastical History*, in *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 16 (2008), pp. 143-164.

⁴⁸ The idea has been proposed before, relating to the editions of classical scholars used by Byzantine authors. See J. SCHAMP, *Flavius Josèphe et Photios: à propos d’une singulière lecture des Antiquités judaïques*, in *JÖB*, 32 (1982), pp. 185-196; J. SCHAMP, *Le Plutarque de Photios*, in *L’Antiquité Classique*, 64 (1995), pp. 155-184.

⁴⁹ EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS, *Historia ecclesiastica* 4.5.

⁵⁰ Michael WHITBY and Mary WHITBY, *Chronicon paschale 284-628 AD (Translated Texts for Historians, 6)*, Liverpool, 1989, pp. xv, xix and 128.

⁵¹ E. JEFFREYS, M. JEFFREYS, R. SCOTT, *The chronicle of John Malalas. A translation*, Sydney, 1986. Cf. FRANKLIN, *Malalas*, pp. 276-287.

⁵² E. JEFFREYS, *Malalas in Greek*, in JEFFREYS, *Studies in John Malalas*, pp. 245-268; WITAKOWSKI, *Malalas*, pp. 305-306.

⁵³ B. CROKE, *Malalas, the man and his work*, in JEFFREYS, *Studies in John Malalas*, pp. 1-26, here pp. 18-22.

Antiochean, it now becomes Constantinopolitan, and the style is simpler⁵⁴. There is, in addition, the remarkable fact that the same author would update his chronicle at least 32 years after the original publication. On any estimate of Malalas' life-span, this implies that the first version was a product of his youth, and the last one of old age. The peculiar nature of this fact is compounded by the preface. There the chronicler states that he narrates events "that took place in the time of the emperors, up till the events of my own life-time which came to my hearing, I mean indeed from Adam to the reign of Zeno and those who ruled afterwards"⁵⁵. The reference to Zeno (474-491) would suggest that John was at least born during his reign, making him over 75 when Justinian died. None of this is impossible, but it would be unique. There is no satisfactory answer to these questions. In the volume "Studies in Malalas", E. Jeffreys is willing to entertain the possibility of various early versions of the chronicle circulating⁵⁶ whilst Croke argues that continuous updating of the chronicle is unlikely given the fact that this is uncommon for lengthy chronicles⁵⁷.

The problems Malalas poses are similar to those raised by John of Antioch. Had we only had excerpts of Malalas, we would probably be having the same debate as with John Antioch: does the Justinianic material belong to the "original" chronicle or to a later continuation? In the case of Malalas it is possible that the same person is responsible for the two editions, whereas the century that may have been added to John of Antioch precludes that option. My suggestion here is that it may be helpful to abandon the strong concept of authorship that still underpins most discussions of early Byzantine histories, leading us to be willing to detect the hand of the original author in all versions that circulated. The modern concept of authorship, which links one original version with the original author, may explain well how an author thought of his relationship to his own work, but it seems not to do full justice to how early Byzantine readers and copyists dealt with the works that came into their hands. Clearly it was not uncommon to improve on or adapt an existing work without claiming authorship. This may explain the variety of versions of Malalas we notice in the sources and explain the discrepancies in the fragments of John of Antioch.

Even if one rejects the suggestion that histories could be "living texts", it is at least clear that historiographical works often circulated in various

⁵⁴ E. JEFFREYS, *Malalas' Sources*, in JEFFREYS, *Studies in John Malalas*, pp. 211-213 suggests that Malalas now had turned to a local chronicle from Constantinople.

⁵⁵ JEFFREYS, JEFFREYS, SCOTT, *The chronicle of John Malalas*, p. 1.

⁵⁶ JEFFREYS, *Sources*, p. 253.

⁵⁷ CROKE, *Malalas*, p. 20. We do now, in fact, of long chronicles being updated: Theophanes is a case in point.

versions, updated by the author himself or by some-one else. This has important consequences for scholars collecting fragments. It implies that in some cases the quest for the original may be very difficult, not to say illusory. We may state that the original Malalas and the original John of Antioch were the very first version that were produced. But that does not change the fact that other versions circulated which were also seen as the chronicle of Malalas or that of John of Antioch. When a work has been fragmentary transmitted, such a state of affairs may simply preclude the possibility of reaching conclusive results regarding the reconstruction of the work, as we may be dealing with various versions. This reinforces the need to heed Jacoby's advice and separate the reconstruction of the original from the collecting of fragments.

CONCLUSION

The preceding remarks do not wish to question the great effort and acumen invested by both Mariev and Roberto in their editions. Each offers a legitimate hypothetical reconstruction of the lost chronicle of John of Antioch. Both fail, however, in not distinguishing that reconstruction, which cannot but be hypothetical, from the task of collecting fragments, which must aim at presenting the *Minimalbestand*. Then one can add, if one wishes to do so, texts that with different degrees of uncertainty can be ascribed to John⁵⁸. Such a procedure would not only give the reader clear insight in the transmission and provenance of the texts but also in the problems that it poses. It would also help to demonstrate to both editor and reader that any reconstruction is essentially uncertain and may create new problems while trying to solve others. The tenacity with which both editors have dug themselves in their trenches⁵⁹ shows that the self-criticism and self-doubt Jacoby urged on every editor of fragments still has to dawn on them and that their reconstructions are so intricate that if one questions one element the entire house comes down. If, however, this debate prompts us to heed the wise advice of Jacoby and to raise our awareness of the complex, "living" nature of early Byzantine works of history, then something positive will have come out of it.

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⁵⁸ PASCHOUD, *Chronique*, p. 332 regrets the fact that all fragments are presented as if based on the same level of certainty in Roberto's edition.

⁵⁹ MARIEV, *Neues* and ROBERTO, *Research prospects* merely restate their own views.

SUMMARY

Prompted by the recent publication of two conflicting editions of John of Antioch, this paper raises two methodological issues. First, it is pointed out that both editions are unsatisfactory because they fail to apply the methodology tried and tested by F. Jacoby in his *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. No distinction is made between collecting fragments and reconstructing the work, nor is the *Minimalbestand* of fragments presented in a clear and unambiguous way to the reader. Second, the paper suggests that the discussion is vitiated by a lack of reflection on the basic notions with which the research is conducted. In particular, the question is raised if it is in every case possible to identify the original text as composed by its author and it is suggested that the concept of “living text”, indicating that a text could be adapted and changed by successive readers and copyists, should also be extended to early Byzantine historiography. In other words, the quest for the “original” John of Antioch may be ultimately doomed to fail.

AT A STILL POINT OF A TURNING WORLD:
PRIVACY AND ASCETICISM IN GREGORY
OF NYSSA'S *LIFE OF ST. MACRINA*

Among the Christians of Late Antiquity, the literature on people who managed to surpass common standards and rise above their nature made for particularly fascinating reading. Thus, both the *Passions* of the early Christian martyrs and the stories of anchorites in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria were texts which enjoyed immense popularity. Rather than to chronicle any such epic, Gregory of Nyssa chose to narrate the story of a woman who never got married and spent the greatest part of her life isolated in Pontus. This was his sister Macrina, whose biography he used as a springboard in order to talk about his entire family, notably one of the most illustrious at the time¹. It is therefore no surprise that only a brief part of his narrative focused on Macrina's public image.

In the *Letter on the life of Makrina* (BHG 1012, CPG 3166; henceforth *V. Macr.*) no word is said about the town, the *agora* or the desert; life is set in the sequestered female quarters. In addition, only passing reference is made to the historical events of the time, and only in relation to the author himself². Furthermore, unlike the *Passions* of the martyrs and the literature on the anchorites of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, Gregory's narrative was not filled with descriptions of horrendous torture or of heroic resistance against demons and temptation. What he wrote about was the enduring patience of silent grief. In this way, Gregory shifted the transcendence of human nature from the outside to the inside, from the obvious to the unseen and ultimately from actions to beliefs. Thus he attempted to introduce a discrete example of Christian asceticism, that turned attention to the private life. It is suggestive that as portrayed in her *vita*, Macrina did not try to restrict her flesh by fasting, but to harness her spirit by controlling her passions.

This article examines the secret identities that private lives constitute in the *Life of Macrina* and places them in the body of Gregory of Nyssa's

¹ See the critical edition of P. MARAVAL, *Grégoire de Nysse. Vie de sainte Macrine* (SC, 178), Paris, 1971. A new English translation is available in A. M. SILVAS, *Macrina the Younger, Philosopher of God* (*Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts*, 22), Turnhout, 2008.

² Gregory mentions his participation in the Synod of Antioch in the proem of the *Life* (1. 6-10, p. 138) and in the ch. 15, where he is about to describe the visit to his dying sister (15. 1-5, p. 190).

works and in the general context of late antique Christian literature. After discussing how Macrina and the other members of her family are depicted in it, I shall argue that in writing his sister's spiritual biography Gregory of Nyssa sought to set an exemplar of ascetic life alternative to anachoretism and monasticism; a kind of life that would be more friendly to the values and lifestyle of the Greco-Roman cities.

CONSTRUCTING MACRINA

Already in the foreword of his work, Gregory was explicit about his method: in an oft-quoted passage he stated that it is not proper to refer to Macrina as a woman, with regard to her female nature, because she had risen above her nature (*V. Macr.*, 1.14-17 [p. 140]). This was a common way to distinguish between the world which is obvious to all and the world which only a select few can discern³. Besides that, Macrina's transcendence indicates that her example concerns not only Christian women but men as well.

In the next paragraph, Gregory's text becomes more specific. His opening word served to state the name of his heroine: Macrina (*V. Macr.*, 2.1 [p. 142]). Though hardly significant, this name was invested with history and value: Macrina was the name of their paternal grandmother, who had been distinguished during the persecutions and was, in the words of Gregory of Nazianzus, a *living martyr*⁴. Nonetheless, the era of the martyrs had passed following the ascension of Constantine to the imperial throne. While the name and fame may have filled Macrina the Elder's grandchildren with pride for their family history, they knew that its repute currently amounted to little, and would amount to less still in the days to come⁵. That is why

³ Basil of Caesarea speaks in a similar way about the martyr Julitta, *PG* 31, 237A-C; likewise Gregory of Nazianzus says that his mother was $\theta\eta\lambda\upsilon\varsigma\ \tau\acute{o}\ \sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha,\ \tau\acute{o}\nu\ \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\nu\ \delta'\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$: *De vita sua*, ed. Chr. JUNGCK, *Gregor von Nazianz. De vita sua (Wissenschaftliche Kommentare zu griechischen und lateinischen Schriftstellern)*, Heidelberg, 1974, v. 60 (p. 56). On the significance of this linguistic choices, see V. E. F. HARRISON, *Male and Female in Cappadocian Theology*, in *JThS*, N.S. 41 (1990), pp. 423-471, esp. pp. 446-452 and M. LUDLOW, *Gregory of Nyssa. Ancient and (Post)modern*, Oxford, 2007, pp. 207-210.

⁴ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43, 5.9, ed. J. BERNARDI (*SC*, 384), Paris, 1992, p. 126.

⁵ Basil of Caesarea experienced the indifference towards the glory of the era of the martyrs when he tried to expand his authority over the church of Neocaesarea, after the death of the bishop Musonius (271). In a consolation letter addressed to the inhabitants of the city, he stressed the connection between his family and the city's history, and he reminded them of the devotion of his grandmother to Gregory Thaumaturgus, the great saint of the region, but failed to change their mind; cf. Ph. ROUSSEAU, *Basil of Caesarea (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage)*, 20), Berkeley and Oxford, 1994, pp. 12-13 and 270-278. On Gregory

Gregory hastens to add that Macrina also had a second, hidden name. This is not immediately revealed, as the author goes on to introduce his mother Emmeleia, also a woman of high virtue⁶. Emmeleia had been orphaned at a very young age, and, despite her devotion to a life of chastity, she had been forced to marry in order to secure a protector of her life and honour (*V. Macr.*, 2.8-20 [p. 144]). As it turns out, this information about their mother is not inserted accidentally before the revelation of his sister's secret name, since this name was closely associated with her.

Everything began with a vision (*V. Macr.*, 2.21-30 [pp. 144-146]): Shortly before giving birth to Macrina, Emmeleia had dreamt of holding her yet unborn child in her hands and a supernatural being instructing her to name the child Thecla. St. Thecla was a very beautiful girl from Iconium, whose relationship with her pagan mother was severed when she chose not to marry and to follow St. Paul instead. She was thus duly considered a protector of women who had devoted themselves to virginity⁷. Towards the end of the narrative, Gregory noted that the name Thecla was not intended as a calling name for his sister, but rather as a signification of the way of life that she was to lead (*V. Macr.*, 2.31-4 [p. 148]) – the life their mother would have wanted to lead as well, I might venture to add.

In the years that followed, the daughter of Basil the Elder and Emmeleia lived a double life. On the one hand, she lived a public life as Macrina, a life which obeyed her father's wish that she follow the tradition and extend the family line. On the other hand, she led a secret life as Thecla, a choice which originated in the profound wishes of her mother and which prepared her to devote herself to a life of chastity, and thus breaking with family tradition. Strikingly enough, although Gregory refrained from mentioning this explicitly, it can be deduced from the narrative that Emmeleia did not reveal the secret even to her husband, Basil the Elder.

Not much is known about the father of Macrina, Basil of Caesarea, and Gregory of Nyssa. We do know that he was a devout Christian, a distinguished orator, and a famous teacher of rhetoric in the region. Rhetoric was a profession that required substantial social skills. A successful orator needed a wide network of friends, including imperial officials and wealthy

Thaumaturgus' life, work, and image, see R. VAN DAM, *Hagiography and History: The Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus*, in *Classical Antiquity*, 1 (1982), pp. 272-308 and B. CLAUSI and V. MILAZZO (eds.), *Il giusto che fiorisce come palma: Gregorio il Taumaturgo fra storia e agiografia. Atti del Convegno di Staletti (CZ) 9-10 Novembre 2002 (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum, 104)*, Rome, 2007.

⁶ R. VAN DAM's account on Emmeleia is instructive: *Family and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, Philadelphia, 2003, pp. 99-103.

⁷ See St. J. DAVIS, *The Cult of St. Thecla. A Tradition of Women's Piety in Late Antiquity (Oxford Early Christian Studies)*, Oxford, 2001.

landlords, as well as merchants, artisans and men from the middle and lower social strata. It goes without saying that he would have lived in the city and moved about in the marketplace – orators were urban figures. In other words, Basil the Elder's profession contradicted any form of Christian ascetic or philosophical life, the ideal which Emmeleia aspired for their daughter.

Emmeleia disapproved of her husband's profession. She believed that the values and models propounded by pagan writers were incompatible with Christian ethics. That is why the readings of Macrina, who was under Emmeleia's care, were confined to the Scriptures⁸. By the same vein, Basil of Caesarea also admitted that he only became acquainted with pagan literature after he reached adolescence and once his education was undertaken by his father⁹. While he was under his mother's supervision, he had been taught nothing but stories from the Holy Bible.

Furthermore, when her husband died and once she was relieved from family affairs, Emmeleia, together with her daughter Macrina and her younger son Peter, moved to a family estate in Pontus, which may be taken as a point to her scepticism for Basil's overall way of life¹⁰.

To return to the previous discussion, Basil the Elder's behaviour seems to suggest that his wife never shared her secret vision with him. So, he started looking for a husband for Macrina as soon as she came of age (*V. Macr.*, 4.13-18 [pp. 152-154]). His family was prosperous hence there was no shortage of potential suitors. According to Gregory of Nyssa, suitors approached both parents but it was the father who made a decision (*V. Macr.*, 4.13-19 [pp. 152-154]).

Although both women, Emmeleia and Macrina, were aware of the father's actions, they did not express any desire, agreement, or disagreement. They just accepted his decision as good and faithful wives and daughters would

⁸ This portrait of a secular illiterate Macrina contradicts the Socratic Macrina of *De anima et resurrectione* which modern scholars have challenged. See, for example, S. ELM, *Virgins of God. The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity (Oxford Classical Monographs)*, Oxford, 1994, pp. 41-43. It seems that Gregory modified the real facts of Macrina's life so as to fit them in his writing program – as Athanasius of Alexandria did in the *Life of Anthony*, see D. BRAKKE, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, Baltimore, 1982, p. 203. Nevertheless, Macrina's education became a model of a Christian education, S. RUBENSON, *Philosophy and Simplicity. The Problem with Classical Education in Early Christian Biography*, in T. HÄGG and Ph. ROUSSEAU with the assistance of Chr. HØGEL (eds.), *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity (Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 31)*, Berkeley and London, 2000, pp. 124-129.

⁹ Basil of Caesarea, *Epistula* 223.24-40, ed. Y. COURTONNE, *Saint Basile, Lettres*, III, Paris, 1966, p. 12.

¹⁰ A. M. SILVAS, *The Asketikon of St. Basil the Great (Oxford Early Christian Studies)*, Oxford, 2005, pp. 64-68.

do at that time. A puzzling behaviour as Gregory described his sister as a martyr (*V. Macr.*, 19.11-15 [p. 154]). Her body may have not suffered from tortures or have been eaten by wild beasts, but it still carried the scar to prove its holiness¹¹. Martyrs were famous for standing up for their beliefs and lifestyle, which they defended even against their parents. St. Perpetua, for instance, this young woman from Carthage, defied her pagan father's suggestions to deny Christianity and chose instead to dye as a martyr¹². The case of St. Barbara was similar¹³. In other words, Macrina's stance was at odds with the tradition of the early Christian martyrs, thereby creating a new model of suffering based on her obedience, closer to the more ancient traditions of the Greco-Roman city.

Once the suitor that her father had selected died unexpectedly, Macrina, decreeing his choice to be married, announced that she wished to remain faithful to the young man's memory (*V. Macr.*, 5.1-5 [p. 154]). This was little more than a ruse, a logical artifice which she resorted to, since there had been no official engagement. Gifts had not been exchanged between Macrina and her husband to be¹⁴, let alone a wedding. The only fact was her father's decision. Nevertheless, Gregory's sister used this argument to fend off proposals from suitors who kept approaching her (*V. Macr.*, 5.5-16 [pp. 154-56]). We do not know how Basil the elder reacted to this, because he died either shortly after or immediately before the young man. All in all, Gregory's account is anything but clear regarding this point.

So, even though both deaths, that of Basil the Elder and that of her husband-to-be, allowed Macrina to devote herself freely to her life of choice, she nevertheless continued to lead two lives: the public life of a widow and the secret life of a virgin and a daughter devoted to her mother¹⁵.

¹¹ On Macrina's scar and its significance, see G. FRANK, *Macrina's Scar: Homeric Allusion and Heroic Identity in Gregory of Nyssa's Life of Macrina*, in *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 8 (2000), pp. 511-530, V. BURRUS, *Macrina's Tattoo*, in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 33 (2003), pp. 403-417 and *The Sex Lives of Saints. An Erotics of Ancient Hagiography*, Philadelphia, 2004, pp. 69-76.

¹² *Passion de Perpétue et de Félicité suivi des Actes*, ed. J. AMAT (SC, 417), Paris, 1996.

¹³ *Passion des saints Ecaterine et Pierre d'Alexandrie, Barbara et Anyisia*, ed. J. VITEAU, Paris, 1897.

¹⁴ On the importance of exchanging gifts in the Roman engagement, see A. ARJAVA, *Women and Law in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 1996, pp. 54-56. S. ELM assumes that a preliminary contract was signed: *Virgins of God*, p. 43, n. 46; for her reconstruction of the events, see pp. 42-47.

¹⁵ For widows' special position in the Church, see G. CLOKE, "This Female Man of God". *Women and Spiritual Power in the Patristic Age A.D. 350-450*, London, 1995, pp. 82-99, and ELM, *Virgins of God*, pp. 166-183; ARJAVA, *Women and Law*, pp. 167-172, and Ch. METHUEN's discussion in *The Virgin Widow: A Problematic Social Role for the Early Church?*, in *Harvard Theological Review*, 90 (1997), pp. 285-298.

Emmeleia was her assistant in this¹⁶. In Gregory of Nyssa's representation, she had already begun to lead two lives as well: on the one hand a public life as a respectable widow and mother of nine children, and on the other, a secret ascetic life, originally as Macrina's guide and protector, but eventually as her disciple¹⁷. She would admit that she no longer devoted much time to her children and that their upbringing was overseen by Macrina. In fact, it was the elder sister who took full responsibility for the youngest child of the family, Peter, who was born after his father's death¹⁸. Thus, while Emmeleia fulfilled her childhood dream and led the life of a virgin, Macrina, according to Gregory, was to become a father, a teacher, a tutor, a mother, and a counsellor to her siblings (*V. Macr.*, 12.13-14 [p. 182])¹⁹.

A FAMILY PORTRAIT

Gregory's narrative does not limit itself to the two women. It also reveals the secret lives that other members of his family led and the hidden identities they had, while mentioning nothing of their public life.

The most striking example of his method of choice refers to Basil the Great. Gregory only describes the brief and relatively unknown period between his return from Athens and his devotion to the Church (*V. Macr.*, 6 [pp. 160-164])²⁰. This was the time when his brother worked as a teacher of rhetoric in Caesarea, following his father's example. Macrina felt that

¹⁶ Late antique Syriac hagiography provides us with examples of others and daughters who led a common ascetic life together. These stories share some similarities with the *Life of Macrina* (i.e. the women do not want to be separated from each other), but they have considerable differences in the scope, the angle and the purpose of the narration. For example, the Syriac stories focus on the public image of this relationship and neglect the private interaction, while Gregory does exactly the opposite. For the portrayal of mothers and daughters in Syriac hagiography of the fifth and sixth centuries, see S. ASHBROOK HARVEY, *Sacred Bonding: Mothers and Daughters in Early Syriac Hagiography*, in *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 4 (1996), pp. 27-56.

¹⁷ The secret, ascetic relationship between Macrina and Emmeleia is very similar to the one Thecla and her adopted mother, Tryphaena, had. Tryphaena was Thecla's protector and disciple.

¹⁸ According to Gregory this was the reason why Peter was given the nickname "orphan", *V. Macr.*, 12. 4-5 (p. 182).

¹⁹ J. BURMAN, *Death and Gender in Late Antiquity: A Case Study of the Death of Saint Macrina*, in L. LARSSON LOVÉRÉN and A. STRÖMBERG (eds.), *Gender, Cult, and Culture in the Ancient World from Mycenae to Byzantium. Proceedings of the Second Nordic Symposium on Gender and Women's History in Antiquity. Helsinki 20-22 October 2000 (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature. Pocket-Books, 166)*, Sävedalen, 2003, p. 143, remarks that taking care of her siblings made Macrina virtuous in a traditional way.

²⁰ For this period of Basil's life see ROUSSEAU, *Basil of Caesarea*, pp. 40-44 and 61-62.

this profession exacerbated his arrogance and, much like Emmeleia had disapproved of their father, she disapproved of her brother's professional choices. Moreover, according to Gregory of Nyssa, Macrina was the person who convinced him to abandon this career and turn to a philosophical life of manual labour. As has been pointed out, this manual work was of cardinal importance in Basil's monastic system²¹. Consequently, as Gregory claimed, Macrina was the source of inspiration and the guiding force behind the ascetic model that would make their brother famous.

On the one hand, Gregory thus publicizes a more private period of the life of a well-known man, who excelled in public life, and, on the other hand, he reveals his hidden relationship with Macrina and his secret priorities²². It was on this account, his sister's advice and guidance, that Basil became great. Macrina was therefore his teacher at least at that initial stage of his career.

There is one more reference to Basil in his sister's biography. Gregory describes the impact that the news of his death had on her; we are told that she was saddened greatly and – he adds – that came as no surprise since Basil's death was lamented even by his enemies (*V. Macr.*, 14.10-14 [p. 188])²³. This rationalization sounds odd and makes one wonder about the relations between the two siblings at that time²⁴. Yet Gregory considers Macrina's mourning for Basil as the third and final stage of her spiritual fulfilment. The preceding two stages were her mourning for her mother and for her brother Naucratus. Significantly enough, both her suitor and her father are absent from this list.

Naucratus was Emmeleia and Basil the Elder's second son (*V. Macr.*, 8-9 [pp. 164-172]). He was slightly younger than Basil of Caesarea, but he too had studied extensively before starting his career as an orator. Gregory was full of praise for his brother's rhetorical skills: he knew how to charm the crowds and inspire them with enthusiasm; yet, despite his great success, he soon gave up his career and withdrew to the family estate, where he would indulge in his favourite hobby, hunting. Gregory seizes the opportunity to restore his brother's image: we are told that, despite appearances, Naukratios

²¹ On the Basilian monastic system, see Th. ŠPIDLIK, *L'idéal du monachisme basilien*, in P. J. FEDWICK, *Basil of Caesarea. Christian, Humanist, Ascetic*, I, Toronto, 1981, pp. 360-374, and ROUSSEAU, *Basil of Caesarea*, pp. 190-232.

²² Macrina receives no mention at all in Basil's writings and the same holds for the latter's dear friend Gregory of Nazianzus, who composed an epigram on Macrina (SILVAS, *Macrina the Younger*, pp. 79-82), but gave her no credit when referring to Basil's spiritual life. SILVAS, *Macrina the Younger*, pp. 55-78, has compiled and translated what of Basil's works may refer to Macrina implicitly.

²³ VAN DAM, *Families and Friends*, pp. 65-67.

²⁴ On the relationship between Basil and Macrina, see ROUSSEAU, *Basil of Caesarea*, pp. 9-11 and 62-65.

was hardly an eccentric rich lad. When he was in Pontus, he devoted himself to a philosophical life. Apart from that to Macrina, Emmeleia was providing guidance to him as well at this point, and hunting was not a pastime but rather a means to feed the poor and infirm old people who lived nearby. His premature death (he was killed in a hunting accident) grieved the family, but also revealed Macrina's moral fortitude. Whereas Emmeleia was devastated by the news of Naucratius' death, Macrina remained calm, despite of the fact that her grief equalled Emmeleia's. She managed to teach her mother patience and bravery (*ἀνδρεία*) (*V. Macr.*, 10.20-21 [p. 174]), thereby becoming her counselor in life (*V. Macr.*, 11.5-6 [p. 174])²⁵.

In sum, the death of Naucratius was a turning point in the lives of the two women, but it worked in different ways for each of them. For Emmeleia it was a conversion experience. After her son's death she changed her *modus vivendi* and embraced the philosophical life under her daughter's authority. Macrina, on the other hand, did not really change anything in her way of life. As regards her, Naucratius' death gave the opportunity to the *world* – i.e., her mother, her brother Peter and most probably their servants or some of them – to realize and accept her spiritual power. Therefore, Macrina was an exception to the late antique canon, which expected holy men and women to have a conversion experience before adopting the philosophical life²⁶. Macrina lived in the same hidden and underground ascetic way from her conception to her death²⁷.

Gregory does not miss the opportunity to reveal an aspect of his own hidden life and provide a masterful self-portrayal. In the second part of the *Life of St. Macrina* (*V. Macr.*, 15-39 [pp. 190-267]), Gregory describes Macrina's final days which he had the opportunity to witness. The Synod of Antioch, which he had attended, had just ended and he had decided to pay a brief visit to his sister. This came about at the time following the death of Basil, when Gregory's reputation reached its peak: he was a leading theologian of the anti-Arian party, a famous orator, and a Father of the Church. Nevertheless, according to his account from the moment when he set foot on his sister's retreat, he was transformed into a humble student. He sat by the dying woman and listened to her teaching about the afterlife, the

²⁵ See also ELM, *Virgins of God*, pp. 87-88.

²⁶ For example, Basil of Caesarea (*Epistula* 223.2; edition, p. 10) had a vision that made him change his views and priorities and adopt the ascetic life; ROUSSEAU, *Basil of Caesarea*, pp. 17-18 and 21-22. Gregory of Nazianzus was dedicated to God from his mother's womb, but he had a similar vision during his voyage from Alexandria to Rhodes, see J. A. MCGUCKIN, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus. An Intellectual Biography*, Crestwood (New York), 2001, pp. 48-55.

²⁷ On Macrina's and Emmeleia's ascetic household see Ph. ROUSSEAU, *The Pious Household and the Virgin Chorus: Reflections on Gregory of Nyssa's Life of Macrina*, in *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 13 (2005), pp. 165-186, and SILVAS, *Asketikon*, pp. 71-83.

Resurrection, the immortality of the soul, the signification of the Eucharist, and even their family history, that is, all what he describes in the *Life of Macrina*. What is more, he accepted her admonitions without protest. Even after her death Gregory remained a student of the other virgins who had been companions to his sister. Despite being a bishop and the brother of the deceased, he took no personal initiative, but merely followed instructions and listened. Listened and learned. Indeed, for all his reputation, his theological treatises, his work on the hermeneutic tradition and catechism, Gregory of Nyssa was but a student of his sister to the very end.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SECRECY

In the *Life of Macrina* Gregory offers women as well as men a new model of ascetic devotion. As a hagiographer, he did not just seek to preserve the memory of a Holy Man or a Holy Woman or to eulogize their own piety, but he also set an exemplum for the faithful²⁸. The *Life of St. Anthony the Great* by Athanasius of Alexandria was already considered, as Gregory of Nazianzus put it, a “legislation of solitary life in a narrative form”²⁹. However, this ascetic model, which conformed to the lifestyle of the Egyptian peasants, was very difficult to follow for anyone with a different background. On the other side, Basilian coenobitic asceticism, although it constructed communities enrolled in the contexture of the Church and in close connection to the world, also demanded the would-be monk to withdraw from the world, i.e. his family, his town, his job, and all the norms of the life of the Greco-Roman city. There was, however, a kind of ascetic practice ascribed to lay Christians who practised sexual renunciation, fasting, charity, and the study of the Scriptures³⁰, but the lifestyle of the city dwellers, married men and women, faithful children of the Church that gave birth to and raised new Christians, was seen with contempt by the contemporary heroes of the faith and it was thought that it could not ensure salvation³¹.

²⁸ See D. KRUEGER, *Writing and Holiness: The Practice of Authorship in the Early Christian East*, Philadelphia, 2004.

²⁹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 21, 5.6-7, ed. J. MOSSAY (SC, 270), Paris, 1980, p. 118.

³⁰ BRAKKE, *Athanasius*, pp. 182-200.

³¹ E. A. CLARK, *Antifamilial Tendencies in Ancient Christianity*, in *Journal of The History of Sexuality*, 5 (1995), pp. 356-390, and P. BROWN, *The Body and Society. Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, New York, 1998, pp. 83-102. P. Brown also reports the defence of the marriage by the Church Fathers at many points in his book. On the “profamilial attitude” see R. KRAWIEC, *From the Womb of the Church: Monastic Families*, in *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 11 (2003), pp. 283-307.

This was no doubt a problem with wide and significant implications. Basil of Caesarea recognized it and assigned his younger brother, who was a married man³², to write a treatise that would put the matter of virginity and marriage on a new basis. Gregory of Nyssa's *On Virginity* deconstructs both the traditional late antique virtues attached to marriage (companionship and procreation) and what Nissen considers to be the misconceptions attached to Christian virginity (...) Moreover, Gregory then *reconstructs* both marriage – as the context for a virtuous life of service (*leitourgia*) – and virginity, through the encomium to Basil's selfless, service-oriented celibacy"³³

Yet Gregory of Nyssa said his last word on virginity, ascetic devotion, family, and worldly life when he wrote the story of his sister. Gregory chose his subject very carefully. In the wondrous biography of Anthony Athanasius of Alexandria set forth a novel way of life, talked about a new city and highlighted his hero's contribution to the struggle against Arianism³⁴. Roughly the same subject was at the disposal of every biographer of Basil of Caesarea, Gregory's brother³⁵. On the other hand, rather than in some desert, Macrina attained spiritual perfection in her own household, in the company of her mother and friends, by suffering the tribulations of everyday life without complaint and by finding ways to thank God in notwithstanding hardship and sorrow³⁶.

Thus nothing of what Macrina said or did is in contrast with the values, the ideals or the customs of the Greco-Roman city. Quite the opposite: unlike the lives of other Christian ascetics, male or female, and most important, unlike the life of her protector St. Thekla³⁷, Macrina's life has nothing

³² On this matter see J. DANIELOU, *Mariage de Grégoire de Nysse à travers les lettres de saint Basile et de saint Grégoire de Nazianze*, in *VigChr*, 19 (1965), pp. 31-41.

³³ V. E. KARRAS, *A Re-evaluation of Marriage, Celibacy and Irony in Gregory of Nyssa's On Virginity*, in *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 13 (2005), p. 112. LUDLOW, *Gregory of Nyssa*, pp. 182-201, offers an excellent analysis of Gregory's concept of virginity and reviews the modern readings.

³⁴ Athanasius of Alexandria, *Life of Anthony*, ed. G. J. M. BARTELINK (SC, 400), Paris, 1994. For the significance of the *Life*, see T. HÄGG, *The Life of St Anthony between Biography and Hagiography*, in St. EFTHYMIADIS (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, I, *Periods and Places*, Farnham, 2011, pp. 17-34. For the question of authorship see T. D. BARNES, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History (Tria corda, 5)*, Tübingen, 2010, pp. 160-170.

³⁵ Ph. ROUSSEAU, Basil's modern biographer, elaborated on these themes in his *Basil of Caesarea*.

³⁶ S. WARREN SMITH, *A Just and Reasonable Grief: The Death and function of a Holy Woman in Gregory of Nyssa's Life of Macrina*, in *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 12 (2004), esp. pp. 68-78.

³⁷ The writer of the *Life of Thekla* in many occasions underlined the unconventional attitude of his heroine, i.e. *Vie et Miracles de Sainte Thècle*, 3.11-14 and 3.19-25, ed. G. DAGRON (SH, 63), Brussels, 1978.

novel and revolutionary for the outside beholder. Macrina seems to live like every late antique widow or unmarried woman. She did not make great and passionate gestures like, for instance, Melania the Elder, who, after her husband's death, left her son to the urban praetor's charge and traveled around the great monastic centers of her time³⁸; or Matrona of Constantinople, who abandoned her husband and young daughter to enter a male monastery cross-dressed as a eunuch³⁹. She pushed away her will and wishes and hid her perfection in order to follow the conventions of everyday life. Unlike the old Thekla, the "new one" obeyed her parents and remained in her family; in there and from there she practised her charity and apostolic work⁴⁰.

By and large Macrina harks back to the example of the patient Penelope, the traditional model of female virtue, rather than to the decisive, independent, and radical Thekla⁴¹. This is the reason why the references to her stop once the story of Macrina's name has been told: Thekla is a symbol of Christian female virtue and is thus used to prepare the reader for what is to be read next. It is not a paradigm. In a sense, this would have been relieving for the conservative townsmen and everyone who was fond of the values of the old Greco-Roman city.

In any case, it seems that, more than anything else, when writing the *Letter on the life of Macrina*, Gregory of Nyssa had in mind the *Letter on Anthony*. Apart from their common epistolary form, parallels and differences between them are very instructive⁴².

Athanasius' Anthony was an ordinary Copt; there was nothing exceptional about him, nothing to distinguish him from the other Christians of his village, until he decided to change his life (*V. Anton.*, 1, [p. 130]). Macrina, as portrayed by Gregory, was an exceptional child and a prophetic dream foretold her inclination even before she was born (*V. Macr.*, 2.21-34 [pp. 144-148]). Both of them lacked any secular education according to their biographers – Anthony did not even know how to read (*V. Anton.*, 1.2-3 [p. 130]), while Macrina did (*V. Macr.*, 3 [pp. 148-150]). They both were obedient as children, Anthony to his parents (Athanasius did not discriminate between father and mother), while Macrina had a special bond with her mother and initially followed her instructions (*V. Anton.*, 1.2-3 [p. 130]). Anthony lost his parents

³⁸ Palladius, *Storia Lausiaca*, 118, ed. G. J. M. BARTELINK, Verona, 1974.

³⁹ AASS Nov. III, pp. 786-823.

⁴⁰ VAN DAM, *Family and Friends*, p. 105 and W. E. HELLEMAN, *Cappadocian Macrina as Lady Wisdom*, in *Studia Patristica*, 37 (2001), pp. 95-99.

⁴¹ HELLEMAN, *Cappadocian Macrina*, pp. 98-99. On the Homeric motifs in the *Life of Macrina* see FRANK, *Macrina's Scar*, pp. 511-530.

⁴² A. E. D. VAN LOVEREN's comparison of the two *Lives* (*Once again: "the monk and the martyr": St. Anthony and St. Macrina*, in *Studia Patristica*, 17/2 (1982), pp. 528-538, addresses only the evolution of the spiritual martyrdom in Christian thought.

when he was 18-20 years old, Macrina was a year or two younger when her father died (*V. Anton.*, 2.1 [p. 132]). Anthony had a conversion experience (*V. Anton.*, 2.5 [pp. 132-134]), whereas Macrina lived a prescribed life. Anthony released himself from family responsibilities when he divested his property and placed his sister among the faithful virgins (*V. Anton.*, 2.4-3.1 [pp. 132-136]); Macrina, on the contrary, helped her mother to increase the family wealth and became a mother to her siblings (*V. Macr.*, 5.39-43 [p. 160]; 11.1-5 [p. 174]; 12.1-21 [pp. 180-182]). Sexuality was not their own inner need, but rather an outside temptation: Anthony *fought* the demons (*V. Anton.*, 5-6 [pp. 142-148]), whereas Macrina *resisted* the suitors who asked to marry her (*V. Macr.*, 5.15-18 [pp. 154-156]). Anthony left his home and village to practise his ascetic discipline pursuing loneliness, while Macrina moved deeper in to her house and came in closer connection with her family and friends. They both attained spiritual perfection gradually: whereas Anthony made himself known to the world (*V. Anton.*, 14 [pp. 172-74]), Macrina's perfection was revealed only to her mother and family and later to her companions (*V. Macr.*, 10.1 [p. 172]). Finally, Anthony's asceticism created a new city, Macrina's preserved the old.

Gregory of Nyssa records the *Life of Macrina* as an example of an alternative ascetic life. An example which is not antithetical but parallel to the *Life of Anthony*, as the city of the desert existed next to the cities of the world. He wanted to legislate a new Christian life in narrative form alongside his theoretical treatises; an essay which would be both plausible and easy to understand, while re-assessing his anthropology and theology. And he had the ambition that his work would have the impact Athanasius' had.

Secrecy, i.e., the double identities, though a crucial element of this way of life, was hardly a new concept; in the funeral orations for his siblings Gregory of Nazianzus claimed that they also maintained double identities by leading a secret ascetic life⁴³. Jesus Christ himself had a double nature, a human one that was visible to everyone and a divine one for the selected few. But, whereas Gregory of Nazianzus used secrecy to praise Caesarius' and Gorgonia's Christian perfection, in the *Life of Macrina* secrecy became a method that transformed the conventions of the common life – obedience to the father's decisions, faithfulness to her husband, assistance to her mother, etc. – into a new method of *ascesis*⁴⁴. In fact, Macrina's multiple

⁴³ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orationes* 7 and 8, ed. M.-A. CALVET-SÉBASTI (*SC*, 405), Paris, 1995.

⁴⁴ For a comparison between the two *Lives*, see G. LUCK, *Notes on the Vita Macrinae by Gregory of Nyssa*, in A. SPIRA (ed.), *The Biographical Works of Gregory of Nyssa (Patristic Monograph Series, 12)*, Cambridge, MA, 1984, pp. 21-31, and FRANK, *Homeric Allusion*, pp. 515-516.

identities (daughter, sister, wife, virgin, widow, mother, ascetic, teacher, illiterate, servant, lady) restored the lives of ordinary people and sanctified common life in the world. Anthony gradually moved from his backyard to the *esōtera erēmos*, thereby attaining his own spiritual perfection and expelling the demons; Macrina, while still in her house, took on different identities and priorities, perfecting herself and sanctifying them by removing from them the passion and the disease of nature and engrafting in them patience, reason, and faith.

Obviously, this is a model of ascetic and philosophical life which is very close to the world, if not inside the world. However, distancing from the world is a prerequisite for the Christian philosophical life to acquire value as, according to the Gospel, the faithful and the Kingdom of Heaven stand opposed to the world⁴⁵.

Macrina's and Emmeleia's secrecy also provided them with a way to distance their ascetic life from the world. At the same time it allowed them to move within and outside the world. Significantly enough, Gregory of Nyssa did not place the desert outside the city walls but inside Macrina's heart. The complexity of their life is the theatre of their martyrdom. This would explain why in this *Life* there is little room for anyone who had lived a solid and obvious life, especially in the social sphere, the city or the agora, no matter that this was Macrina's own father Basil the Elder or her brother St. Basil the Great.

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SUMMARY

This article examines Macrina's ascetic identity and Gregory of Nyssa's intentions in writing the *Life* of his sister. Macrina's highly complicated profile is constructed on the basis of two identities: a public one that displays the conservative life of an obedient daughter and/or a grieving wife, and a secret one that allowed her to lead the life of a virgin, who challenged and revised the traditional role of women in late antique family. This secrecy, though not attributed to Macrina alone, but almost to every character in the *Life*, is one of Gregory's key patterns. As argued, this was his way to create an exemplum of asceticism, parallel to that developed in the *Life of Anthony*, but which instead would be accessible to laymen and would not contradict directly the ideals and norms of the Greco-Roman city.

⁴⁵ E.g. Mt 10.37, John 16.33.

IRONIE UND SPOTT IN DER *ALEXIAS* ANNA KOMNENES

GREGOR VII. UND DER INVESTITURSTREIT¹

EINLEITUNG

Ἐυμπίπτει δὲ μεταξὺ καὶ τι τοιοῦτον, ὅπερ ἄξιον ἀφηγήσασθαι (ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο εἰς εὐτυχίαν τούτου ἀναφερόμενον)² – ‚Inzwischen geschah aber auch Folgendes, das wert ist, berichtet zu werden (auch dies trug nämlich zu seinem [Robert Guiscards] Erfolg bei).‘ Mit dieser Bemerkung leitet die Schriftstellerin und Kaisertochter Anna Komnene in ihrem Werk *Alexias* den Bericht über die Ereignisse des Investiturstreits ein und gibt damit – fast in Form einer Entschuldigung – den Grund dafür an, warum sie von diesen – eigentlich jenseits des byzantinischen Interesses

¹ Die vorliegende Untersuchung entstand im Rahmen des von Michael Grünbart geleiteten Projekts B11 „Kaiser und Patriarch – eine spannungsreiche Beziehung“ des Exzellenzclusters ‚Religion und Politik in den Kulturen der Vormoderne und Moderne‘ der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster.

² Anna Komnene, Ἀλεξιάς 1,13,1 (S. 43,80-81). Die vorliegende Untersuchung basiert auf der Ausgabe D. R. REINSCH – A. KAMBYLIS, *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, Pars prior, *Prolegomena et textus; Pars altera, Indices*, Digesserunt F. KOLOVOU – D. R. REINSCH (CFHB, 40) Berlin - New York, 2001. Bis zum Erscheinen dieser Edition war die Ausgabe von Bernard Leib die maßgebliche (B. LEIB, *Anne Comnène, Alexiade*, tome 1-3, Paris, 1937; tome 4, index par P. GAUTIER, Paris, 1976). Zu den älteren Editionen der *Alexias* vgl. REINSCH – KAMBYLIS, S. 29*. Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der *Alexias* vgl. REINSCH – KAMBYLIS, S. 13*-28*. Die (auch für die hier interessierenden Passagen) maßgeblichen Handschriften sind der *Codex Florentinus Laurentianus*, Plut. 70,2 aus der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jh. sowie der *Codex Parisinus, Coislinianus gr. 311* aus dem beginnenden 14. Jh. (vgl. EBD., S. 13*-15*). Die *Alexias* wurde in zahlreiche moderne Sprachen übersetzt. Eine erste deutsche Übersetzung fertigte Friedrich Schiller an (F. SCHILLER [Hg.], *Allgemeine Sammlung Historischer Memoires vom zwölften Jahrhundert bis auf die neueste Zeit* 1, I-II, Jena, 1790). Als maßgebliche deutsche Übersetzung ist D. R. REINSCH, *Anna Komnene, Alexias*, Berlin - New York, 2001² (im Folgenden zitiert als REINSCH, *Alexias*) hervorzuheben. Leib stellte seiner Neuedition des Textes eine französische Übersetzung zur Seite. Eine mit wichtigen Anmerkungen versehene russische Übersetzung verfasste J. N. LJUBARSKIJ, *Anna Komnina, Aleksjada. Perevod s grečeskogo*, Moskau, 1965 (ND St. Petersburg, 1996). Die 1927 von E. R. A. Sewter besorgte englische Übersetzung wurde von Peter Frankopan jüngst überarbeitet sowie neu herausgegeben und kommentiert (E. R. A. SEWTER – P. FRANKOPAN, *Anna Komnene, The Alexiad*, London u.a., 2009). Zu weiteren Übersetzungen der *Alexias* vgl. REINSCH – KAMBYLIS, S. 30*. Wichtige Anmerkungen zur *Alexias* machte Charles Du Cange in seiner Ausgabe der Epitome des Ioannes Kinnamos 1670. Diese wurden Ludwig Schopenus Edition der *Alexias* im Bonner Corpus beigefügt (L. SCHOPENUS, *Annae Comnenae Alexiadis libri XV*, vol. II, rec. A. REIFFERSCHIED, Bonn, 1878, S. 415-703 [C. DU CANGE, *Notae. Caroli Ducangii in Annae Comnenae Alexiadem notae historicae et philologicae*]).

liegenden – Ereignissen berichtet: Sie sucht nach einer Erklärung dafür, wie es dem Normannen Robert Guiscard gelingen konnte, zum großen Gegenspieler ihres Vaters Alexios I. Komnenos (1081-1118) aufzusteigen und bis zu seinem Tod das byzantinische Reich in größte Bedrängnis zu bringen³. Ihre Ausführungen sind bemerkenswert detailliert. So überrascht es, dass sie bislang noch nicht Gegenstand einer eingehenderen Untersuchung waren. Es überrascht umso mehr, da der Investiturstreit schon lange im Fokus der Mediävistik stand und immer noch steht⁴. Er gehört dem überschaubaren Kreis mittelalterlicher Themen an, die auch jenseits der Wissenschaft eine verhältnismäßig große Breitenwirkung entfalten und immer noch entfalten. Dass die intensive Beschäftigung in Wissenschaft und Öffentlichkeit keineswegs zu einem Konsens in der Bewertung

³ Zu Anna Komnene und ihrem Werk vgl. E. OSTER, *Anna Komnene*, Rastatt, 1868-1871; G. BUCKLER, *Anna Comnena, a Study*, London, 1929; G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, *Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker*, Berlin, 1958², S. 219-223; H. HUNGER, *Hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, S. 400-409; Th. GOUMA-PETERSON, *Engendered Category or Recognizable Life: Anna Komnene and her Alexiad*, in *BF*, 23 (1996), S. 25-34; J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Anna Komnene and the Alexiad*, in M. MULLETT – D. SMYTHE (Hg.), *Alexios I Komnenos. Papers of the Second Belfast International Colloquium, 14-16 April 1989 (Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 4, 1)* Belfast, 1996, S. 260-302; Th. GOUMA-PETERSON (Hg.), *Anna Komnene and her Times*, New York - London, 2000; REINSCH – KAMBYLIS (wie Anm. 2), S. 3*-9*, sowie J. O. ROSENQVIST, *Die byzantinische Literatur. Vom 6. Jahrhundert bis zum Fall Konstantinopels 1453*, Berlin - New York, 2007, S. 128-131.

⁴ Zum Investiturstreit vgl. aus der schier überbordenden Zahl der Publikationen exemplarisch W. HARTMANN, *Der Investiturstreit (Enzyklopädie Deutscher Geschichte, 21)* München, 2007³, hier mit Verweisen auf die einschlägige Forschungsliteratur. Ferner J. LAUDAGE, *Gregorianische Reform und Investiturstreit*, Darmstadt, 1993; T. STRUVE, *Salierzeit im Wandel. Zur Geschichte Heinrichs IV. und des Investiturstreits*, Köln - Weimar - Wien, 2006; St. WEINFURTER, *Canossa. Die Entzauberung der Welt*, München, 2006²; W. GOEZ, *Kirchenreform und Investiturstreit*, Stuttgart, 2008², insb. S. 119-184. Bei der Verwendung des Terminus ‚Investiturstreit‘ bin ich mir bewusst, dass die Investiturfrage – vor allem zu Beginn der Auseinandersetzung – keineswegs im Mittelpunkt der Kontroverse stand; vgl. diesbezüglich E. BOSHOF, *Heinrich IV. Herrscher an einer Zeitenwende (Persönlichkeiten und Geschichte, 108/109)*, Göttingen - Zürich, 1990², S. 67 sowie die ausführliche Untersuchung von J. ENGLBERGER, *Gregor VII. und die Investiturfrage. Quellenkritische Studien zum angeblichen Investiturverbot von 1075 (Passauer historische Forschungen, 9)* Köln - Weimar - Wien, 1996. Da dennoch der Begriff weiterhin in der Forschung als Bezeichnung für die Streitigkeiten zwischen Reformpapsttum und römisch-deutschem Königtum seit dem letzten Viertel des elften Jahrhunderts dominiert, wird er auch in dieser Untersuchung benutzt. Zur Problematik des Begriffes ‚Investiturstreit‘ vgl. R. SCHIEFFER, *Die Entstehung des päpstlichen Investiturverbots (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 28)*, Stuttgart, 1981, S. 1-6. Zur Investitur vgl. außerdem H. KELLER, *Die Investitur. Ein Beitrag zum Problem der ‚Staatsymbolik‘ im Mittelalter*, in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 27 (1993), S. 51-86. Zur Wirkungsgeschichte des Investiturstreits vgl. H. ZIMMERMANN, *Der Canossagang von 1077. Wirkungen und Wirklichkeit (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, 1975, Nr. 5)* Mainz - Wiesbaden, 1975, S. 3-13.

des Phänomens ‚Investiturstreit‘ geführt hat, machte in jüngster Zeit ein Aufsatz von Johannes Fried deutlich, durch den die Debatte um die Ereignisse vor Canossa neu entfacht wurde und der bezeichnenderweise auch in der Tagespresse Nachhall fand⁵.

Bei einer als derart zentral empfundenen Thematik ist nicht zuletzt die Frage von Interesse, wie die Ereignisse von ‚außen‘ wahrgenommen wurden. Im Folgenden soll die Sicht Anna Komnenes auf den Investiturstreit näher untersucht werden. Ihr Werk ist diejenige byzantinische Quelle, die den Ereignissen am nächsten steht. Die *Alexias* kann daher als Ausgangspunkt für die Beantwortung der Frage dienen, inwieweit in Byzanz die diesbezüglichen Ereignisse wahrgenommen und die Handlungen der beteiligten Akteure bzw. die Akteure selbst eingeschätzt wurden⁶.

Zu der Zeit, als die Autorin ihr Werk verfasste, lagen die Geschehnisse bereits einige Jahrzehnte zurück⁷. Welche die Informationsquellen Annas waren, muss letztlich spekulativ bleiben⁸. Da die anderen byzantinischen

⁵ J. FRIED, *Der Pakt von Canossa*, in W. HARTMANN (Hg.), *Die Faszination der Papstgeschichte (Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters, 28)* Köln - Weimar - Wien, 2008, S. 133-197. Zum Nachhall in den Medien exemplarisch: O. JUNGEN, *Geschichtsschreibung unter Eiweißzufuhr*, in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)* #17 [Mi. 21.01.2009], S. N3). Fried selbst erläuterte einige Tage später in der FAZ einem breiteren Publikum seine Thesen (J. FRIED, *Wir sollten nach Canossa gehen und die Legenden vergessen*, in: *FAZ* #23 [Mi. 28.01.2009], S. N4).

⁶ Dass die Informationen, die Anna Komnene zum Investiturstreit gibt, nicht als ‚byzantinische‘ Sicht verabsolutiert werden können, versteht sich von selbst. Dennoch gibt die *Alexias* wichtige Einblicke in die Sichtweise der byzantinischen Elite, und zwar nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil Anna selbst dem Milieu des Kaiserhofs entstammte.

⁷ Anna Komnene verfasste die *Alexias* nach dem Tod ihres Gatten Nikephoros Bryennios, der ebenfalls ein Geschichtswerk hinterlassen hatte, an das sich die *Alexias* zeitlich anschließt: Nikephoros Bryennios, *Ἔγλη ἱστορίας* (ed. P. GAUTIER [CFHB, 9], Brüssel, 1975). Nikephoros starb 1136/1137, Anna wohl zwischen 1148 und 1155, womit die *Alexias* etwa in diesem Zeitraum zu verorten ist. Zum Todesdatum Annas vgl. REINSCH – KAMBYLIS (wie Anm. 2), S. 5* mit Anm. 24, wo gegen HUNGER, *Literatur* (wie Anm. 3), S. 403 der mögliche Zeitraum für ihren Tod weiter gefasst wird. Zum Verhältnis des Geschichtswerks des Nikephoros Bryennios zu dem Anna Komnenes vgl. HOWARD-JOHNSTON (wie Anm. 3), der dafür plädiert, dass die *Alexias* zu einem ganz wesentlichen Teil auf Vorarbeiten des Nikephoros beruhe. Demgegenüber ablehnend: R. MACRIDES, *The Pen and the Sword: Who Wrote the Alexiad?* in GOUMA-PETERSON, *Anna Komnene* (wie Anm. 3), S. 63-81.

⁸ Weder Nikephoros Bryennios, *Ἔγλη ἱστορίας* (wie Anm. 7), dessen Geschichtswerk bis 1079 reicht, noch Michael Attaleiates, *Ἱστορία* (ed. I. PÉREZ MARTÍN [Nueva Roma, 15], Madrid, 2002), dessen Werk 1079/1080 ausklingt, noch der sog. Skylitzes continuatus (ed. E. Th. TSOLAKÈS [*Ἐταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν*, 105], Thessaloniki, 1968), der 1079/1080 abbricht, berichten von den Ereignissen der Frühphase des Investiturstreits. Da Anna Komnene in ihrer Behandlung der Ereignisse im Zusammenhang mit dem Investiturstreit teilweise recht ähnliche Dinge berichtet wie Wilhelm von Apulien, *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*, postulierte R. WILMANS, *Über die Quellen der Gesta Roberti Wiscardi des Guillelmi Apuliensis*, in *Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde zur Beförderung einer Gesamtausgabe der Quellenschriften deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalters*, 10 (1851), S. 93-110 eine Anna und Wilhelm gemeinsam zugrunde liegende, verloren gegangene

historiographischen bzw. chronistischen Werke, die ebenfalls den Zeitraum des Investiturstreits zum Gegenstand haben, auf die diesbezüglichen Ereignisse nicht eingehen, liegt uns mit dem Zeugnis der Kaisertochter, zumindest aus byzantinischer Sicht gesehen, Sondergut vor. Die wichtigsten Protagonisten in der Investiturstreit-Episode der *Alexias* sind König Heinrich IV.⁹ (1056–1104), Papst Gregor VII.¹⁰ (1073–1085) sowie Robert Guiscard¹¹

lateinische Quelle (zu den Quellen der *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi* vgl. jetzt auch: P. BROWN, *The Gesta Roberti Wiscardi: A 'Byzantine' History?*, in *Journal of Medieval History*, 37 [2011], S. 162-179). Diese These wurde unter anderem von Marguerite Mathieu in ihrer Edition der *Gesta Roberti Guiscards* des Wilhelm von Apulien widerlegt; M. MATHIEU, *Guillaume de Pouille, La Geste de Robert Guiscard (Testi e Monumenti, Testi, 4)*, Palermo, 1961, S. 38-46. Sie kommt zu dem Schluss: „Anne a eu des sources diverses: parmi elles, des informations orales de participants grecs et normands de la guerre normanno-byzantine de 1081-1085. Rien ne permet de supposer qu'elle ait eu une source latine commune avec les Gesta.“ (EBD., S. 45). Anna Komnene selbst führt in der *Alexias* ihre Quellen an; Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 14,7,3-7. Reinsch fasst sie kategorisierend wie folgt zusammen und führt knapp die weiteren der *Alexias* zugrunde liegenden Quellen an (REINSCH – KAMBYLIS, S. 7*-8*): „Als ihre Quellen nennt sie [Anna Komnene]: 1. Eigene Erlebnisse und Erinnerungen 2. Mündliche Quellen: a) Erzählungen des Vaters und ihres Onkels Georgios Palaiologos, b) Erzählungen von weiteren Gewährsmännern (noch zu Lebzeiten des Kaisers Alexios), z.B. von Boten, die vom Schlachtfeld nach Konstantinopel gesandt wurden, um dort zu berichten, c) Materialsammlung aus einer Befragung einzelner Personen zur Zeit des Kaisers Manuel I. Komnenos. 3. Schriftliche Quellen: Memoiren alter Kriegsveteranen, einfacher, nicht gebildeter Menschen, die jetzt als Mönche im Kloster lebten. Das gesamte Material, das Anna auf diese Weise in einer langen Zeit zusammenbrachte, unterzog sie einer kritischen Prüfung, indem sie die einzelnen Berichte über die Ereignisse miteinander verglich; so konnte sie zur ‚historischen Wahrheit‘ gelangen. Zu den von Anna genannten Quellen kommen die zahlreichen Erlasse, Urkunden, diplomatischen Korrespondenzen, die sie wörtlich wiedergibt, und Reden, die auf dem Schlachtfeld gehalten wurden. Außerdem konnte die moderne Forschung die Historiker Michael Psellos, Michael Attaleiates, Ioannes Skylitzes und Nikephoros Bryennios als Quellen der *Alexias* erweisen.“ Vgl. hierzu auch ausführlicher bereits A. KAMBYLIS, *Zum ‚Programm‘ der byzantinischen Historikerin Anna Komnene*, in *Dōrēma, Hans Diller zum 70. Geburtstag. Dauer und Überleben des antiken Geistes (Griechische humanistische Gesellschaft, internationales Zentrum für klassisch-humanistische Forschungen, zweite Reihe, Studien und Untersuchungen, 27)*, Athen, 1975, S. 127-146; hier S. 142-146.

⁹ Zu Heinrich IV. siehe konzise T. STRUVE, Art. ‚Heinrich, 4: H. IV.‘, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 9 Bände sowie ein Registerband, München u.a., 1980-1999 (im Folgenden zitiert als: *LMA*), 4, Sp. 2041-2043 und ausführlich BOSHOF (wie Anm. 4) sowie jüngst G. ALTHOFF, *Heinrich IV.*, Darmstadt, 2006.

¹⁰ Zu Papst Gregor VII., der von Anna Komnene nicht namentlich genannt wird (vgl. dazu unten S. 490), vgl. zusammenfassend T. STRUVE, Art. ‚Gregor, 8: G. VII.‘, in: *LMA*, 4 (wie Anm. 9), Sp. 1669-1671. Ausführlich zu ihm auch U.-R. BLUMENTHAL, *Gregor VII. Papst zwischen Canossa und Kirchenreform*, Darmstadt, 2001 sowie I. S. ROBINSON, *Pope Gregory VII*, in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36 (1985), S. 439-483, der einen Überblick über den Forschungsstand zu den verschiedenen, Gregor VII. betreffenden Gesichtspunkten gibt.

¹¹ Zu Robert Guiscard (bei Anna Komnene unter dem Namen Ῥομπέρτος) vgl. E. CUOZZO, Art. ‚Robert, 10: R. Guiscard‘, in: *LMA*, 7 (wie Anm. 9), Sp. 889-890 sowie die Biographie R. BÜNEMANN, *Robert Guiskard 1015-1085. Ein Normanne erobert Süditalien*, Köln - Weimar - Wien, 1997.

(gest. 1085). Daneben finden jedoch auch der bayerische Herzog Welf IV.¹² sowie Rudolf von Rheinfelden, schwäbischer Herzog und von 1077 bis 1080 Gegenkönig¹³, Erwähnung.

Im Folgenden wird die Investiturstreit-Episode in dreifacher Hinsicht untersucht. Zunächst sollen die von Anna Komnene angeführten Informationen zu der Auseinandersetzung knapp dargestellt und mit der westlichen Überlieferung verglichen werden¹⁴. In einem weiteren Abschnitt wird aus dieser Investiturstreit-Episode der *Alexias* eine Passage, in der von der Begegnung zwischen Papst Gregor VII. und Robert Guiscard berichtet wird, näher beleuchtet. Dieser Teil der Untersuchung führt zum dritten Abschnitt, nämlich zu der Frage, wie Anna Komnene in ihrem Werk Papst Gregor VII. darstellt und mit welchen literarischen Stilmitteln sie ihn in ein bestimmtes Licht zu rücken sucht.

DIE NACHRICHTEN ANNA KOMNENES ZUM INVESTITURSTREIT

Anna wendet sich den Geschehnissen des Investiturstreits, den sie selbstverständlich nicht mit diesem Terminus bezeichnet, im Zusammenhang mit dem Aufstieg des Normannenherzogs Robert Guiscard zu. Dadurch nehmen die Ereignisse in ihrem Werk eine prominente Position ein. Denn Anna Komnene präsentiert Robert über weite Strecken der ersten sechs Bücher der insgesamt 15 Bücher umfassenden *Alexias* als den großen Gegenspieler ihres Vaters¹⁵. Dieser Teil des Werks entspricht eben jenem Zeitraum, in dem Alexios zunächst als Heerführer Karriere machte, dann den Kaiserthron usurpierte und schließlich seine Herrschaft – insbesondere im Kampf gegen die Normannen Robert Guiscards – mühsam konsolidierte¹⁶. Die

¹² Zu Welf IV. (bei Anna Komnene Οὐέλφορος) vgl. W. STÖRMER, Art. ‚Welf 5: W. IV.‘, in: *LMA*, 8 (wie Anm. 9), Sp. 2144-2145.

¹³ Rudolf von Rheinfelden wird von Anna „langobardisierend“ unter dem Namen Landulph (Λαντοῦλφος) angeführt. Zu Rudolf von Rheinfelden vgl. T. STRUVE, Art. ‚Rudolf 1: R. v. Rheinfelden‘, in: *LMA*, 7 (wie Anm. 9), Sp. 1070-1071 sowie STRUVE, *Salierzeit* (wie Anm. 4), S. 84-95.

¹⁴ Der Abgleich wird, um diesen Abschnitt nicht unverhältnismäßig auszudehnen, überwiegend anhand der mediävistischen Sekundärliteratur vorgenommen.

¹⁵ Dass Anna Komnene die Konzeption dieser Teile der *Alexias* auf jene Konfrontation zwischen Alexios I. Komnenos und Robert Guiscard anlegt, konstatierte bereits D. R. REINSCH, *Ausländer und Byzantiner im Werk der Anna Komnene*, in *Rechtshistorisches Journal*, 8 (1989), S. 257-274, hier S. 269-271.

¹⁶ Vgl. auch BUCKLER (wie Anm. 3), S. 449-455. Robert Guiscards Rolle in den ersten sechs Büchern der *Alexias* ist also mit derjenigen seines Sohnes Bohemund vergleichbar, welche dieser in dem sich anschließenden Teil der *Alexias*, insbesondere bei der Schilderung des Ersten Kreuzzugs, einnimmt. Vgl. hierzu R.-J. LILIE, *Der Erste Kreuzzug in der Darstellung Anna Komnenes*, in *Varia*, 2 (*Poikila Byzantina*, 6), Bonn, 1987, S. 49-148, hier insb.

Autorin konstruiert zwischen dem Investiturstreit und dem Aufstieg des Normannen einen Kausalzusammenhang, wodurch in ihrem Opus der eigentlich außerhalb des engeren byzantinischen Interesses liegenden Auseinandersetzung zwischen Papst Gregor VII. und Heinrich IV. auch für Byzanz Bedeutung zukommt und womöglich überhaupt nur deshalb Beachtung fand. Im Anschluss werden die Nachrichten Annas um der besseren Übersichtlichkeit willen – der Gliederung der Textedition folgend – in zwölf Abschnitte unterteilt (I-XII).

(I) Zu Beginn des Kapitels 13 führt Anna Komnene die Ursachen an, die ihrer Ansicht nach den Aufstieg des Normannen begünstigten¹⁷. Als erstes nennt sie die von ihr anschließend geschilderte Auseinandersetzung zwischen König Heinrich IV. und Papst Gregor VII. Heinrich wird von Anna als ὁ ῥῆξ Ἀλαμανίας Ἐνερίχος bezeichnet. Gregor bleibt dagegen anonym, indem sie ihn lediglich als ὁ πάπας τῆς Ῥώμης bezeichnet¹⁸. Als zweite Ursache für den Aufstieg Roberts nennt sie den Umstand, dass die westlichen Fürsten anderweitig gebunden gewesen seien, so dass sie sich nicht gegen Robert hätten wenden können. Drittens habe ganz allgemein Schicksal bzw. Glück (τύχη) Roberts Aufstieg erleichtert. Schicksal bzw. Glück bezieht Anna auf den Umstand, dass Papst Gregor, der mit Heinrich IV. im Streit lag, den Normannenherzog auf seine Seite ziehen wollte, da dieser bereits eine mächtige Stellung innehatte.

Alle drei von Anna angeführten Ursachen für den Aufstieg Robert Guiscards sind also eng mit dem Investiturstreit verknüpft. Denn Anna verortet offensichtlich die anderweitige Gebundenheit der westlichen Fürsten, die diese von einem Vorgehen gegen Robert abgehalten habe, in ebenjener Auseinandersetzung zwischen König und Papst, die sie anschließend schildert.

S. 55-61. Zu der Problematik des von Anna Komnene entworfenen Bohemund-Bildes vgl. auch J. SHEPARD, *When Greek Meets Greek: Alexius Comnenus and Bohemond in 1097-98*, in *BMGS*, 12 (1988) S. 185-277. Zum Aufstieg Alexios' I. Komnenos, zu seiner Usurpation und zur Konsolidierung seiner Herrschaft bis zum Tod Robert Guiscards (1085) vgl. F. CHALANDON, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène (1081-1118)*, Paris, 1900, S. 21-94 sowie É. MALAMUT, *Alexis I^{er} Comnène*, Paris, 2007, S. 41-83.

¹⁷ Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,1 (S. 43,80-89): Ἐυμπίπτει δὲ μεταξύ καὶ τι τοιοῦτον, ὅπερ ἄξιον ἀφηγήσασθαι (ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο εἰς εὐτυχίαν τούτου ἀναφερόμενον) καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τῆς δόσεως ἅπαντας ἀρχηγούς ἀναχαιτίζεσθαι τῆς πρὸς τοῦτον φορᾶς σφόδρα τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων εὐροίας τῷ βαρβάρῳ λογίζομαι, ἀπανταχόθεν τῆς τύχης αὐτῷ συνεργούσης καὶ ἐπαιρούσης εἰς τυραννίδα καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐπωφελὲς περαιουμένης. Ὁ γὰρ τοι πάπας τῆς Ῥώμης (γενναία δὲ αὐτῆ ἀρχὴ καὶ στρατεύμασι παντοδαποῖς περιφραττομένη) μετὰ τοῦ ῥηγὸς Ἀλαμανίας Ἐνερίχου διαφορὰν ἐσχηκῶς ἐβούλετο πρὸς συμμαχίαν ἐλκύσαι Ῥομπέρτον ἤδη περιφανέστατον γεγονότα καὶ πρὸς μεγάλας ἀρχὰς ἀκμάσαντα.

¹⁸ Zur Anonymität des Papstes bei Anna Komnene vgl. unten S. 490.

(II) Im zweiten Abschnitt des dreizehnten Kapitels wendet sich die Autorin den Gründen des Streits zwischen König und Papst zu¹⁹. Gregor habe dem König Simonie vorgeworfen²⁰, dieser im Gegenzug dem Papst Usurpation (τυραννίς), da jener ohne das königliche Einverständnis zum Pontifex erhoben worden sei. Heinrich habe sogar gedroht, den Papst zu vertreiben, wenn dieser nicht freiwillig zurücktrete.

Dieser Abschnitt kann leicht mit den Ereignissen, wie wir sie aus der westlichen Überlieferung kennen, in Einklang gebracht werden. Der Simonie-Vorwurf war, insbesondere zu Beginn der Auseinandersetzung zwischen Gregor VII. und Heinrich IV., der zentrale Anklagepunkt gegen bedeutende Personen im königlichen Umfeld, allerdings nicht, wie von Anna Komnene behauptet, gegen den König selbst²¹. Die Unrechtmäßigkeit der Wahl Gregors VII. wurde nach Ausbruch des Konflikts von Heinrich IV. und seinen Anhängern gegen den Papst ins Feld geführt, welche Gregor mit diesem Argument zum Verzicht auf das päpstliche Amt aufforderten²². Auf der Reichsversammlung zu Worms am 24. Januar 1076 kündigte die

¹⁹ Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,2 (S. 43,89-97): Ἡ δὲ διαφορὰ ῥηγός τε καὶ πάπα τοιαύτη τις ἦν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατητιάτο τὸν ῥῆγα Ἐνέριχον ὡς τὰς ἐκκλησίας οὐ προῖκα διδόντα, ἀλλὰ δωρημάτων ἀποδιδόμενον καὶ που καὶ ἀναξίους ἀνδράσι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καταπιστεύοντα καὶ τοιούτων ἐγκλημάτων ἐδίωκεν. Ὁ δὲ γε ῥῆξ Ἄλαμανίας τυραννίδος τὸν πάπαν ἐγράφετο, ὡς ἄτερ γνώμης αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀποστολικὸν ἐξαρπάσοι θρόνον. Καὶ που καὶ ἀπηναισχυντήκει πρὸς τοῦτον καὶ ἰταμωτέροις ἐχρήσατο λόγοις, ὡς, εἰ μὴ ἔκσταιή τῆς αὐθαιρέτου προεδρίας, μεθ' ὕβρεως ἐκείθεν ἀπελαθήσεται.

²⁰ Zur Kontroverse um die Simonie vgl. H. MEIER-WELCKER, *Simonie im frühen Mittelalter*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 64 (1952-1953), S. 61-93 und R. SCHIEFFER, *Geistliches Amt und schöner Mammon. Zur Bewertung der Simonie im hohen Mittelalter*, in J. PETERSOHN (Hg.), *Mediaevalia Augiensia. Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters (Vorträge und Forschungen, 54: Veröffentlichungen der Konstanzer Arbeitsgemeinschaft für mittelalterliche Geschichte aus Anlaß seines fünfzigjährigen Bestehens 1951-2001, 3)*, Stuttgart, 2001, S. 359-374. Schieffer konstatiert eine Entwicklung des Simonie-Vorwurfs hin zu einem bloßen Schlagwort und verflachtem Klischee, um missliebige Gegner auszuschalten.

²¹ Schon Papst Alexander II. (1061-1073) hatte Vertraute Heinrichs IV. aufgrund des Vorwurfs der Simonie exkommuniziert. Insbesondere entzündete sich der Streit bei der Neubesetzung des Mailänder Erzbistums. Heinrich IV. setzte den Mailänder Subdiakon Gottfried ein, der umgehend von Alexander II. wegen des Vorwurfs der Simonie mit dem Kirchenbann belegt wurde. Es folgte auf der Fastensynode die Exkommunikation weiterer königlicher Vertrauter. Auch gegen eine Reihe Angehöriger des Reichsepisikopats wurden Anklagen wegen Simonie erhoben. Gregor VII. stand daher durchaus in der Tradition seines Vorgängers, als auch er gegen das Umfeld des Königs vorging. Vgl. hierzu ALTHOFF (wie Anm. 9), S. 117-126; BOSHOF (wie Anm. 4), S. 60-63; GOEZ (wie Anm. 4), S. 119-125 und STRUVE, *Salierzeit* (wie Anm. 4), S. 96-100. Zur Rolle Mailands bei dem Ausbruch und während des Verlaufs des Investiturstreits s. H. KELLER, *Pataria und Stadtverfassung, Stadtgemeinde und Reform: Mailand im „Investiturstreit“*, in J. FLECKENSTEIN (Hg.), *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung (Vorträge und Forschungen, 17)*, Sigmaringen, 1973, S. 321-350.

²² Zur tumultartigen Wahl Gregors vgl. BOSHOF (wie Anm. 4), S. 60; ALTHOFF (wie Anm. 9), S. 117 und GOEZ (wie Anm. 4), S. 120.

Mehrheit des Reichsepiskopats dem Papst den Gehorsam auf, eben weil er illegal die *cathedra Petri* bestiegen habe²³. Heinrich selbst forderte in einem Brief den von ihm als ‚falschen Mönch Hildebrand‘ bezeichneten Gregor VII. auf, vom päpstlichen Stuhl herabzusteigen²⁴.

(III) Im dritten Abschnitt²⁵ schildert Anna den Zorn des Papstes gegen die Gesandten Heinrichs IV., welche die Drohungen ihres Königs übermittelten. Gregor VII. habe die Legaten misshandeln und scheren lassen. Anschließend spielt die Autorin auf eine vom Papst ersonnene Bestrafung an, die sie aus Schamgefühl nicht niederschreiben könne²⁶.

Die Darstellung der Misshandlung der Gesandten Heinrichs IV. beruhte offenbar auf einem antipäpstlichen Gerücht²⁷. Dagegen soll laut westlicher Überlieferung Gregor VII. den königlichen Legaten Roland von Parma sogar beschützt haben, als dieser nach der öffentlichen Verlesung des Briefes seines Herrn wegen der Reaktion der erzürnten Anhänger des Pontifex um sein Leben bangte und sich Schutz suchend diesem zu Füßen geworfen hatte²⁸.

²³ Heinrich IV., *Constitutiones* (ed. L. WEILAND, in: *Constitutiones et acta publica Imperatorum et Regum* [MGH Const., 1], Hannover, 1893, S. 106-131), Nr. 58, S. 106-108; hier S. 108: Quia ergo introitus tuus tantis periuriis est initiatus et ecclesia Dei tam gravi tempestate per abusionem novitatum periclitatur et vitam conversationemque tuam tam multiplici infamia deonestasti, obedientiam, quam nullam tibi promissimus, nec de caetero ullam servaturos esse renuntiamus, et quia nemo nostrum, ut tu publice declamabas, tibi hactenus fuit episcopus, tu quoque nulli nostrum amodo eris apostolicus. Damit suggerierten die Bischöfe, Gregor niemals anerkannt zu haben. Vgl. zu den Ereignissen in Worms: G. MEYER VON KNONAU, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV. und Heinrich V.*, 7 Bände, Berlin, 1894-1908 (ND Berlin, 1964-1965); hier Bd. 2, S. 614-628; BOSHOF (wie Anm. 4), S. 65-66; ALTHOFF (wie Anm. 9), S. 134-136; STRUVE, *Salierzeit* (wie Anm. 4), S. 100 sowie GOEZ (wie Anm. 4), S. 125-126.

²⁴ Heinrich IV., *Constitutiones* (wie Anm. 23) Nr. 62, S. 110-111: Heinricus non usurpative, sed pia Dei ordinatione rex Hildebrando iam non apostolico, sed falso monacho. [...] Tu ergo hoc anathemate et omnium episcoporum nostrorum iudicio et nostro dampnatus descende, vindicatum sedem apostolicam relinque; alius in solium beati Petri ascendat, qui nulla violentiam religione palliet, sed beati Petri sanam doceat doctrinam. Ego Heinricus Dei gratia rex cum omnibus episcopis nostris tibi dicimus: Descende, descende, per secula damnande! Vgl. hierzu BOSHOF (wie Anm. 4), S. 66-67 und ALTHOFF (wie Anm. 9) S. 136-138.

²⁵ Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,3 (S. 43,97-44,14). Das vollständige Zitat vgl. unten bei Anm. 78.

²⁶ Welche Strafen Anna Komnene an dieser Stelle wortreich verschleiert, bleibt im Dunkeln. Zu einer Interpretationsmöglichkeit vgl. unten Anm. 32.

²⁷ REINSCH, *Alexias* (wie Anm. 2), S. 58, Anm. 116.

²⁸ Vgl. hierzu MEYER VON KNONAU (wie Anm. 23), II, S. 633-634 und ALTHOFF (wie Anm. 9), S. 139.

(IV) Abschnitt vier²⁹ stellt jene nicht explizit genannte Strafe als des Papstes unwürdig dar, insbesondere da dieser den Vorsitz über die Ökumene beanspruche. Es folgt eine Widerlegung des päpstlichen Primatsanspruchs³⁰. Mit der Übertragung der Hauptstadt von Rom nach Konstantinopel sei auch der kirchliche Mittelpunkt an den Bosphorus verlegt worden. Insbesondere das Konzil von Chalkedon (451) habe Konstantinopel den ersten Rang in der Kirche zugesprochen³¹.

In diesem Abschnitt entfernt sich Anna von ihrer Schilderung der Kontroverse zwischen römisch-deutschem Königtum und Papsttum und widmet sich stattdessen den alten kirchlichen Streitigkeiten zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel.

(V) Im fünften Abschnitt³² greift Anna ihr eigentliches Thema wieder auf, indem sie die Misshandlung der Gesandten als im Grunde gegen Heinrich gerichtet bezeichnet³³.

(VI) Abschnitt sechs³⁴ nennt die Misshandlung der Gesandten als Ursache für den Ausbruch des Krieges zwischen Heinrich IV. und Gregor VII.

²⁹ Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,4 (S. 44,15-24). Das vollständige Zitat s. unten bei Anm. 80.

³⁰ In diesem Zusammenhang bedient sich Anna Komnene auch eines der häufig anzutreffenden byzantinischen Klischees, nämlich des der Überheblichkeit der Lateiner, da diese für den Papst den Vorsitz über die Ökumene beanspruchten: "Ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἀλαζονείας αὐτῶν [der Lateiner] (EBD. 1,13,4 [S. 44,17]). Vgl. hierzu auch H. HUNGER, *Graeculus perfidus, Italos itamos – Il senso dell'alterità nei rapporti Graeco-Romani ed Italo-Bizantini, con un' introduzione di Otto Kresten (Conferenze, 4)*, Rom, 1987, S. 40.

³¹ Tatsächlich stellte der 28. Kanon des Vierten Ökumenischen Konzils von Chalkedon im Jahr 451 zwar einerseits *de iure* die Gleichrangigkeit der Patriarchate von Rom und Konstantinopel fest, erkannte aber andererseits den Ehrenvorrang Roms an. Vgl. hierzu H.-G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, S. 32-35. Vgl. zu diesem Abschnitt auch REINSCH, *Alexias* (wie Anm. 2), S. 59, Anm. 117 und LJUBARSKIJ, *Anna Komnina* (wie Anm. 2), S. 458-459, Anm. 147. Vgl. zu dieser Passage Anna Komnenes auch F. DÖLGER, *Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner*, in DERS., *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt. Ausgewählte Vorträge und Aufsätze*, Ettal, 1953 (ND Darmstadt, 1964), S. 70-115, hier S. 110-111.

³² Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,5 (S. 44,24-29): Μήποτε οὖν ἡ τοιαύτη πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις ὕβρις ἀνεφέρετο πρὸς τὸν πεπομφότα ἰούσα, οὐ μόνον ὅτι τοὺς ἐκόλασεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ καινὴν τινα τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς γενομένην ὕβριν αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἐξεύρατο. Ἥνιττετο γὰρ δι' ὃν ἐποίει τὸ τοῦ ῥηγός, ὡς οἶμαι, εὐκαταφρόνητον, ὥσπερ τις ἡμίθεος ἡμίονω διαλεγόμενος διὰ τῶν καθυβρισμένων τούτωνι πρέσβεων. Neben dem griechischen Wortspiel zwischen ‚Halbgott und Halbesel‘ (vgl. dazu REINSCH, *Alexias* [wie Anm. 2], S. 59, Anm. 118) könnte diese Angabe Annas auf eine Verstümmelung der kaiserlichen Gesandten im Genitalbereich hindeuten, so dass die Legaten von Gregor VII. in der Erzählung Annas mit ebenfalls nicht fortpflanzungsfähigen Mauleseln verglichen werden konnten. Eine Kastration nimmt REINSCH, *Ausländer* (wie Anm. 15), S. 272 an.

³³ Vgl. dazu unten S. 487 mit Anm. 81.

³⁴ Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,6 (S. 44,29-45,49).

Um Heinrich zuvorzukommen, sei Gregor in Verhandlungen mit Robert Guiscard getreten, mit dem er bislang keineswegs in freundschaftlicher Beziehung gestanden habe. Nach Besprechungen über den Gesandtschaftsweg seien sie zwischen Salerno und Benevent persönlich zusammengetroffen und hätten Eide ausgetauscht³⁵. Während Gregor Unterstützung im Falle eines Krieges Roberts gegen Byzanz geschworen habe, habe dieser Hilfe gegen Heinrich zugesagt. Die Eide seien freilich leere Worte gewesen und alsbald gebrochen worden.

Anna geht sicherlich fehl in der Annahme, dass die (wohl fiktive) Misshandlung der königlichen Gesandten Ursache des bewaffneten Konflikts zwischen Heinrich IV. und Gregor VII. gewesen sei. Dagegen deckt sich Annas Bericht mit der westlich-lateinischen Überlieferung, wenn sie in ihrem Werk behauptet, dass das normannisch-päpstliche Verhältnis und speziell die Beziehung zwischen Papst Gregor VII. und Robert Guiscard keineswegs spannungsfrei gewesen sei. Der Papst hatte sogar zeitweise den Normannenherzog mit dem Bann belegt, von dem er ihn erst bei der Zusammenkunft löste³⁶. Ebenfalls nachweisbar sind Verhandlungen zwischen Robert Guiscard und Heinrich IV. Letzterer bemühte sich, den Normannenherzog zu einem Lehenseid zu bewegen³⁷. Ein Treffen zwischen Gregor VII. und Robert Guiscard ist so, wie Anna Komnene es schildert, in den westlichen Quellen nicht überliefert. Zwar trafen sich Papst und Herzog im Jahr 1080, allerdings nicht zwischen Salerno und Benevent, sondern in Ceprano.

³⁵ Zu der Begegnung zwischen Gregor VII. und Robert Guiscard siehe ausführlich den folgenden Abschnitt (S. 477-485).

³⁶ Im Jahr 1059 hatte Papst Nikolaus II. unter maßgeblicher Mitwirkung Hildebrands, des späteren Papstes Gregors VII., einen radikalen Wechsel in der päpstlichen Normannenpolitik vollzogen, indem er auf der Synode von Melfi den Ausgleich mit Robert Guiscard suchte und diesen mit Apulien, Kalabrien und dem damals noch arabischen Sizilien belehnte. Vgl. dazu A. BAYER, *Spaltung der Christenheit. Das sogenannte Morgenländische Schisma von 1054 (Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 53)*, Köln - Weimar - Wien, 2002, S. 122-124. Trotz dieses Kurswechsels gestaltete sich das päpstlich-normannische Verhältnis in der Folgezeit keineswegs spannungsfrei. Ursache dafür waren wohl vor allem die fortwährenden normannischen Übergriffe, von denen auch päpstliche Gebiete heimgesucht wurden. Die Verstimmung ging so weit, dass Papst Gregor VII. auf der Fastensynode von Rom im März 1074, erneut Ende Februar 1075 und nochmals am 03. März 1078 Robert Guiscard exkommunizierte (vgl. dazu BÜNEMANN [wie Anm. 11], S. 83.88.98). Erst durch den Investiturstreit und die Konzentration des Normannenherzogs auf den Kampf gegen Byzanz kam es 1080 in Ceprano zu einem Ausgleich. Gregor löste Robert vom Bann. Dieser leistete im Gegenzug dem Papst den Lehenseid. Zu den lehensrechtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Papsttum und den Normannen vgl. J. DEÉR, *Papsttum und Normannen. Untersuchungen zu ihren lehensrechtlichen und kirchenpolitischen Beziehungen (Studien und Quellen zur Welt Kaiser Friedrichs II., 1)*, Köln - Wien, 1972 (im Folgenden zitiert als DEÉR, *Untersuchungen*).

³⁷ BÜNEMANN (wie Anm. 11), S. 90-91 und ALTHOFF (wie Anm. 9), S. 126-127.

Auf diese Zusammenkunft wird im zweiten Teil der vorliegenden Untersuchung näher einzugehen sein³⁸.

(VII) In Abschnitt sieben³⁹ schildert Anna Komnene das weitere Vorgehen Gregors VII. gegen Heinrich IV. Er habe durch Gesandte die beiden ‚Sachsen‘ Welf (Welf IV., Herzog von Bayern) und Landulph (Rudolf von Rheinfelden, Herzog von Schwaben) durch das Versprechen, sie zu Königen über den ganzen Westen zu machen, auf seine Seite gezogen. Auch den Normannen Robert Guiscard habe er krönen wollen.

Anna gibt hier augenscheinlich in verzerrender Weise die Ereignisse um die Krönung Rudolfs von Rheinfelden zum Gegenkönig wieder. Rudolf wurde zunächst ohne päpstliches Einverständnis und keineswegs auf päpstliche Initiative hin am 15. März 1077 in Forchheim von den Gegnern Heinrichs IV. zum König gewählt⁴⁰. Welf IV. unterstützte lediglich die Wahl Rudolfs von Rheinfelden. Dass er mit päpstlicher Unterstützung selbst Aspirationen auf das Königtum gehabt hätte, ist weder bekannt noch wahrscheinlich.

(VIII-IX) In den Abschnitten acht und neun⁴¹ wird eine Schlacht zwischen Heinrich IV. und Gregor VII. geschildert, in deren Verlauf Rudolf von Rheinfelden gefallen sei. Dies habe zum Sieg Heinrichs geführt, der zunächst das flüchtende päpstliche Heer verfolgt, dann gerastet und schließlich Rom belagert habe.

Anna schildert hier die Schlacht bei Pegau an der Weißen Elster (15. Oktober 1080), bei der zunächst das Heer Rudolfs erfolgreich zu sein

³⁸ Siehe unten S. 477-485.

³⁹ Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,7 (S. 45,50-62): Ὁ μὲν δοῦξ Ῥομπέρτος συστρέψας τοὺς χαλινοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν Σάλερνον ἔσπευδεν, ὁ δὲ κατάπτυστος οὗτος πάπας (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχω τί ποτ' ἂν ἄλλο τοῦτον ἐπονομάζειν τὴν ἀπάνθρωπον ἐκείνην ὕβριν ἐνθυμηθεῖσα τὴν εἰς τοὺς πρέσβεις) μετὰ πνευματικῆς χάριτος καὶ εὐαγγελικῆς εἰρήνης ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὁ δεσπότης ἐχώρει ὅλη γνώμη καὶ ὄλαις χερσὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον, ὁ εἰρηνικὸς ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ εἰρηνικοῦ μαθητῆς. Τοὺς γὰρ Σάξονας αὐτίκα καὶ τοὺς Σαξόνων ἡγεμόνας Λαντοῦλφόν τε καὶ Οὐέλφον μεταπεμψάμενος καὶ πολλὰ μὴν καὶ ἄλλα ἐν ὑποσχέσεσιν ὑποτείνας καὶ ῥῆγας ποιήσειν τῆς ἐσπέρας ἀπάσης ἐπαγγελιάμενος εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὑποσύρει τοὺς ἄνδρας. Οὕτως ἐκεῖνος εὐκόλον εἶχε τὴν δεξιάν εἰς χειροθεσίαν ῥηγῶν τοῦ Παύλου παρακούων, ὡς ἔοικε, „χειρας ταχέως μηδενὶ ἐπιτίθει“ λέγοντος ὁ δὲ τὸν δοῦκα Λογγιβαρδίας ἐταινίου καὶ τοὺς Σάξονας τοῦτους ἔστεφε.

⁴⁰ Zu den Ereignissen von Forchheim vgl. MEYER VON KNONAU (wie Anm. 23), III, S. 3-8; BOSHOFF (wie Anm. 4), S. 80-81 und 87-88; ALTHOFF (wie Anm. 9), S. 160-161; STRUVE, *Salierzeit* (wie Anm. 4), S. 103-104 sowie ausführlich W. SCHLESINGER, *Die Wahl Rudolfs von Schwaben zum Gegenkönig 1077 in Forchheim*, in FLECKENSTEIN (wie Anm. 21), S. 61-85.

⁴¹ Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,8-9 (S. 45,62-46,83).

schien, dann jedoch wegen der schweren Verletzung des Gegenkönigs, die schließlich zu dessen Tod führte, unterlag⁴². Der Feldzug Heinrichs nach Italien und die Belagerung Roms folgten der Schlacht nicht unmittelbar. Der König überquerte die Alpen erst im Frühling 1081⁴³.

(X) In Abschnitt zehn⁴⁴ beschreibt Anna Komnene, wie sich beide Seiten mit der Bitte um Waffenhilfe an Robert Guiscard gewandt hätten. Dieser habe ohne rechtes Interesse dem römisch-deutschen König mündlich, dem Papst dagegen schriftlich geantwortet. Die Autorin gibt den Brief wieder, in welchem Robert Guiscard den Papst auf eine spätere Zeit vertröstete, da er einen Feldzug gegen Byzanz vorbereite.

Dass Heinrich IV. in Kontakt zu Robert Guiscard trat, bestätigen auch die westlichen Quellen; ebenso, dass dies dem Papst nicht verborgen geblieben sei, sondern im Gegenteil Sorgen bereitet habe. Allerdings lehnte Robert ein Bündnis mit dem König, aber auch Waffenhilfe für Gregor VII. ab, und zwar genau aus dem von Anna genannten Grund: Robert maß dem Feldzug gegen Byzanz Priorität bei⁴⁵.

(XI) Nach der Schilderung von Untaten Robert Guiscards in Süditalien, kommt Anna Komnene im dritten Abschnitt des folgenden vierzehnten Kapitels⁴⁶ in indirekter Weise auf den Investiturstreit zurück, indem sie berichtet, der Normannenherzog habe vor dem Feldzug gegen Byzanz seinen Sohn Roger⁴⁷ zum Herrn über ganz Apulien ernannt und zusammen mit dessen Bruder Boritylas⁴⁸ angewiesen, im Falle eines päpstlichen Hilfeersuchens gegen Heinrich diesem nachzukommen.

Über diese Anweisung Roberts ist ansonsten nichts überliefert. Romuald von Salerno berichtet aber, dass Robert Guiscard nach der Nachricht von

⁴² Rudolf von Rheinfeldern wurde die Schwurhand abgeschlagen, was man als Gottesurteil ansah. Zu der Schlacht an der Weißen Elster vgl. MEYER VON KNONAU (wie Anm. 23), III, S. 337-339; ALTHOFF (wie Anm. 9), S. 173-175 und BOSHOF (wie Anm. 4), S. 92-93.

⁴³ MEYER VON KNONAU (wie Anm. 23), III, S. 352-353; BOSHOF (wie Anm. 4), S. 93-94 und ALTHOFF (wie Anm. 9), S. 182-183. Am 4. April hielt sich der König in Verona auf.

⁴⁴ Anna Komnene, Ἀλεξιάς (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,10 (S. 46,83-47,99).

⁴⁵ MEYER VON KNONAU (wie Anm. 23), III, S. 376, 384; ALTHOFF (wie Anm. 9), S. 181-182. Heinrich IV. versuchte Robert Guiscard dazu zu bewegen, Süditalien als königliches Lehen zu nehmen. Die negative Antwort des Normannenherzogs gibt Amatus von Montecassino, *Historia Normannorum* (ed. V. DE BARTHOLOMAEIS [Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 76], Rom, 1935) 7,27 (S. 320-321) wieder.

⁴⁶ Anna Komnene, Ἀλεξιάς (wie Anm. 2) 1,14,3 (S. 48,29-33).

⁴⁷ Roger Borsa, Sohn Robert Guiscards und Herzog von Apulien. Siehe zu ihm E. CUOZZO, Art. ‚Roger, 3: R. Borsa‘, in: LMA, 7 (wie Anm. 9), Sp. 938-939.

⁴⁸ Mit Borytilas ist Roberts gleichnamiger Neffe, Graf von Loritello, gemeint. Vgl. DU CANGE, *Notae* (wie Anm. 2), S. 438-439; REINSCH, *Alexias* (wie Anm. 2), S. 63, Anm. 129 und SEWTER – FRANKOPAN (wie Anm. 2), S. 487, Anm. 60.

der Einnahme Roms durch Heinrich IV. und der von diesem veranlassten Papsterhebung Wiberts von Ravenna als Clemens III. seinen Sohn Bohemund auf dem Feldzug gegen Byzanz zurückgelassen habe und zusammen mit seinem Sohn Roger dem Papst zu Hilfe geeilt sei⁴⁹.

(XII) Auf den Investiturstreit und seine Folgen kommt Anna Komnene nochmals im fünften Buch, Kapitel drei, Abschnitt sechs und sieben⁵⁰ zurück, wo sie den Angriff des mit Kaiser Alexios I. Komnenos verbündeten Heinrichs IV. auf Süditalien, dann seinen Rückzug nach der Nachricht von Alexios' Niederlage bei Dyrrachion (Oktober 1081) sowie schließlich den Marsch Robert Guiscards nach Rom zur Unterstützung des Papstes schildert.

Wie bereits angemerkt, bestätigen auch die westlichen Quellen das Eingreifen Robert Guiscards in die Auseinandersetzung zwischen König und Papst, nachdem es Heinrich IV. gelungen war, Rom unter seine Kontrolle zu bringen (März 1084). Dieses Herannahen Roberts, nicht die Niederlage der Byzantiner vor Dyrrachion, war die Ursache für den Rückzug des Königs aus Rom⁵¹.

DIE BEGEGNUNG GREGORS VII. MIT ROBERT GUISCARD

Anna Komnene gibt also relativ detailliert – teils im Widerspruch zu, teils in Übereinstimmung mit den westlichen Quellen – Stationen des Investiturstreits wieder. Dass sie Robert Guiscard als Feind der Byzantiner und Invasor des byzantinischen Reiches in der ‚Alexias‘ generell negativ beurteilte, bedarf kaum einer Erklärung. Im Falle Gregors VII. musste Anna dagegen subtiler vorgehen und ihr Negativbild argumentativ stützen. Die Tatsache, dass der Papst auf Robert Guiscards Seite stand, reichte anscheinend nicht aus. Doch mit welchen Mitteln gelang es der Autorin, das Bild des Papstes gegenüber dem Rezipienten ihres Werkes negativ zu formen?

⁴⁹ Romuald von Salerno, *Annales* a. 893-1178 (ed. W. ARNDT [MGH SS, 19], Hannover, 1866, S. 387-461); hier ad a. 1082 (S. 410,17-22): Quo audito dux Robbertus in ultramarinis partibus sibi rebus ordinatis, dimittens Boamundum filium suum et eandem terram custodiret, ipse cum uxore Apuliam repetiit. Dehinc assumensexercitum una cum filio suo Rogerio Gregorium papam adiit, hostes eius ab Urbe propulit ac civitatem Tiberin obsedit, acriter eam expugnans, illuc enim magna pars militum imperatoris simul cum falsa papa Clemente se receptaverat.

⁵⁰ Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 5,3,6-7 (S. 148,23-149,47).

⁵¹ Zum Zug Robert Guiscards und seiner Normannen nach Rom und zu der Plünderung der Stadt s. MEYER VON KNONAU (wie Anm. 23), III, S. 526-528 und BÜNEMANN (wie Anm. 11), S. 139-149.

Von einiger Aussagekraft scheint dabei ihre Schilderung der Zusammenkunft von Herzog und Papst zu sein. Im Folgenden wird daher zunächst ausführlicher als im ersten Teil der Untersuchung auf die Begegnung Robert Guiscards mit Gregor VII. nach ihrer Ausformung in der ‚Alexias‘ eingegangen werden⁵². In seiner Schilderung weist das Treffen nämlich, was Vorbereitung und Ablauf betrifft, interessante Elemente auf, die Gregor VII. in ein bestimmtes Bild rücken. Im Mittelpunkt stehen dabei insbesondere solche Aspekte, die im weitesten Sinne der performativen Ausgestaltung des Ereignisses zuzurechnen sind⁵³.

Zunächst sei jedoch knapp auf die westliche Überlieferung der Begegnung eingegangen. Wie bereits angemerkt, gibt Anna Komnene an dieser Stelle verzerrend die Begegnung zwischen Robert Guiscard und Gregor VII. zu Ceprano im Jahr 1080 wieder⁵⁴. Am ausführlichsten beschreibt

⁵² Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,6-7 (S. 44,29-45,62).

⁵³ Zur Performanz-Theorie und dem *performative turn* in den Kulturwissenschaften vgl. E. FISCHER-LICHTE, *Performance, Inszenierung, Ritual. Zur Klärung kulturwissenschaftlicher Schlüsselbegriffe*, in J. MARTSCHUKAT – ST. PATZOLD (Hgg.), *Geschichtswissenschaft und „performative turn“: Ritual, Inszenierung und Performanz vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit (Norm und Struktur, 19)*, Köln - Weimar - Wien, 2003, S. 33-54 sowie B. STOLLBERG-RILINGER, *Symbolische Kommunikation in der Vormoderne. Begriffe – Thesen – Forschungsperspektiven*, in *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 31 (2004), S. 489-527. Grundlegend auch G. ALTHOFF – L. SIEP, *Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme vom Mittelalter bis zur frühneuzeitlichen Revolution: Der neue Münsterer Sonderforschungsbereich 496*, in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 34 (2000), S. 393-412.

⁵⁴ Anders als REINSCH, *Alexias* (wie Anm. 2), S. 60, Anm. 119 („Anna verwechselt hier die Begegnung von Ceprano [1080] mit der früheren von Benevent im Jahre 1073“) halte ich es für unwahrscheinlich, dass Anna Komnene an dieser Stelle die Ereignisse von 1073 (gescheiterte Zusammenkunft in Benevent) und 1080 (Treffen in Ceprano) vermischt. Zum einen fand im Jahr 1073 in Benevent eben keine Begegnung statt (vgl. dazu MEYER VON KNONAU [wie Anm. 23], III, S. 278), zum anderen war laut Anna Komnene Benevent gerade nicht Platz der Begegnung. Über den genauen Ort der Zusammenkunft von 1080 sind sich übrigens auch die westlichen Quellen keineswegs einig. Wilhelm von Apulien verortet das Treffen nach Benevent (s. Beleg gleich im Anschluss). Bonizo von Sutri, *Liber ad amicum* (ed. E. DÜMMLER [MGH Ldl, 1], Hannover, 1891, S. 568-620) 9, S. 612 und Boso, *Vita Gregorii VII.* (ed. L. DUCHESNE, in *Liber Pontificalis* 2, Paris, 1892 [ND Paris, 1955], S. 360-368), S. 366 nennen als Ort Aquino, das *Chronicon Amalphitanum* (ed. L. A. MURATORI, in DERS. [Hg.], *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi sive Dissertationes etc.*, I, Mailand, 1738, Sp. 207-216), Sp. 214 sowie Romuald von Salerno, *Annales* (wie Anm. 49) ad a. 1080 (S. 408) dagegen Ceprano. Dass tatsächlich Ceprano Ort der Geschehnisse war, beweisen die Briefe Gregors VII., die zur Zeit der Begegnung explizit in Ceprano ausgestellt wurden; Gregor VII., *Registrum* (ed. E. CASPAR [MGH, Epp. sel. 2.2], Berlin, 1923) 2, Buch 5-9; hier #8,1 (S. 514-517). Zu den verschiedenen Ortsnennungen hinsichtlich der Begegnung vgl. MEYER VON KNONAU (wie Anm. 23), III, S. 306, Anm. 128. Dass Anna das Ereignis mit der Region Salerno/Benevent in Verbindung bringt, nicht aber mit Ceprano, könnte daher entweder dadurch zu erklären sein, dass sie sich auf diejenige westliche Tradition stützte, die Wilhelm von Apulien repräsentiert und die in Benevent den Treffpunkt verortete oder aber ganz einfach darin, dass der Kaisertochter Ceprano sicherlich weniger ein Begriff war als die alten langobardischen Städte Benevent und Salerno, deren Geschichte immer wieder

Wilhelm von Apulien die Ereignisse⁵⁵. Allerdings unterscheidet sich diese Schilderung signifikant von dem Bericht Anna Komnenes. Bei Wilhelm tritt Robert Guiscard als Büsser vor Gregor VII. Der Normannenherzog habe den Papst demütig um Verzeihung gebeten, sei vor ihm niedergefallen und habe ihm die Füße geküsst. Daraufhin hob der Papst dem Bericht zufolge Robert vom Boden auf und ließ ihn neben sich setzen. Anschließend habe man alle anwesenden Personen fortgeschickt, so dass sich Papst und Herzog unter vier Augen beraten konnten. Anschließend seien jene Personen wieder herbeigerufen worden. Der Papst habe ein Evangelium heranbringen lassen, auf das Robert den Eid abgelegt habe, der Kirche, der die Welt unterworfen sei, ewige Treue zu halten⁵⁶. Im Gegenzug habe Gregor VII. dem Normannenherzog das römische Königtum versprochen.

Die Gestaltung der von Wilhelm von Apulien geschilderten Zusammenkunft besteht also im Wesentlichen aus zwei Teilen: zum einen aus der Buße Roberts, zum anderen aus seiner Belehnung durch den Papst. Die

ihren Niederschlag auch in den byzantinischen Quellen gefunden hatten. Das gescheiterte Treffen zu Benevent schildert Amatus von Montecassino, *Historia Normannorum* (wie Anm. 45) 7,9 (S. 298-299): Et lo Duc [Robert Guiscard] s'accompaigna avec l'Abbé [Desiderius, Legat Gregors VII.]; et vindrent ensemble à Bonivent. Et defors de li murs sont estendut li paveillon, et li ostel furent appareilliez là où li Duc et li sien devoient her[ber]gier. Et fu rechet pacifiquement. Et li Pape, infre li mur de la cité, fu mis en lo plus grand palaiz; et, reservant soi et la apostolique dignité, li saint pere Pape manda messages à lo Duc que il doie venir à lui. Et lo Duc, pour garder soi de la malice de cil de la cite, proïa lo Pape que non venist à lui come à Robert, mès à sa fidelité. Et contresterent en ceste maniere: non vouloit [ester] privé de honor; li autre non vouloit doner occasion de injure ou de contumelie. Et encontinent discordre fu entre eaux et mal volenté et gran ire. Vgl. hierzu auch BÜNEMANN (wie Anm. 11), S. 80. Dieses Treffen scheiterte also bereits daran, dass keiner der beiden Akteure sich dazu bereit erklärte, zum anderen zu kommen. Neben dem Sicherheitsproblem stand sicherlich auch die Frage der Ehre im Mittelpunkt. Das aktive Kommen suggerierte in der Regel Unterordnung. Vgl. hierzu unten S. 482 mit Anm. 67.

⁵⁵ Wilhelm von Apulien, *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi* (wie Anm. 8) 4,16-33 (S. 204-206): Illis Gregorius Beneventum papa diebus // Advenit. Urbs erat haec Romano subdita papae // Atque sui iuris. Quia dux obsederat urbem, // Aegre papa tulit. Veniam Robertus ut huius // Imperet offensae, papae properavit ad urbem, // Supplicat et pedibus sancti dans oscula patris, // Suscipitur (tanti persona vigoris honore // Digna videbatur), considerare papa coegit. // Soliloquum, cunctis astantibus inde remotis, // Consilium tenuere diu; tum papa fideles // Convocat; ex papae secretum iussibus horum // Panditur; allatus liber est evangeliorum; // Dux papae iurat, fuerit dum vita superstes, // Observatum fidei se iura perhennis // Ecclesiae sanctae, totus cui subiacet orbis. // Romani regni sibi promise coronam // Papa ferebatur, quia rex Henricus ab illo // Damnatus fuerat propter commissa nefandis // Accumulata modis. Zum Treffen von Ceprano vgl. P. KEHR, *Die Belehnungen der süditalienischen Normannenfürsten durch die Päpste (1059–1192) (Abhandlungen der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1934, Nr. 1)*, Berlin, 1934, S. 27-29 und BÜNEMANN (wie Anm. 11), S. 101-105.

⁵⁶ Der Vasalleneid Robert Guiscards ist überliefert; vgl. die Zusammenstellung der Quellen zu dieser päpstlichen Belehnung des Normannen bei J. DEÉR, *Das Papsttum und die süditalienischen Normannenstaaten 1053-1212 (Historische Texte / Mittelalter, 12)*, Göttingen, 1969, S. 31-35.

Begegnung weist dabei starke Elemente der Superiorität Gregors VII. und der Subordination Robert Guiscards auf⁵⁷. Letzterer fällt dem Papst zu Füßen. Zwar darf er anschließend neben ihm Platz nehmen, doch erst auf dessen Anweisung hin, gleichsam aus dessen Gnade heraus. Auch der Treueschwur gegenüber der Kirche weist auf eine Unterordnung des Herzogs, ebenso das Versprechen Gregors VII., ihm die Krone des römischen (König-)Reichs zu verschaffen⁵⁸.

Der Bericht Wilhelms von Apulien über das Treffen steht offensichtlich in einem deutlichen Gegensatz zu dem Anna Komnenes, wo ein ganz anders geartetes Treffen geschildert wird. Die Kaisertochter weiß – wie bereits oben ausgeführt – hinsichtlich des Verhältnisses zwischen Gregor VII. und Robert Guiscard von einer Ausgangssituation zu berichten, die nicht spannungsfrei, sondern konfliktreich gewesen sei⁵⁹. Die Auseinandersetzung Gregors VII. mit Heinrich IV. änderte die Lage jedoch grundlegend. Aus Angst, der König könne sich mit Robert Guiscard im Kampf gegen den Papst vereinen, habe dieser auf einen Ausgleich mit dem Normannenherzog gesetzt. Die Aussöhnung sei während einer persönlichen Begegnung beider Akteure erfolgt.

Die Zusammenkunft bedurfte insbesondere aufgrund jener spannungsreichen Ausgangssituation einer sorgfältigen Vorbereitung. Dass Anna Komnene berichtet, der Papst sei in Friedensverhandlungen mit Robert Guiscard getreten⁶⁰, ist vor allem für die Frage nach dem Charakter der bisherigen Beziehungen zwischen Papst und Normannenherzog von Aussagekraft. Es trafen sich nicht etwa zwei Verbündete, sondern zwei Kontrahenten, die,

⁵⁷ Dies lässt sich auch nicht ausschließlich mit den Formalia einer Belehnung erklären. Die Belehnung Robert Guiscards durch Papst Nikolaus II. auf der Synode von Melfi 1059 wird vom selben Autor in augenscheinlichem Gegensatz schmucklos beschrieben, ohne dass irgendwelche Aussagen über eine Unter- bzw. Überordnung durch symbolische Handlungen getroffen würden; Wilhelm von Apulien, *Gesta Roberti* (wie Anm. 8) 2,400-405 (S. 154). Ebenso wenig sagt die Episode bei Wilhelm von Apulien etwas über die realen Verhältnisse aus. So interpretierte KEHR (wie Anm. 55), S. 27-29 die Begebenheit insbesondere anhand der Urkunden, die anlässlich der Begegnung von Ceprano ausgestellt wurden, als eine schwere diplomatische Niederlage Gregors VII. Der Bericht Wilhelms von Apulien geht in jedem Falle über die Schilderung einer bloßen Belehnung hinaus. Das Element der Buße (konkret für die Belagerung Benevents) tritt deutlich hervor.

⁵⁸ Zur Frage der Verleihung einer römischen Königswürde an Robert s. den Kommentar Mathieus in Wilhelm von Apulien, *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi* (wie Anm. 8), S. 312.

⁵⁹ Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,6 (S. 44,33-45,34): [...], οὐδὲ πρότερον φιλίως διακείμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν. So hatte sich etwa Gisulf, Schwager Roberts und von diesem exilierter letzter langobardischer Fürst von Salerno, 1077 zu Papst Gregor geflüchtet. Vgl. G. VITOLO, Art. ‚Salerno, A: Stadt, Fürstentum und Bistum‘, in: *LMA*, 7 (wie Anm. 9), Sp. 1295-1296 und BÜNEMANN (wie Anm. 11), S. 91-97. Seit 1074 war Robert Guiscard von Papst Gregor VII. mit dem Kirchenbann belegt. Vgl. oben S. 474 mit Anm. 36.

⁶⁰ Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,6 (S. 44,32-33): [...], φθάνει τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην τῷ Ῥομπέρτῳ διακηρυκευσάμενος [...].

durch äußere Umstände gedrängt, miteinander Frieden zu schließen gedachten⁶¹. Diese eher kriegerische Ausgangssituation machte daher die Vorbereitung des Treffens umso wichtiger. Das Sicherheitsproblem war einer der Punkte, der aufgrund der Spannungen im Vordergrund stehen musste.

Als geographischen Ausgangspunkt, von dem aus Robert Guiscard zu der Zusammenkunft aufbrach, nennt Anna Komnene Salerno, als den Gregors VII. Benevent, wohin dieser sich zuvor von Rom aus begeben habe⁶². Während Robert Guiscard demnach in die nördliche Grenzregion seines Herrschaftsbereichs zog⁶³, begab sich der Papst Annas Schilderung zufolge nach Benevent, d.h. in den Süden der ihm unterstehenden Territorien, ganz in die Nähe des Normannenherrschers⁶⁴. Nach Salerno und Benevent seien wechselseitige Gesandtschaften gegangen. In der Komposition Anna Komnenes suggeriert der Gesandtenaustausch das Bemühen, den Weg für eine persönliche Zusammenkunft zu ebnen, indem über die üblichen grundlegenden, die Sicherheit betreffenden Fragen sowie über die Begegnungsmodalitäten verhandelt wurde⁶⁵.

⁶¹ So auch ZIMMERMANN (wie Anm. 4), S. 172.

⁶² Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,6 (S. 45,34-35): Πυθόμενος γὰρ τὸν δοῦκα Ῥομπέρτον κατελιηφότα τὴν Σάλερνον ἀπάρας ἐκεῖνος τῆς Ῥώμης εἰς Βενεβενδὸν παραγίνεται.

⁶³ Salerno war seit 1076/1077 unter normannischer Herrschaft; vgl. Anm. 59 dieser Arbeit.

⁶⁴ Benevent hatte bereits 1051 dem Papst den Treueid geschworen. Die Stadt und ihr Umland waren 1077, als der beneventanische Fürst Landulf ohne Erben gestorben war, unter direkte päpstliche Herrschaft gefallen. Vgl. hierzu D. GIRGENSOHN Art. *„Benevent, IV: Stadt des Kirchenstaates“*, in: *LMA*, 1 (wie Anm. 9), Sp. 1908. Die Entfernung zwischen Benevent und Salerno beträgt ungefähr fünfzig Kilometer. Auch der tatsächliche Ort der Zusammenkunft, Ceprano, befand sich im päpstlich-normannischen Grenzgebiet. Vgl. H. M. SCHALLER, Art. *„Ceprano“*, in: *LMA*, 2 (wie Anm. 9), Sp. 1624.

⁶⁵ Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,6-7 (S. 44-45): καὶ διὰ πρέσβων πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλεχθέντες [...]. Für die gewissenhafte Vorbereitung von Treffen zweier Herrscher durch Gesandtschaften (zur Darstellung des Papstes Gregor in der vorliegenden Episode als Herrscher s. gleich unten im Anschluss) lassen sich zahlreiche Beispiele finden, insbesondere für Begegnungen, denen eine tendenziell kriegerische Situation beider Protagonisten vorausging. Als Beispiel sei an dieser Stelle auf das Treffen des Kaisers Alexios I. Komnenos (1081-1118) mit dem Grafen Gottfried von Bouillon 1097 während des Ersten Kreuzzugs hingewiesen, zu dessen Vorbereitung allein sechs kaiserliche Gesandtschaften überliefert sind (vgl. F. DÖLGER, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*, 2. Teil, *Regesten von 1025-1204*. Zweite, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage, bearb. von P. WIRTH (*Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, Reihe A: Regesten, Abt. 1), München, 1995, #1187, #1189, #1190, #1192, #1194 und #1195 (S. 142-145); hier auch Hinweise auf die entsprechende Sekundärliteratur zur Begegnung Gottfrieds mit Alexios. Die langwierige Vorbereitung kann angesichts des Umstands, dass Gottfrieds Truppen in ungeordneter, plündernder Weise den Balkan durchziehend vor Konstantinopel eintrafen, kaum verwundern. So bedurfte es, gerade was die Sicherheit und Gestaltung der Zusammenkunft betrifft, ausgiebigster Verhandlungen, bis das Treffen zustande kam. Ein anderes, zeitlich noch näher liegendes Beispiel ist die Vorbereitung der

Deutet der Begegnungsort in der Grenzregion und das gegenseitige Sich-Nähern bereits Symmetrie an, so verstärkt sich dieser Eindruck bei einem Blick auf die Geschehnisse unmittelbar vor der Zusammenkunft. Beide Akteure näherten sich ihrem Gegenüber zunächst mit Truppen. Kurz vor der Begegnung, mit den Worten Annas ἐκ διαστήματος ἰκανοῦ, d.h. in hinreichender Entfernung, lösten sich beide von ihrem Gefolge, traten aufeinander zu, begegneten sich also allein, ohne Begleitung⁶⁶.

Diese Art der Zusammenkunft ist unter mehreren, zum Teil bereits angesprochenen Gesichtspunkten zu sehen. Zum einen gewährte diese Form der Begegnung beiden Seiten größtmögliche Sicherheit. Größtmögliche Sicherheit bot darüber hinaus auch der Ort des Treffens. Da Salerno unter normannischer, Benevent jedoch unter päpstlicher Herrschaft stand, liegt in der Erzähllogik Anna Komnenes die Vermutung nahe, dass sich Gregor VII. und Robert Guiscard in der Grenzregion trafen. Keiner der beiden Akteure musste also den gefährvollen Weg in das Territorium des Gegenübers antreten. Zum anderen hatte diese Art der Begegnung auch einen symbolischen Stellenwert. Ein Treffen in der Mitte, das beide Seiten naturgemäß dazu zwang, die teilweise beschwerliche Anreise auf sich zu nehmen, drückte eine Zusammenkunft auf gleicher Augenhöhe aus⁶⁷. Der Unterschied zu dem bei Wilhelm von Apulien geschilderten Charakter des Treffens wird an diesem Punkt besonders deutlich.

Begegnung des Kaisers Alexios I. mit dem Normannen Bohemund in Devol (1108), die zu dem Friedensschluss beider Kontrahenten führen sollte (Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* [wie Anm. 2] 13,8,5-7 [S. 406-407]). Hier stand in erster Linie die Frage im Vordergrund, unter welcher rituellen Ausgestaltung die Begegnung erfolgen sollte. Es ließen sich hier zahlreiche andere Beispiele dieser Art anführen. Begegnungen byzantinischer Kaiser mit auswärtigen Herrschern in Fokussierung auf ihre Vorbereitung/ Planung sowie ihre rituelle Ausgestaltung sind Thema meines Dissertationsprojekts.

⁶⁶ Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,6 (S. 45,37-40): Καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν τῆς Βενεβενδοῦ μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου ξυντάγματος, ὁ δὲ τῆς Σαλέρνου μετὰ στρατιάς ἐξιόντες, κἄθ' οὕτως τῶν στρατευμάτων γεγονότων ἐκ διαστήματος ἰκανοῦ, ἐκάτερος τοῦ οἰκείου τάγματος ἀποστάς, συνηλθέτην τὲ τῷ ἄνδρι [...].

⁶⁷ Zur Aussagekraft des Begegnungsortes als Indikator für die gegenseitigen Rang- und Machtverhältnisse bezogen auf (westliche) Herrschertreffen vgl. I. Voss, *Herrschertreffen im frühen und hohen Mittelalter: Untersuchungen zu den Begegnungen der ostfränkischen und westfränkischen Herrscher im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert sowie der deutschen und französischen Könige im 11.-13. Jahrhundert* (Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 26), Köln - Wien, 1987, S. 23-24, 39; W. KOLB, *Herrscherbegegnungen im Mittelalter* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, III, 359), Bern u.a., 1988, S. 52 sowie G. SCHWEDLER, *Herrschertreffen des Spätmittelalters. Formen – Rituale – Wirkungen* (Mittelalterforschungen, 21), Ostfildern, 2008, S. 334. DEÉR, *Untersuchungen* (wie Anm. 36), S. 30, Anm. 140 relativiert für die Treffen zwischen Päpsten und Normannenherzogen in der Grenzregion zur Belehnung der letzteren den Rang- und Machtaspekt des beiderseitigen Kommens zugunsten des Sicherheitsaspekts, der aufgrund der zunehmenden Spannungen zwischen beiden Akteuren in den Vordergrund getreten sei.

Auch der Ablauf der von Anna Komnene berichteten Begegnung war streng symmetrisch. Beide Protagonisten tauschten gegenseitig Garantien und Eide aus, bevor sie zu ihrem Gefolge zurückkehrten⁶⁸. Selbst der Inhalt der Eide verließ diese symmetrischen Bahnen nicht. Beide sicherten sich gegenseitig Waffenhilfe zu, wobei der Normannenherzog laut Anna Komnene dem Papst explizit Hilfe gegen Heinrich IV. versprochen habe. Wer der Opponent Robert Guiscards war, gegen den Gregor VII. vorzugehen sich verpflichtete, brauchte Anna Komnene nicht eigens zu erwähnen, da es dem Rezipienten ihres Werkes ohnehin klar sein musste: Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Robert Guiscard und Annas Vater Alexios I. Komnenos ist das Grundthema der ersten Bücher der ‚Alexias‘⁶⁹. Eine zusätzliche Ehrung sei dem Normannenherzog dadurch gewährt worden, dass Gregor VII. ihm die Königswürde versprochen habe⁷⁰.

Vorbereitung und Ablauf der Begegnung zwischen Gregor und Robert gestaltet Anna Komnene also streng symmetrisch. Symmetrie in der Symbolik von Zusammenkünften intendiert eine Form von Gleichheit, Asymmetrie eine Form von Ungleichheit. Gut zu beobachten ist dies insbesondere bei Herrscherbegegnungen. So legte beispielsweise der byzantinische Kaiser, der für sich den höchsten irdischen Rang beanspruchte und daher Gleichheit, ausgedrückt durch symbolische Handlungen, vermeiden wollte, Wert darauf, dass auswärtige Herrscher zu ihm kamen und nicht etwa umgekehrt er zu ihnen⁷¹.

⁶⁸ Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,6 (S. 45,40-41): [...] καὶ πίστεις παρ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ὄρκους λαβόντες ὑπέστρεψαν.

⁶⁹ Vgl. oben S. 469 mit Anm. 16.

⁷⁰ Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,6 (S. 45,41-44): Οἱ δὲ ὄρκοι, ἴν' ὁ μὲν πάπας τὴν τε τοῦ ῥηγὸς ἀξίαν περιθεῖη αὐτῷ καὶ συμμαχίαν δοίη καιροῦ καλοῦντος κατὰ Ῥωμαίων· ὁ δὲ δοῦξ ἀνθρωκίζετο τῷ πάπᾳ προσβοηθεῖν ὅποι βούλοιο. Anna gibt hier entweder die von Wilhelm von Apulien, *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi* (wie Anm. 8) 4,31-33 (S. 204-206) vertretene westliche Tradition wieder, nach der Papst Gregor dem Normannen das Königtum versprochen habe, oder aber die Autorin projiziert, was ebenfalls denkbar ist, die Königserhebung Rogers II. durch Papst Anaklet II. im Jahr 1130 insofern auf die Zeit Robert Guiscards zurück, als sie jene tatsächliche Königserhebung des zeitgenössischen Nachfahren Robert Guiscards durch eine bereits zuvor von einem Papst versprochene Erhebung gleichsam vorankündigt lässt.

⁷¹ Exemplarisch für die byzantinische Sichtweise, dass bei großer Machtfülle eines Herrschers ein aktives Kommen zu einem anderen Herrscher als ehrenrührig verstanden wurde vgl. etwa Ioannes Skylitzes, *Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν* (ed. H. THURN (CFHB, 5), Berlin - New York, 1973, S. 104,56-59, wo ein Brief des Kalifen al-Ma'mūn (813-833) an Kaiser Theophilos (829-842) zitiert wird, in dem es heißt: Ἐβουλόμην μὲν αὐτὸς ἀφικέσθαι σοι, ἔργον γνησίου φίλου ἀποπληρῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ ἀνακειμένη μοι ἀρχὴ ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ ὁ ὑπὸ τὴν χειρᾶ μου τελῶν πλεῖστος κατ' ἐξουσίαν λαὸς τοῦτο οὐ συγχωρεῖ. Vgl. zu diesem Aspekt auch A. ŞT. ANCA, *Herrschaftliche Repräsentation und kaiserliches Selbstverständnis. Berührungen der westlichen mit der byzantinischen Welt in der Zeit der ersten Kreuzzüge* (*Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme; Schriftenreihe des*

Dies führt zu der Frage, welches Ereignis Anna Komnene eigentlich in dieser Episode schildern will. Es darf nicht übersehen werden, dass uns die betreffende Passage weniger Einblicke in die konkrete Ausgestaltung dieser Begegnung westlicher Akteure, als vielmehr solche in die Sichtweise der byzantinischen Prinzessin Anna Komnene bzw. ihrer Quellen gewährt. Es ist evident, dass sie ein ganz anderes Ereignis schildert als etwa Wilhelm von Apulien. Was uns in der ‚Alexias‘ entgegentritt ist vor allem eine byzantinische Deutung, ja Verformung, westlicher Ereignisse⁷². Dennoch scheint Anna Komnene auf glaubwürdige westliche Überlieferungstraditionen zurückgegriffen zu haben. Auch hier begegnet die Region Benevent als Ort der Zusammenkunft. Das Sich-Nähern in der Grenzregion, von dem päpstlichen Benevent und dem normannischen Salerno aus, ist darüber hinaus in sich nur kohärent, wenn die Kenntnis um die Position, die beiden Städten auf der machtpolitischen Landkarte zukam, gewährleistet war. Ob dieses Wissen bei der Autorin vorausgesetzt werden darf, ist jedoch mehr als zweifelhaft, was wiederum auf westliche Vorlagen für ihren Bericht hinweisen könnte⁷³.

Auch wenn westliche Quellen dem Bericht Anna Komnenes zugrunde gelegen haben sollten, so dürften dennoch die Geschehnisse im Einzelnen von der Autorin komponiert worden sein. Die Episode weist, wie bereits angedeutet, eine Reihe von Elementen von Herrscherbegegnungen auf, ja ist geradezu in der Art einer solchen konstruiert. Der Umstand, dass die Begegnung eines normannischen Fürsten mit einem Papst wie ein Herrschertreffen organisiert wurde, wird dem modernen Mediävisten wahrscheinlich weniger sonderbar vorkommen als einem byzantinischen Zeitgenossen der Ereignisse. Aus dessen Sicht musste ein Geistlicher, zumal einer, der sich einer Hybris hingab, indem er die Führung über die gesamte Ökumene beanspruchte, in der Position eines sich als Herrscher gerierenden Akteurs bizarr wirken. Von daher scheint die Darstellung Gregors VII. in der ‚Alexias‘ eine pejorative, ironisch-spöttische Komponente

Sonderforschungsbereichs 496, 31), Münster, 2010, S. 58-59 und 66-71. Für das westliche Mittelalter vgl. die Angaben bei Anm. 67. Byzantinische Kaiser, die zu auswärtigen Herrschern reisen, treten erst ab dem 14. Jh. auf. Ihre Reisen waren der verzweifelten Lage des von den Osmanen bedrängten Reiches geschuldet; vgl. A. KAZHDAN, *The Notion of Byzantine Diplomacy*, in J. SHEPARD – S. FRANKLIN (Hgg.), *Byzantine Diplomacy. Papers of the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, Aldershot, 1992, S. 3-21; hier S. 17.

⁷² Damit ist klar, dass auch Darstellungen ritueller Handlungen stets durch das Medium der Überlieferung verformt sind. Rituale treten dem Leser nicht als ‚ritual-in-performance‘, sondern lediglich als ‚ritual-in-text‘ entgegen. Vgl. Hierzu Ph. BUC, *The Dangers of Ritual. Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific History*, Princeton - Oxford, 2001, S. 8.

⁷³ Vgl. oben S. 467-468 mit Anm. 8.

zu besitzen⁷⁴. In dem Abschnitt über den Investiturstreit finden sich noch andere Elemente, die in diese Richtung weisen. Ihnen soll im folgenden, letzten Abschnitt nachgegangen werden.

IRONIE UND SPOTT IN BEZUG AUF GREGOR VII.

Anna Komnene schildert also jene Zusammenkunft zwischen Gregor VII. und Robert Guiscard als eine Art Herrscherbegegnung und tadelt damit in ironisierender, spöttischer Weise das Verhalten des Papstes. Ironie und Spott sind auch an anderen Stellen der Investiturstreit-Episode die Stilmittel Annas, mit denen sie ein Negativbild Gregors VII. zu zeichnen sucht⁷⁵.

Heinrichs IV. Vorwurf gegenüber Gregor VII., er habe ohne königliches Einverständnis den Stuhl Petri bestiegen, führt Anna kommentarlos an, übt also an dem königlichen Anspruch auf Rom, an dem Recht des römisch-deutschen Königs, durch sein Einverständnis einer Papstwahl überhaupt erst Legitimität zu verleihen, keine Kritik⁷⁶. Dieses Schweigen wiegt umso

⁷⁴ Zum Stilmittel der Ironie vgl. E. BEHLER, Art. ‚Ironie‘, in: *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, IV: *Hu-K*, hg. von G. UEDING, Tübingen, 1998, Sp. 599-624 sowie Ph. DESPOIX (übers. Justus Fetscher), Art. ‚Ironisch/Ironie‘, in: *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe*, III: *Harmonie – Material*, hg. von K. BARCK u.a., Stuttgart - Weimar, 2001, S. 196-244. BEHLER, Sp. 599-600 weist auf das breite Anwendungsspektrum des Ironiebegriffs hin, bemerkt jedoch zusammenfassend: „Als für alle diese Bereiche grundlegende Definition kann die Formulierung verwandt werden, daß durch die [Ironie] das Gegenteil des Gemeinten geäußert wird, daß man das Gegenteil von dem zu verstehen gibt, was man sagt.“ Zu Ironie in Byzanz vgl. J. LJUBARSKIJ, *The Byzantine Irony. The Case of Michael Psellos*, in A. AVRAMEA – A. LAIOU – Ev. CHRYSOS (Hgg.), *Βυζάντιο. Κράτος και Κοινωνία. Μνήμη Ν. Οικονομίδη*, Athen, 2003, S. 349-360, der nicht nur das Fallbeispiel ‚Psellos‘, sondern auch einen Überblick über den Ironiebegriff in Antike und Byzanz gibt. Zum byzantinischen Humor der betreffenden Zeit inklusive der Ironie vgl. daneben L. GARLAND, ‚And His Bald Head Shone Like a Full Moon...‘: *an appreciation of the Byzantine sense of humour as recorded in historical sources of the eleventh and twelfth Centuries*, in *Parergon. Bulletin of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, N.S. 8 (1990), S. 1-31. Weitere Fallstudien zum Gebrauch des Stilmittels der Ironie bei einzelnen byzantinischen Autoren und ihren Werken sind: M. ALEXIOU, *Literary Subversion and the Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century Byzantium: A Stylistic Analysis of the Timarion (ch. 6-10)*, in *BMGS*, 8 (1982-1983), S. 29-45; ein Beispiel aus den ‚Ptochoprodromika‘ bei M. J. KYRIAKIS, *Satire and Slapstick in seventh and twelfth century Byzantium*, in *Βυζαντινά*, 5 (1973), S. 289-306; hier S. 300; M. PENNINGCK, *Two heroes, two lives in the Grottaferrata Digenes Akrites*, in *BMGS*, 31 (2007), S. 32-52.

⁷⁵ Vgl. auch M. Th. FÖGEN, *Warum Canossa in Byzanz nur zur Parodie taugte*, in B. JUSSEN (Hg.), *Die Macht des Königs. Herrschaft in Europa vom Frühmittelalter bis in die Neuzeit*, München, 2005, S. 205-215; hier S. 205. In der *Alexias* werden Päpste generell in der Tendenz negativ beschrieben. Vgl. hierzu bereits BUCKLER (wie Anm. 3), S. 307-314.

⁷⁶ Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,2 (S. 43,93-97). Ὁ δὲ γε ῥῆξ Ἀλαμανίας τυραννίδος τὸν πάντα ἐγράφετο, ὡς ἄτερ γνώμης αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀποστολικὸν ἐξαργάσαι

schwerer, da Heinrich IV. den Papst der τυραννίς beschuldigt und dessen Besteigung der *cathedra Petri* als ὕβρις bezeichnet. Beide Begriffe zielen also massiv darauf, die ‚Herrschaft‘ Gregors VII. als illegitim und usurpiert zu charakterisieren⁷⁷.

Auch Gregors Reaktion (in demselben Maße wie Anna Komnene sie schildert) auf diese durch Legaten vorgebrachten Anschuldigungen gerichtet dem Papst nicht zum Vorteil⁷⁸. Er misshandelt die Gesandten des Königs, die Drohungen ihres Herrn überbringen. Diese Bestrafung erfolgt laut Anna auf eine höchst unziemliche, von Gregor VII. persönlich neu ersonnene Art⁷⁹. Ein hoher Kirchenmann als Erfinder perfider Strafen bewirkt eine weitere Steigerung des Negativbilds, das in der ‚Alexias‘ vermittelt wird. Erneut benutzt Anna Komnene den Begriff ὕβρις, diesmal mit dem verstärkenden Epitheton βαρβαρική. Sie kontrastiert das Verhalten Gregors mit seinem Amt und geht noch einen Schritt weiter, indem sie das Verhalten ganz allgemein als eines Christen unwürdig bezeichnet. Es überrascht daher kaum, wenn sie Gregor direkt im Anschluss als βάρβαρος bezeichnet. Daraufhin führt sie erneut die βαρβαρική ὕβρις des Papstes an.

Ferner karikiert Anna Komnene in ironischer Weise den Anspruch des Papstes auf den Vorsitz über die christliche Ökumene durch ihre Schilderung seines grausamen Verhaltens gegenüber den Gesandten⁸⁰. Sie macht deutlich, dass dieses Verhalten eigentlich nicht gegen die Gesandten, sondern

θρόνον. Καί που καὶ ἀπηναισχυντήκει πρὸς τοῦτον καὶ ἰταμωτέροις ἐχρήσατο λόγοις, ὥς, εἰ μὴ ἐκσταίη τῆς αὐθαιρέτου προεδρίας, μεθ' ὕβρεως ἐκείθεν ἀπελαθήσεται.

⁷⁷ Der Hybrisvorwurf ist darüber hinaus ein übliches Klischee der Byzantiner gegen die ‚Barbaren‘ insgesamt; vgl. R.-J. LILIE, *Anna Komnene und die Lateiner*, in *Bsl*, 54 (1993), S. 169-182; hier S. 175.

⁷⁸ Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,3 (S. 43,97-44,14): Τούτων οὖν ἀκούσας ὁ πάπας τῶν λόγων κατὰ τῶν πρέσβων εὐθὺς ἐμεμήνει καὶ αἰκισάμενος πρότερον ἀπανθρώπως, εἶτα καὶ κείρας τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ ἐπικείρας τοὺς πώγωνα, τὰς μὲν ψαλίσι, ξυρῶ δὲ τοὺς πώγωνα, καὶ ἄλλο τι προσεξεργασάμενος ἀτοπώτατον καὶ βαρβαρικήν ὕβριν ὑπερελαῦνον ἀφήκεν. Εἶπον ἂν καὶ τὴν ὕβριν, εἰ μὴ με καὶ γυναικεία καὶ βασιλικὴ ἐπέιχεν αἰδῶς· ἐκεῖνο γὰρ οὐχ' ὅπως ἀνάξιον ἀρχιερέως τὸ παρ' ἐκείνου πραχθέν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὄλωσ ἀνθρώπου χριστιανικὸν ἐπιφερομένου καὶ τοῦνομα. Ἐβδελυξάμην καὶ τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ βαρβάρου, μήτοιγε τοῦργον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν γραφέα κάλαμον καὶ τὸν χάρτην ἐμόλυνα ἂν, εἰ τὸ πραχθέν κατὰ μέρος διεξήειν. Ἄλλ' εἰς παράστασιν καὶ βαρβαρικῆς ὕβρεως καὶ ὅτι ὁ χρόνος ῥέων ἦθη ἀνδρῶν παντοδαπὰ πρὸς κακίαν ἀναφύει καὶ πάντολμα, ἀρκέσει αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ μηδὲ μικρόν τι τοῦ πραχθέντος ἀνασχέσθαι ἡμᾶς παρεμφῆναι ἢ διηγήσασθαι.

⁷⁹ EBD. 1,13,5 (S. 44,24-29): Μήποτε οὖν ἡ τοιαύτη πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεας ὕβρις ἀνεφέρετο πρὸς τὸν πεπομότα ἰούσα, οὐ μόνον ὅτι τούτους ἐκόλασεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ καινὴν τινα τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς γενομένην ὕβριν αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἐξέεύρατο. Ἥνιττετο γὰρ δι' ὃν ἐποίει τὸ τοῦ ῥητός, ὥς οἶμαι, εὐκαταφρόνητον, ὥσπερ τις ἡμίθεος ἡμιόνω διαλεγόμενος διὰ τῶν καθυβρισμένων τουτωνὶ πρέσβων.

⁸⁰ EBD. 1,13,4 (S. 44,15-17): Καὶ ταῦτα ἀρχιερέως, ὃ δίκη, καὶ ταῦτα πρώτου ἀρχιερέως, καὶ ταῦτα προκαθημένου τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης γενομένου, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ οἱ Λατῖνοι λέγουσὶ τε καὶ οἶονται.

gegen Heinrich IV. gerichtet war, und bekräftigt dadurch, dass Gesandte als unmittelbare Stellvertreter ihres Herrn galten und dass die Art und Weise, wie man sie behandelte, als direkte Behandlung ihres Herren aufgefasst wurde, ganz gleich, ob sie ehrend oder beleidigend war⁸¹.

Gleichfalls negativ wirkt das Versprechen des Papstes, Rudolf von Rheinfelden und Welf IV. zu Königen zu erheben. Auch dies wirkt aus byzantinischer Sicht als ὑβρις, gerade wenn man demgegenüber die Rechte des konstantinopolitanischen Patriarchen betrachtet, der zwar bereits seit dem 5. Jahrhundert an dem Zeremoniell der Kaisererhebung beteiligt war, dessen Mitwirkung zunächst jedoch nicht in demselben Maße als konstitutiv bezeichnet werden kann, wie dies im Westen mit der Rolle des Papstes bei der Kaiserkrönung der Fall war⁸². Eine Salbung des byzantinischen Kaisers durch den Patriarchen als unverzichtbares Element seiner Erhebung ist erst im 13. Jahrhundert, wohl unter westlichem Einfluss, sicher belegt⁸³.

Generell ist die Wirkung des päpstlichen Verhaltens auf den byzantinischen Rezipienten des Werkes nur dann adäquat zu erfassen, wenn hierzu als Gegensatz die Verhaltensmuster und Handlungsspielräume der konstantinopolitanischen Patriarchen gegenübergestellt werden. Diese müssen also bei einer Betrachtung des Papstbildes in der ‚Alexias‘ stets mitgedacht werden. Aus byzantinischer Sicht war der römische Papst nichts anderes als ein Patriarch, wenn ihm auch traditionell gegenüber den anderen vier Patriarchen ein Ehrenvorrang, keineswegs jedoch ein jurisdiktioneller, zugebilligt wurde⁸⁴. Der Patriarch von Konstantinopel gerierte sich nicht als Herrscher,

⁸¹ K. GÖRICH, *Eine „internationale“ Sprache der Ehre? Gesandte vor Friedrich Barbarossa*, in H. VOLLRATH (Hg.), *Der Weg in eine weitere Welt. Kommunikation und „Außenpolitik“ im 12. Jahrhundert (Neue Aspekte der europäischen Mittelalterforschung, 2)*, Berlin - Münster, 2008, S. 35-57; hier: S. 37.

⁸² Zur früh- und mittelbyzantinischen Kaisererhebung und der Rolle des Patriarchen vgl. grundlegend O. TREITINGER, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell*, Jena, 1938 (ND Darmstadt, 1956), S. 7-31. Als jüngere Studien seien exemplarisch R.-J. LILIE, *Byzanz. Kaiser und Reich*, Köln - Weimar - Wien, 1994, S. 10-26; DERS., Art ‚Krönung‘, in *RAC*, V (1995), Sp. 439-454 sowie G. DAGRON, *Emperor and Priest. The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, Cambridge, 2003, S. 54-83 genannt, hier jeweils mit Verweisen auf die neuere Literatur zum Thema Kaisererhebung in Byzanz. Die womöglich erste Beteiligung eines Patriarchen bzw. Erzbischofs von Konstantinopel ist anlässlich der Kaisererhebung Markians (450) verzeichnet. Die erste sichere Beteiligung eines Patriarchen ist bei der Erhebung Leons I. (457) bezeugt.

⁸³ TREITINGER (wie Anm. 82), S. 15-16 und 29; D. M. NICOL, *The Unction of Emperors in Late Byzantine Coronation Ritual*, in *BMGS*, 2 (1976), S. 37-52; DAGRON (wie Anm. 82), S. 267-181 und D. ANGELOV, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204-1330*, Cambridge, 2007, S. 387-392.

⁸⁴ Vgl. hierzu BECK, *Kirche* (wie Anm. 31), S. 32-35. Einen konzisen Überblick über die spätantiken Grundlagen des Verhältnisses zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel bzw. über das divergierende Kirchenverständnis gibt BAYER (wie Anm. 36), S. 9-14. Dessen Untersuchung über das ‚Schisma‘ von 1054 reicht bis zu den gescheiterten Unionsverhandlungen von

ersann keine perfiden Strafen, sondern galt im Gegensatz dazu als geistlich-moralische Autorität, die auf dieser Ebene dem Kaiser Paroli bieten konnte und dies auch immer wieder tat⁸⁵. Ihm wurde daher oftmals ein mäßiger Einfluss auf den Kaiser zugeschrieben⁸⁶.

Den Vergleich mit dem Patriarchen muss man auch bei der beißenden Kritik im Auge behalten, die Annas Bemerkung impliziert, kurz vor ihrer Begegnung hätten beide, also Papst Gregor VII. und Robert Guiscard, ihr eigenes Heer verlassen⁸⁷. Dass ein Kirchenmann, zumal einer mit dem Anspruch des Vorrangs über die gesamte Ökumene, als Heerführer auftrat,

1111/1112, d.h. relativ zeitnah an unsere Autorin Anna Komnene und ist eine detailreiche Studie über die keineswegs immer gradlinige Entwicklung der wechselseitigen Beziehungen von Papst, Patriarch, Normannenherzog sowie westlichem und byzantinischem Kaiser.

⁸⁵ BECK, *Kirche* (wie Anm. 31), S. 64. Besonders spektakuläre Beispiele von (teilweise vielleicht vermeintlichen) Reaktionen konstantinopolitanischer Patriarchen auf kaiserliche moralische Verfehlungen sind der Tetragamiestreit zwischen Leon VI. (886-912) und Nikolaos I. Mystikos (901-907; 912-925) (vgl. hierzu S. TOUGHER, *The Reign of Leo VI [886-912] [The Medieval Mediterranean, Peoples Economies and Cultures 400-1453]*, 15, Leiden - New York - Köln, 1997, S. 133-163 und V. STANKOVIĆ, *Carigradski patrijarsi i carevi Makedonske dinastije* [Vizantološki institut Srpske Akademije Nauka i Umetnosti posebna izdanja, 28], Beograd, 2003, S. 92-96 [mit ausführlicher französischer Zusammenfassung]), der Konflikt zwischen Ioannes I. Tzimiskes (969-976) und Polyuktos (956-970) (vgl. hierzu STANKOVIĆ, S. 131-132 und R.-J. LILIE, *Caesaropapismus in Byzanz? Patriarch Polyuktos und Kaiser Ioannes I. Tzimiskes*, in K. BELKE – E. KISLINGER – A. KÜLZER – M. A. STASSINOPOULOU [Hgg.], *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wien - Köln - Weimar, 2007, S. 387-397) sowie der Streit zwischen Michael VIII. (1258/1261-1282) und Arsenios Autoreianos (1254-1260 und 1261-1264) (vgl. hierzu knapp BECK, *Kirche* [wie Anm. 31], S. 702-703; DERS., *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im Byzantinischen Reich [Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte]*, 1, D1], Göttingen, 1980, S. 193-194; M. Th. FÖGEN, *Kaiser unter Kirchenbann im östlichen und westlichen Mittelalter*, in *Rechtshistorisches Journal*, 16 [1997], S. 527-549) sowie DIES., *Canossa* (wie Anm. 75).

⁸⁶ So erließ etwa Kaiser Nikephoros III. Botaneiates (1078-1081) im Jahr 1079 ein Chrysobull, in welchem dem Patriarchen die Aufgabe auferlegt wurde, den Kaiser alle vier Monate an exilierte Personen zu erinnern, um gegebenenfalls deren Begnadigung zu erwirken (DÖLGER – WIRTH [wie Anm. 65], #1047). Vgl. dazu L. BURGMANN, *A Law for Emperors. Observations on a Chrysobull of Nikephoros III Botaneiates*, in P. MAGDALINO (Hg.), *New Constantines. The Rythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th Centuries. Papers from the Twenty-sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St. Andrews, March 1992 (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Publications, 2)*, Aldershot, 1994, S. 247-257. Als Vorbild diente dem Kaiser hierbei ein Gesetz des Kaisers Theodosios I. (379-395), nach dem körperliche und Kapitalstrafen erst 30 Tage nach Urteilsverkündung vollstreckt werden durften. Dieses Gesetz war den Quellen nach eine Folge des berühmten Konfliktes zwischen Kaiser Theodosios I. und Erzbischof Ambrosius von Mailand, der durchaus zu einer Art Prototyp von Konflikten zwischen weltlicher und geistlicher Macht wurde; vgl. hierzu auch FÖGEN, *Canossa* (wie Anm. 75), S. 207-208. Zum Konflikt zwischen Ambrosius und Theodosios vgl. auch DAGRON (wie Anm. 82), S. 105-106.

⁸⁷ Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάς* (wie Anm. 2) 1,13,6 (S. 45,38-40): [...], κἄθ' οὕτως τῶν στρατευμάτων γεγονότων ἐκ διαστήματος ἱκανοῦ, ἐκάτερος τοῦ οἰκείου τάγματος ἀποστάς [...].

war aus byzantinischer Sicht bizarr. Dass aber der Papst ebendies tat und darüber hinaus noch eidlich Militärhilfe versprach, nur um anschließend sogar diese Eide zu brechen, steigert aus byzantinischer Sicht die Situation geradezu ins Grotleske.

Im Folgenden wird dem Papst ein weiteres negatives Epitheton zugewiesen, indem er als *κατάπτυστος*, also verabscheuungswürdig bezeichnet wird. Diese Bemerkung wird dadurch in ihrer Wirkung verstärkt, dass Anna – sich vorgeblich entschuldigend – in Parenthese hinzufügt: ‚Und ich habe kein anderes Wort, um ihn zu bezeichnen, wenn ich jene unmenschliche Gewalttätigkeit gegen die Gesandten beherzige.‘⁸⁸ Mit beißender Ironie führt Anna die Charakterisierung Gregors fort, indem sie berichtet: ‚Mit der Gnade des Heiligen Geistes und dem Frieden des Evangeliums, mit voller Entschlossenheit und aller Macht zog der Herr, dieser Friedfertige und Jünger des Friedfertigen, in den Bürgerkrieg.‘⁸⁹ Die Verspottung Gregors VII. mit dem Stilmittel der ironischen Überzeichnung wird an dieser Stelle besonders deutlich. Das bewusste Ansteuern eines Bürgerkriegs, die Leitung eines Heeres, also die Übernahme militärischer Aufgaben, machen den Papst zu allem anderen, bloß nicht zu einem ‚Jünger des Friedfertigen‘.

In der direkt anschließenden Darstellung der Schlacht an der Weißen Elster tritt der Papst erneut als Heerführer in Erscheinung, indem er von Anna als direkter Schlachtgegner Heinrichs IV. aufgebaut wird: ‚Nachdem der König Alamanniens, Enerichos, und der Papst ihre Truppen versammelt und sie gegeneinander aufgestellt hatten, da gab die hörnerne Trompete das Signal, und schon gerieten die Schlachtreihen aneinander, und ein großer, langer Kampf entbrannte auf beiden Seiten.‘⁹⁰ Dass Gregor VII. keineswegs bei dieser entscheidenden Schlacht, bei der der Gegenkönig Rudolf von Rheinfeldern zwar zunächst erfolgreich kämpfte, dann jedoch die Schwurhand verlor und an dieser schweren Verletzung starb, anwesend war, geschweige denn die Truppen anführte, braucht nicht eigens betont zu werden. Doch auch diese Szene dient Anna dazu, die *ὑβρις* des Papstes ironisierend darzustellen. Erst einige Zeilen später löst sie die Situation indirekt

⁸⁸ EBD. 1,13,7 (S. 45,51-53): Ὁ δὲ κατάπτυστος οὗτος πάπας (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχω τί ποτ' ἂν ἄλλο τοῦτον ἐπονομάζειν τὴν ἀπάνθρωπον ἐκείνην ὑβριν ἐνθυμηθεῖσα τὴν εἰς τοὺς πρέσβεις) [...].

⁸⁹ EBD. 1,13,7 (S. 45,53-55): [...] μετὰ πνευματικῆς χάριτος καὶ εὐαγγελικῆς εἰρήνης ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὁ δεσπότης ἐχώρει ὅλη γνῶμη καὶ ὄλαις χερσὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον, ὁ εἰρηνικὸς ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ εἰρηνικοῦ μαθητῆς.

⁹⁰ EBD. 1,13,8 (S. 45,62-46,66): Συναγροχότος τοίνυν ἑκατέρου τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῶν, τοῦ τε ῥηγὸς Ἀλαμανίας Ἐνερίχου καὶ τοῦ πάπα, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους παραταξαμένων ἢ τε κερατίνη σάλπιγξ τὸ ἐνδόσιμον ἐδεδώκει καὶ συνερράγησαν εὐθὺς αἱ φάλαγγες καὶ μάχη ἐξ ἑκατέρων ἀνερρίπισθη μεγάλη καὶ παραμόνιμος.

auf, indem plötzlich Rudolf von Rheinfelden als Anführer des Heeres genannt wird. Dennoch weist Anna das Heer erneut als päpstlich aus (ἡ φάλαγξ τοῦ πάπα) und macht damit deutlich, wer der eigentliche Antagonist Heinrichs IV. war.

Der Ort der Schlacht wird in der ‚Alexias‘ nicht explizit genannt. Da Anna Komnene jedoch nach der durch den Tod Rudolfs von Rheinfelden verursachten Niederlage des ‚päpstliches Heeres‘ berichtet, dass Heinrich IV. daraufhin eilends gegen Rom vorgerückt sei⁹¹, scheint dies dem Leser zu suggerieren, dass die Schlacht sich in nicht allzu großer Entfernung von Rom, jedenfalls nicht im transalpinen Bereich, abgespielt habe. Dies stützt natürlich wiederum die exponierte Position, die Anna Komnene dem Papst in dem Krieg zusprach.

Die Tatsache, dass Anna Komnene Gregor VII. niemals beim Namen nennt, scheint einerseits auf eine Abstrahierung des Negativbildes hinzudeuten. Verunglimpft wird nicht nur ein Individuum, sondern auch ein ganzes Amt, und zwar dadurch, dass die Person hinter ihrer Papstwürde anonymisiert verborgen bleibt. Dieser Kunstgriff erleichtert den Abstrahierungsvorgang und damit die negative Konnotation des Papsttums insgesamt⁹². Andererseits ist in der Anonymisierung Gregors auch eine ‚damnatio memoriae‘ zu sehen⁹³. Der Name dieses aus Anna Komnenes Sicht abgrundtief üblen und verkommenen Papstes, der sich als Herrscher geriert, sich Königskrönungen anmaßt, Heere anführt und Legaten misshandelt, soll bis in alle Ewigkeit dem Vergessen anheimfallen. Die Gründe für diese Negativzeichnung des Papsttums an sich und Papst Gregors VII. im Speziellen dürften vielfältig gewesen sein. Besonders schwer mag das Bündnis Gregors VII. mit Robert Guiscard, dem byzantinischen Erzfeind, gewogen haben. Hinzu kam die Exkommunikation Alexios‘ I. Komnenos durch Gregor VII., die erst durch Papst Urban II. aufgehoben wurde⁹⁴. Dass das Papsttum spiritueller

⁹¹ EBD. 1,13,9 (S. 46,82-83): Καὶ ἐξοπλισάμενος αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἔσπευδε πολιορκήσσειν αὐτὴν προθυμούμενος.

⁹² Zur Darstellung des Papsttums in der *Alexias* vgl. auch BUCKLER (wie Anm. 3), S. 307-314.

⁹³ Zur *damnatio memoriae* in Byzanz vgl. C. A. BOURDARA, *Quelques cas de damnatio memoriae à l'époque de la dynastie macédonienne*, in *JÖB*, 32,2 (1982), S. 337-342 und M. McCORMICK, Art. ‚*Damnatio memoriae*‘, in *ODB*, I, S. 581. Zu den antiken Grundlagen vgl. St. BRASSLOFF, Art. ‚*Damnatio memoriae*‘, in *RE*, 4,2, Sp. 2059-2062 und A. MLASOWSKY, Art. ‚*Damnatio memoriae*‘, in: *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*, III (Cl-Epi), hg. von H. CANKIK und H. SCHNEIDER, Stuttgart - Weimar, 1997, Sp. 299-300.

⁹⁴ Explizit überliefert ist nur Alexios‘ Lösung vom Bann durch Urban II. Da Gregor VII. auch Alexios‘ I. Vorgänger Nikephoros III. Botaneiates exkommunizierte, nachdem dieser Michael VII. Dukas gestürzt hatte, und da Gregors VII. Nachfolger Viktor III. um einen Ausgleich mit Byzanz bemüht war, dürfte Gregor VII. für Alexios‘ I. Bannung verantwortlich gewesen sein. Vgl. BAYER (wie Anm. 36), S. 146 mit Anm. 57.

Führer der Kreuzzugsbewegung war, wird ebenfalls das Negativbild verstärkt haben. Ungefähr zur Zeit der Entstehung der *Alexias* lagerten die Heere des Zweiten Kreuzzugs vor Konstantinopel, wo erstmals der Vorschlag von lateinischer Seite belegt ist, Konstantinopel zu erobern⁹⁵. Hinzu kommt, dass Anna Komnene ihre *Alexias* zu einer Zeit verfasste, als auch die kirchliche Trennung zwischen Ost und West mehr und mehr ins Bewusstsein der Zeitgenossen trat⁹⁶.

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Investiturstreit-Episode in der *Alexias* Anna Komnenes ist bemerkenswert detailliert. Neben der Kontroverse um die Simonie, wird auch die Frage der Rechtmäßigkeit des Pontifikats Gregors VII. thematisiert, ebenso die Gegenkönigerhebung Rudolfs von Rheinfelden, die Schlacht an der Weißen Elster, der Tod des Gegenkönigs sowie das Bündnis zwischen Gregor VII. und Robert Guiscard. Der Normannenherzog ist der Anknüpfungspunkt der Autorin für die Ereignisse des Investiturstreits, der Grund dafür, dass dieser westliche Konflikt für sie von Bedeutung ist. Anna Komnenes Bericht erhält jedoch auch Sondergut, Ereignisse, die sich nicht mit den westlichen Quellen in Einklang bringen lassen. Ein bedeutender Teil dieses Sonderguts ist insbesondere gegen Gregor VII. gerichtet, so etwa dessen Misshandlung der Gesandten Heinrichs IV., aber auch die suggerierte Teilnahme des Papstes an der Schlacht an der Weißen Elster. Diese anti-päpstliche Tendenz dominiert die gesamte Episode. Sie wird nicht zuletzt an der Art und Weise deutlich, wie Anna Komnene das Aufeinandertreffen zwischen Gregor VII. und Robert Guiscard darstellt. Sie gestaltet die Begegnung als Herrschertreffen und übt somit massive Kritik an Papst Gregor VII., der sich demnach als weltlicher Herrscher geriert. Die Autorin gebraucht die stilistischen Mittel der Ironie und des Spotts, um Gregor in ein negatives Licht zu rücken. Sie präsentiert Gregor als Erfinder unmenschlicher Strafen, als überheblichen Barbaren, als Herrscher und Feldherrn, nie jedoch als einen sich seines Amtes würdig erweisenden Geistlichen. Der Umstand, dass Gregor VII. niemals beim Namen genannt, sondern anonym lediglich als ‚Papst‘ bezeichnet wird, ist mehr als eine ‚damnatio memoriae‘. Durch Gregors Anonymisierung beschränkt sich die Kritik in der *Alexias* nicht auf das Individuum ‚Gregor VII.‘, sondern sie wird im Gegenteil ausgeweitet

⁹⁵ Vgl. S. KINDLIMANN, *Die Eroberung von Konstantinopel als politische Forderung des Westens im Hochmittelalter. Studien zur Entwicklung der Idee eines lateinischen Kaiserreichs in Byzanz (Geist und Werk der Zeit, 20)*, Zürich, 1969, S. 157-163 und R.-J. LILIE, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten. Studien zur Politik des Byzantinischen Reiches gegenüber den Staaten der Kreuzfahrer in Syrien und Palästina bis zum Vierten Kreuzzug (Poikila Byzantina, 1)*, München, 1981, S. 148-150.

⁹⁶ BAYER (wie Anm. 36), *passim*.

auf die institutionelle Ebene des Papsttums. Die Schlechtigkeit und Boshaftigkeit Gregors VII., also des Papsttums überhaupt, in der *Alexias* verstärkt sich noch, wenn man diesem Verhalten dasjenige des konstantinopolitanischen Patriarchen gegenüberstellt. Ein Vergleich des in der *Alexias* geschilderten Verhaltensmusters des ‚römischen Patriarchen‘ mit dem täglich erlebten Verhaltensmuster des ‚konstantinopolitanischen‘ drängte sich dem (byzantinischen) Rezipienten der *Alexias* geradezu auf, so dass das päpstliche Verhalten als ὑβρις erscheinen musste.

COMPTES RENDUS

J.-M. AUWERS, *Procopii Gazaei Epitome in Canticum canticorum* (*Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*, 67), Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2011, CXXVI + 586 pages. ISBN 978-2-503-40671-8 (relié); 978-2-503-40000-6 (série).

J.-M. AUWERS, *L'interprétation du Cantique des cantiques à travers les chaînes exégétiques grecques* (*Instrumenta patristica et mediaevalia*, 56), Turnhout, Brepols, 2011, xv + 530 pages. ISBN 978-2-503-53476-3.

L'édition et la monographie qu'a publiées J.-M. AUWERS et qui viennent de sortir simultanément constituent les deux parties d'une thèse d'Agrégation de l'Enseignement Supérieur défendue à Louvain-la-Neuve en 2007. Le lien étroit existant entre ces deux volumes se manifeste dans les multiples renvois réciproques : à l'évidence, l'auteur les a projetés comme un ensemble. Par considération pour ce projet, nous les discutons conjointement. Nous commençons par donner un aperçu général de ces deux livres et par communiquer notre appréciation avant d'entrer dans les détails et d'approfondir quelques aspects spécifiques. (NB. Les sigles des manuscrits et de leurs familles que nous utilisons sont repris à AUWERS.)

L'édition de l'*Epitome in Canticum canticorum*, une compilation exégétique qui est attribuée à Procope de Gaza (ca 475-528), proposée par J.-M. AUWERS est la première édition critique complète de ce texte. Sans doute, elle vient à point pour les chercheurs dans plusieurs domaines de recherche : l'Épitomé est une œuvre immanquable pour tous ceux qui étudient l'interprétation du Cantique des cantiques dans le christianisme oriental, qui s'occupent des différentes versions grecques de ce livre biblique, ou qui examinent les relations entre les chaînes exégétiques aux trois livres salomoniques. Cette position-clé de l'Épitomé est illustrée par le fait qu'il a été utilisé comme source importante dans les éditions modernes de plusieurs commentaires sur le Cantique : ceux d'Origène (éd. M. A. Barbàra (*Biblioteca patristica*, 42), Bologna, 2005) et de Nil d'Ancyre (éd. H.-U. Rosenbaum (*Patristische Texte und Studien*, 57), Berlin-New York, 2004, et M.-G. Guérard (*SC*, 403), Paris, 1994 (édition partielle)). Jusqu'à présent, la seule édition complète de l'Épitomé était celle d'A. Mai (Romae, 1837), non critique et réputée pour sa médiocre qualité. Ce n'est qu'aujourd'hui, avec l'édition d'AUWERS, qu'on dispose d'une alternative complète qui comble les attentes d'une édition moderne.

La monographie qui l'accompagne offre aux lecteurs une excellente étude de l'Épitomé. (Le titre est toutefois un rien décevant. L'accent est mis avant tout sur l'Épitomé : bien que les autres chaînes soient souvent mentionnées, ce n'est que dans la dernière partie du livre qu'elles occupent une place équivalente à celle de l'Épitomé.) Dans ce volume, AUWERS a traité à fond quatre grands thèmes, tous divisés en plusieurs chapitres : le texte biblique du Cantique (la version des Septante et la rédaction spécifique de celui qui figure dans l'Épitomé) ; un aperçu détaillé de l'ensemble de l'Épitomé (son contenu, ses attributions, ses caractéristiques, etc.) ; le traitement des sources (une distinction est faite entre les sources

pour lesquelles l'Épitomé est la seule voie d'accès et celles qui sont aussi transmises en dehors de l'Épitomé ; les prologues de l'Épitomé et de trois chaînes apparentées (celle dite d'Eusèbe, celle de Polychronios, celle du manuscrit *R*).

Cette monographie de haute qualité démontre tout le profit qu'on tire à étudier une chaîne dans sa totalité, en tant que produit littéraire fini. Pour les chaînes sur le Cantique, c'est la première fois qu'une telle étude est réalisée avec un tel degré de profondeur et d'exhaustivité. Grâce au sérieux incontestable avec lequel AUWERS a mené l'enquête, les résultats du volume dépassent le champ des recherches sur le Cantique. Les chapitres centraux (5 et 6), par exemple, dans lesquels il a traité les goûts et les techniques de Procope, sont d'un grand intérêt pour tous les chercheurs travaillant sur les chaînes. Évidemment, au niveau plus spécifique des chaînes sur le Cantique, la monographie offre aussi des opinions et des résultats fort intéressants. Pour n'en nommer qu'un : l'étude très détaillée des quatre auteurs dont les homélies/commentaires sur le Cantique sont aussi conservés en dehors de l'Épitomé – c'est-à-dire : Grégoire de Nysse (pp. 247-295), Nil d'Ancyre (pp. 297-319), Origène (pp. 321-358), et Philon de Carpasie (pp. 360-387) – fournit des renseignements de grande valeur pour l'identification plus précise des sources utilisées dans l'Épitomé (voir p. ex. p. 294, la suggestion d'AUWERS suivant laquelle c'est la recension de la bibliothèque patriarcale constantinopolitaine des homélies de Grégoire qui est utilisée) et pour la genèse de l'Épitomé (voir p. ex. p. 300 : il est possible que les extraits de Nil 'ont été introduits dans l'*Épitomé* après le travail d'abrègement effectué sur les *Homélies* grégoriennes et le *Commentaire* d'Origène').

Pour les recherches sur le texte biblique grec du Cantique, cette monographie apporte également une contribution significative. En l'absence de l'*editio critica maior* de la version des Septante du Cantique, les chapitres 1 et 2 s'avèrent de grande valeur (cette valeur est encore amplifiée par l'apparat critique dont AUWERS a muni (dans son édition) les lemmes bibliques, ce que les éditions critiques antérieures dans ce domaine n'avaient pas toujours fait, p. ex. *Michaelis Pselli Poemata*, éd. L. G. Westerink (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Stutgardiae-Lipsiae, 1992, pp. 13-67). Par ailleurs, il suffit de rappeler la fréquence avec laquelle nous nous sommes référés à la monographie d'AUWERS dans nos propres publications, qui illustre clairement la fréquence à laquelle nous avons consulté cet ouvrage et le profit que nous en avons retiré.

L'édition compte 386 scholies commentant 123 lemmes bibliques. (Nous ne comprenons pas vraiment pourquoi AUWERS a exclu une scholie transmise dans plusieurs manuscrits de la famille X (voir p. LVIII), alors qu'il a admis d'autres extraits dont on est sûr qu'ils n'appartiennent pas non plus à la strate la plus ancienne de l'Épitomé (voir pp. LXXIII-LXXIV)). Pour chaque scholie, AUWERS a donné : un aperçu des attributions dans les manuscrits retenus pour l'édition ; l'identification de la source (si elle est connue) ; une référence aux éditions antérieures ; un apparat scripturaire ; un apparat montrant l'état de conservation de *M* (un manuscrit important qui a subi les dégâts dus à l'eau et dont plusieurs parties ont été réécrites par une main postérieure) ; l'apparat critique ; un apparat des parallèles dans la chaîne de Polychronios et dans celle dite d'Eusèbe (pour lesquels, voir *infra*). Sans aucune hésitation, la manière dont AUWERS a conçu son édition suscite notre admiration. Aucune des éditions modernes mentionnées plus haut qui ont utilisé l'Épitomé (Barbara, Rosenbaum, Guérard) ne repose sur une base manuscrite aussi étendue que celle consultée par AUWERS. Son édition nous fait connaître des leçons et attributions intéressantes et jusqu'ici inconnues.

Malgré son ampleur, l'édition est très soignée : les fautes d'orthographe, d'accentuation, etc., sont pratiquement absentes. Elle se conclut par des index très utiles : AUWERS n'a pas uniquement inclus des *indices locorum* et *nominum* mais aussi un *index verborum*. Dans une longue introduction, il a traité les traditions manuscrite et imprimée de l'Épitomé en détail et il a exposé ses principes d'édition. Se rendant compte des difficultés rencontrées dans l'édition d'une chaîne, il a pris le temps d'articuler ses principes de façon précise.

Dans le chapitre sur la tradition imprimée (pp. XC-XCIX), AUWERS ne s'est pas limité à discuter l'édition de Mai (et ses reprises dans la *PG*), mais il a aussi énuméré les éditions des fragments de certains auteurs individuels préservés dans l'Épitomé (exception faite de Nil) qui ont paru avant et après l'édition complète de Mai. Pour chaque édition, AUWERS a identifié le(s) manuscrit(s) sur le(s)quel(s) elle se base (seule la source employée pour l'édition des fragments origéniens préparée par les Delarue n'est pas connue, voir pp. LXXIV-LXXXI). Ce chapitre permet aux lecteurs (pour la première fois) de soupeser la valeur de ces éditions.

L'édition d'AUWERS repose sur vingt manuscrits (y compris les deux témoins de la *catena Barberiniana*) qui s'étendent du 12^e au 18^e siècle. Huit de ces témoins sont absents des bilans fournis en 1902 par G. Karo et H. Lietzmann (dans les *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1902, pp. 314-316) et par M. Faulhaber (*Hohelied-, Proverbien- und Prediger-Catenen (Theologische Studien der Leo-Gesellschaft*, 4), Wien, 1902, pp. 20-39). Quelques-uns de ces manuscrits qu'AUWERS a pu ajouter ont déjà été signalés par Barbàra et Rosenbaum, mais pour d'autres, il est bien le premier à les avoir identifiés comme témoins de l'Épitomé (ou de la *catena Barberiniana*), p. ex. le manuscrit *Pr*. Pour tous les témoins, AUWERS et M.-G. Guérard ont donné une description détaillée (pp. XXI-LIV), suivie de leur classement (pp. LIV-LXV) et du stemma (p. LXVI). En identifiant trois familles au sein desquelles les témoins *P*, *M* et *N* occupent respectivement une place importante, AUWERS a d'une part confirmé l'aperçu tripartite qu'on retrouve dans les études antérieures (p. ex. Barbàra ou déjà A. Sović dans *Biblica*, 2 (1921), pp. 48-50). Toutefois, son stemma s'avère beaucoup plus nuancé : ainsi, ce n'est que de nos jours qu'on dispose d'une vue claire sur *X*, la famille la plus grande. Une grande différence avec l'édition partielle de Barbàra est la position dans le stemma du manuscrit *R* (et *Pr*), c'est-à-dire la *catena Barberiniana*, qui est sans doute liée à l'Épitomé. Barbàra l'a située entre la compilation originale dont dépend l'Épitomé et l'Épitomé lui-même. D'après AUWERS, par contre, la *catena Barberiniana* dépend de l'Épitomé (voir pp. LXXVI-XC). Son édition est la première à inclure l'évidence de cette dernière compilation. L'établissement du stemma est accompagné par un chapitre fort intéressant (pp. LXVII-LXXVI), dans lequel AUWERS a comparé le nombre et l'ordre des scholies dans le manuscrit le plus important de chacune des trois familles, montrant ainsi comment ce thème est important pour notre connaissance de l'évolution de l'Épitomé en tant que compilation. Il a suggéré p. ex. que, dans la section qui porte jusqu'au verset 6,9 du Cantique, *P* est intervenu dans la collection afin de placer Grégoire en tête après chaque lemme.

Bref, AUWERS a accompli un excellent travail sur l'Épitomé : il n'a pas seulement livré une édition critique de haute qualité, mais il a aussi réalisé la meilleure étude de la tradition du texte, de son contenu, de son traitement des sources et de sa fonction de compilation exégétique byzantine. Il n'y a qu'un point général pour lequel nous ne sommes pas entièrement satisfait : nous sommes d'avis qu'une comparaison

plus intensive avec les autres chaînes (notamment celle dite d'Eusèbe) aurait pu améliorer l'édition sur quelques points et éviter quelques petites inconsistances. Par ailleurs, AUWERS nous a offert avec cette édition et cette monographie une voie fiable pour explorer un texte qui occupe une place centrale dans la tradition des chaînes exégétiques sur le Cantique. Nous ne pouvons que l'en remercier et espérer que ces deux volumes (parmi lesquels figure la première édition critique d'une chaîne complète sur le Cantique) ne décourageront pas les autres chercheurs des chaînes sur le Cantique puisqu'il sera difficile d'atteindre semblable niveau.

Ayant exposé notre appréciation générale des deux volumes d'AUWERS, nous poursuivons en approfondissant quatre études de cas, dont trois s'appliquent à l'observation que nous venons de formuler autour de la comparaison avec d'autres chaînes. La première concerne la tradition manuscrite.

Manuscrits non signalés. Comme nous l'avons écrit plus haut, AUWERS a identifié quelques témoins inconnus de l'Épitomé. (Ajoutant foi aux descriptions rassemblées par G. de Andrés (*Catálogo de los códices griegos desaparecidos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, El Escorial, 1968), nous pensons qu'aussi les *Scorialenses* $\Theta.I.3$ [*deperditus* 426], *I.IV.18* [*dep.* 508] et *A.III.1* [*dep.* 578] ont été des témoins complets ou partiels de l'Épitomé.) Toutefois, il reste certains manuscrits qui ne sont pas nommés mais qui ont toutefois un lien avec l'Épitomé, ce qui nous conduit à émettre deux remarques.

(1) La première remarque concerne la réception de l'Épitomé en forme manuscrite en dehors de la transmission de l'Épitomé lui-même. Comme plusieurs éditeurs des 18^e-21^e siècles (les Delarue, Baehrens, Guérard, etc.) s'étaient tournés vers cette compilation afin de découvrir des fragments de certains commentaires patristiques sur le Cantique, un copiste avait aussi auparavant puisé de l'Épitomé en préparant une édition manuscrite du commentaire de Nil d'Ancyre, achevée entre 1622 et 1645 à Clermont. Ce manuscrit est le *Londinensis*, *Collegii Universitatis Ogden 30* (*olim Cheltenham, Phillippicus 6756*). M. Harl (dans la *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 16 (1970), p. 403) et H.-U. Rosenbaum (dans la *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 91 (1980), pp. 187-206 ; voir aussi p. 166* de son édition) ont démontré que la deuxième moitié de cette édition (portant sur Ct 4,2-8,14 = ff. 81-88 du manuscrit) a été reconstruite à base d'un témoin de l'Épitomé. Il est regrettable qu'AUWERS n'ait fait aucune mention du *Londinensis* : sa connaissance étendue de la tradition manuscrite de l'Épitomé lui aurait permis d'identifier la source (si elle est encore existante aujourd'hui) du *Londinensis*. Désormais on doit se contenter de la notice plus vague de Rosenbaum, selon qui cette source se situe quelque part dans la famille qui porte le sigle X chez AUWERS.

Nous ignorons pourquoi AUWERS n'a pas traité le *Londinensis*, bien qu'il le connaisse certainement (voir *L'interprétation*, p. 299 n. 9). Ce manuscrit nous procure un éclairage intéressant sur la réception de l'Épitomé. Au *Londinensis*, on pourrait ajouter quelques autres manuscrits dans lesquels l'Épitomé est utilisé (voir les références dans le *JÖB*, 61 (2011), pp. 114-115). Le *Patmiacus 209*, ff. 65^v-66^v (13^e siècle) et le *Parisinus gr. 2511*, ff. 252-256^v (14^e siècle) contiennent un seul et identique prologue sur le Cantique, dans lequel l'Épitomé est cité verbatim. Peut-être deux manuscrits athonites (*l'Iviron 1500* et *l'Iviron 1561* (*non vidimus*)) doivent-ils être adjoints à cette liste, car leurs folios de couverture semblent contenir des extraits de l'Épitomé. Bref, la réception de l'Épitomé nous semble un thème digne de recherches ultérieures.

(2) Notre deuxième addition est plus extensive : nous profitons de l'occasion offerte par ce compte rendu pour mentionner un témoin complet de l'Épitomé qui n'est pas connu par AUWERS (et que nous-même n'avons dépiqué que récemment) et pour émettre une hypothèse sur sa place dans le stemma. Nous réalisons tout cela sur base de la littérature secondaire, parce que malheureusement nous n'avons pas vu le manuscrit lui-même. Il s'agit du *Chicagoensis*, *Bibliothecae Universitatis Joseph Regenstein 55* (gr. 11), qui est décrit par E. J. Goodspeed et M. Sprengling (*A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Chicago*, Chicago, IL, 1912, pp. 63-64).

Ce manuscrit est achevé en 1696-1697 par Gottfried Olearius (sur ce dernier, voir U. Sträter dans la quatrième édition de *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 6 (2003), p. 549). Ce théologien et philologue allemand (1672-1715) s'était proposé d'éditer et de traduire en latin l'œuvre exégétique de Procope dans sa totalité ainsi que (en forme de préface) l'éloge funèbre sur Procope réalisé par son élève Chorikios. (Ce projet est mentionné par e.a. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)* (*Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 9.1), München, 1897², p. 126 n. 1.) Olearius n'a pas réussi à compléter ce projet ambitieux, mais ses efforts ont toutefois abouti à un produit partiel : le *Chicagoensis*. Dans ce codex, Olearius a recopié une partie de l'éloge rédigé par Chorikios (ff. viii-viii^v) ainsi que les Épitomés de Procope sur l'Heptateuque (pp. 1-782) et sur le Cantique (pp. 783-922). Les pp. 1-922 sont divisées en deux colonnes, une pour le texte grec et une pour la traduction latine. Cependant, seul l'Épitomé sur les livres Genèse-Juges est traduit en latin. De l'Épitomé sur le Cantique, il manque la traduction – une illustration du projet inabouti d'Olearius.

Au cours des 18^e et 19^e siècles, trois savants allemands ont commenté ce projet d'Olearius : I. A. Fabricius en 1714 (*Bibliothecae Graecae libri V. pars altera, sive volumen sextum*, Hamburgi, pp. 258-259 ; dans l'édition augmentée de G. C. Harles et C. A. Heumann, cette section se trouve dans le vol. VII, Hamburgi, 1801 (= Hildesheim, 1966), pp. 563-564 ; elle est reprise dans la PG 87¹, 9-12) ; I. C. G. Ernesti en 1785 (*De Procopii Gazaei commentariis Graecis in Heptateuchum et Canticum ineditis commentatio*, Lipsiae, pp. 4-7 ; des extraits en sont repris dans la PG 87¹, 13-16) ; I. G. Rosenmüller en 1813 (*Historia interpretationis librorum Sacrorum in Ecclesia Christiana Graeca. Pars quarta continens periodum III.*, Lipsiae, 1813, pp. 234-237). Les informations qu'ils ont données nous permettent de reconstruire partiellement la transmission du manuscrit d'Olearius qui contient l'Épitomé sur le Cantique.

Dans son petit livre consacré au *Chicagoensis*, Ernesti a décrit sa découverte du manuscrit à Leipzig. Son récit assez romanesque nous incite à penser que le nom d'Olearius ne figure pas dans le *Chicagoensis* : Ernesti n'a réussi à identifier Olearius comme le scribe que sur base de la reconnaissance de son écriture. (En effet, la description présente dans le catalogue de Goodspeed et Sprengling précise que la seule information fournie par le scribe est la date de confection. L'identification d'Olearius en tant que scribe du manuscrit s'articule sur une main postérieure inconnue figurant dans une note au f. vii^v.) Cette découverte a permis à Ernesti d'identifier le manuscrit en question comme la copie faite par Olearius et mentionnée plus tôt par Fabricius. Il ne fait donc plus aucun doute que le *Chicagoensis* est le manuscrit d'Olearius analysé par Ernesti : la description de Goodspeed et Sprengling nous apprend que les deux conjectures qu'Olearius avait suggérées dans le titre

de l'éloge de Chorikios (mentionnées par Ernesti) se trouvent à l'identique dans le *Chicagoensis*. (Nous ne traiterons pas de la façon dont le manuscrit est passé des mains d'Ernesti à la bibliothèque universitaire de Chicago.)

Évidemment, la question importante pour notre sujet est celle de l'antigraphe du manuscrit de Chicago et surtout celle des pages qui contiennent l'Épitomé sur le Cantique. Comme aucun autre manuscrit qui contient l'éloge de Chorikios et les Épitomés sur l'Heptateuque et le Cantique n'est connu, il faut supposer qu'Olearius a consulté plusieurs sources.

(a) Les savants mentionnés ci-dessus ont identifié la source manuscrite utilisée par Olearius uniquement pour un des trois textes contenus dans le *Chicagoensis* : d'après Fabricius et Ernesti (suivis par Rosenmüller), c'était 'un manuscrit de la bibliothèque d'Augsbourg' sur la base duquel Olearius a copié le texte grec de l'Épitomé sur l'Heptateuque. Sans doute s'agit-il du fameux *Monacensis gr. 358* (un manuscrit qui se trouvait à Augsbourg jusqu'à 1806), le codex que C. Klauser (Thrasylbulus Claudius) et H. Hamberger avaient précédemment traduit en latin en 1555 (voir A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments (Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens)*, 2), Berlin, 1914, p. 155) et que le patriarche Nicéphore avait utilisé pour les emprunts au texte de Procope inclus dans son édition d'une chaîne sur l'Octateuque parue en 1772-1773 (voir *La chaîne sur la Genèse*, éd. F. Petit, vol. I (*Traditio Exegetica Graeca*, 1), Lovanii, 1992, pp. xxxiv-xxxv).

Comme le *Monacensis* ne contient pas d'autre texte que l'Épitomé sur l'Heptateuque, il ne peut pas avoir été utilisé par Olearius comme antigraphe ni pour l'Épitomé sur le Cantique ni pour l'éloge de Chorikios. Nous ne connaissons aucun manuscrit contenant la totalité de ces deux derniers textes : on doit par conséquent supposer qu'Olearius a utilisé une source différente pour chacun des trois textes du *Chicagoensis* (NB. Le manuscrit *Pr* d'AUWERS contient bien la *catena Barberiniana* sur le Cantique ainsi que l'éloge de Chorikios, mais il ne peut pas avoir constitué la source d'Olearius : le desinit que Goodspeed et Sprengling ont reproduit montre que c'était certainement l'Épitomé lui-même et non la *catena Barberiniana* (dans laquelle ce desinit ne se trouve pas) qui avait été copié par Olearius.)

(b) C'est en 2005, à notre connaissance, que le *Chicagoensis* a été mentionné pour la première fois dans les recherches sur la tradition manuscrite de Chorikios, quand E. Amato l'a signalé comme témoin inconnu de l'éloge funèbre pour Procope (voir les pp. 98-100 de son article dans C. Saliou (éd.), *Gaza dans l'Antiquité Tardive. Archéologie, rhétorique et histoire. Actes du colloque international de Poitiers (6-7 mai 2004)* (*Cardo*, 2), Salerno). Il a remarqué le grand nombre de variantes individuelles du manuscrit, 'par rapport [auxquelles] on isole une série de leçons, que le manuscrit de Chicago a en commun avec le *Vat. gr. 938* (...), duquel dérivent, à leur tour, l'*Hamburg. philol.* 56 (...), le *Par. gr.* 3087 (...), et le *Corsin.* 1104 (...)' (p. 100). Malheureusement, il était impossible pour Amato d'identifier plus précisément la position du *Chicagoensis* dans le stemma : 'seule une comparaison avec les leçons des trois apoglyphes du *Vaticanus* (...), que Foerster [c'est-à-dire l'édition des œuvres de Chorikios qui fait autorité : éd. R. Foerster et E. Richtsteig dans la *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*, Stuttgartiae, 1972 (= 1929)] n'avait pas fait connaître, pourra jeter quelque lumière sur la généalogie du nouveau témoin' (p. 100). Récemment, C. Greco (*Due orazioni funebri (orr. VII-VIII Foerster, Richtsteig)* (*Hellenica*, 36), Alessandria, 2010) a confirmé l'évidence du *Chicagoensis* dans sa réédition de l'éloge, mais elle n'a rien dit au sujet de sa position dans le stemma.

Les observations d'Amato sont fort intéressantes, et nous sommes d'avis qu'elles peuvent être complétées en rappelant une remarque formulée par un éditeur antérieur de l'éloge en question. En 1717, Fabricius a édité ce texte sur base d'un des témoins mentionnés par Amato : l'*Hamburgensis*, *philol.* 86, manuscrit qui a appartenu à L. Holstenius et dont les pages contenant l'éloge sont achevées en 1627-1628 (voir l'édition de Foerster et Richtsteig, pp. xvi-xvii aussi que M. Molin Pradel, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg (Serta Graeca, 14)*, Wiesbaden, 2002, pp. 146-152). Dans la préface de son édition (*Bibliothecae Graecae volumen octavum, sive libri V. pars IV. ac paenultima*, Hamburgi, p. 840 ; cf. vol. IX, Hamburgi, 1804 (= Hildesheim, 1966), p. 760 chez Harles et Heumann), Fabricius a expliqué qu'il avait envoyé à Olearius une copie du texte de Chorikios, achevé sur base du manuscrit d'Holstenius. Ces observations nous font émettre la supposition que c'est de l'*Hamburgensis* dont dépend – par un chaînon intermédiaire – la section de Chorikios qui est reproduite dans le *Chicagoensis*.

(c) Pour sa part, l'Épitomé de Procope sur le Cantique dans le *Chicagoensis* repose sur un autre manuscrit (voir *supra*) : pour ce texte, Olearius doit avoir eu recours à une troisième source. Malheureusement, on ne dispose d'aucun indice clair qui pourrait nous conduire à un témoin spécifique de l'Épitomé. La section de notre étude du *Chicagoensis* qui s'avère la plus pertinente pour ce compte rendu est donc la plus insatisfaisante. Nous devons nous contenter de formuler une hypothèse en nous basant sur les opinions que nous venons de formuler au sujet des autres sources manuscrites utilisées par Olearius. À ce propos, le cas de l'Épitomé sur l'Heptateuque paraît plus intéressant que celui de l'éloge de Chorikios. On sait que pour cet épitomé, Olearius a eu accès à un codex de la bibliothèque d'Augsbourg à la fin du 17^e siècle. Or les renseignements détaillés donnés par AUWERS dans l'introduction de son édition nous informent qu'à ce moment se trouvait dans cette bibliothèque un (et un seul) témoin de l'Épitomé de Procope : le manuscrit *Mn* (le codex *Mo* ayant déjà quitté Augsbourg en 1571, voir p. xxxi de l'introduction d'AUWERS).

Bref, dans l'attente de recherches plus détaillées (et réalisées sur base des manuscrits eux-mêmes), nous faisons l'hypothèse que dans le stemma d'AUWERS, le *Chicagoensis* dépend du manuscrit *Mn*.

L'Épitomé et chaînes apparentées. Depuis longtemps (surtout depuis l'étude fondamentale de Faulhaber mentionnée plus haut, mais également déjà plus tôt : T. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur*, vol. II, Erlangen, 1883, pp. 248-254), on sait que plusieurs types de chaînes sur le Cantique sont apparentés les uns aux autres et que l'Épitomé de Procope occupe une position-clé dans ce corpus. Sans doute que le dénouement des relations entre tous ces types constituera un des objectifs les plus importants des recherches futures sur les chaînes sur le Cantique. Cet objectif n'est toutefois pas celui d'AUWERS, comme il l'a bien fait comprendre aux lecteurs au début de chacun de ses deux volumes (voir la p. xviii de son édition et la p. 4 de *L'interprétation*). Cette décision n'est pas illogique : une telle étude exige une connaissance approfondie de tous les types de chaînes, pas seulement de l'Épitomé. Elle devrait peut-être même dépasser le domaine des chaînes sur le Cantique, puisque, pour les autres livres bibliques sur lesquels Procope a compilé un(e) chaîne/Épitomé (p. ex. l'Heptateuque et les Proverbes), des opinions, qui sont intéressantes quand on cherche à

découvrir la relation entre l'Épitomé et les autres chaînes sur le Cantique, sont formulées dans la littérature secondaire. Au vu de ces observations, on fera preuve de compréhension pour la décision d'AUWERS de ne pas traiter les relations entre l'Épitomé et les chaînes apparentées.

Malgré cette décision d'AUWERS de ne pas traiter ce sujet, le lecteur trouvera dans *L'interprétation* des informations qui sont toutefois de grande valeur pour le dénouement des relations entre les chaînes sur le Cantique et pour notre connaissance du développement de ce corpus. Évidemment, cette observation souligne le mérite de l'auteur. Donnons-en trois exemples.

(1) En forme de répertoire de toutes les scholies de l'Épitomé (pp. 153-179), AUWERS a créé un instrument très utile qui facilite la comparaison avec d'autres chaînes.

(2) Le tableau (pp. 361-363) avec les parallèles entre l'Épitomé et la chaîne dite d'Eusèbe à propos des fragments du commentaire de Philon de Carpasie montre toute son utilité en vue de l'étude des relations entre les chaînes. (Il faut souligner le grand intérêt, en général, de l'étude des scholies philoniennes par AUWERS.) Toutefois, on trouve quelques petites inconsistances entre ce tableau et l'édition d'AUWERS. Dans cette édition, on lit que les scholies philoniennes 135 et 148 ont un parallèle dans la chaîne dite d'Eusèbe, mais ces parallèles ne sont pas repris dans le tableau. Par contre, pour la scholie 112, AUWERS n'a mentionné aucun parallèle dans son édition, bien qu'il l'ait fait dans le tableau. Pour les scholies 147 et 196, le parallèle dans la chaîne du Ps.-Eusèbe n'est noté nulle part (voir ci-dessous).

(3) Dans le dernier chapitre de *L'interprétation* (pp. 411-483), AUWERS examine minutieusement tous les prologues (et édite leur texte grec), non seulement ceux de l'Épitomé, mais aussi ceux de la chaîne dite d'Eusèbe, de la chaîne de Polychronios et de la *catena Barberiniana*. Pour ne mentionner qu'une parmi plusieurs découvertes intéressantes : l'identification du cinquième prologue propre au *Salmanticensis*, *Bibliothecae Universitatis 2716* (olim *Matritensis*, *Palatinus 20*, un témoin de la chaîne dite d'Eusèbe), comme extrait de la chaîne de Polychronios (p. 438). Le tableau synoptique complémentaire (p. 451) illustre la grande valeur que ce chapitre offre aux lecteurs s'intéressant aux relations entre ces chaînes. (Nous pouvons ajouter un élément à l'examen du quatrième prologue de la chaîne dite d'Eusèbe (pp. 432-438), dans lequel AUWERS a attiré l'attention sur une version syriaque de cette liste. C'est le fait que les explications onomastiques en question se trouvent aussi dans la version syro-hexaplaire du Cantique (à savoir dans les marges du *Mediolanensis*, *Ambrosianus C 313 inf.*, ff. 70-72). Il nous semble que c'est la version syro-hexaplaire dont dépend la liste syriaque mentionnée par AUWERS.)

Ces trois exemples montrent bien comment dans *L'interprétation*, AUWERS a donné des renseignements utiles sur les relations entre les chaînes différentes, sur la genèse et le développement de ce corpus, bien qu'il ait averti les lecteurs que ce n'était pas son but principal. Cette observation n'exclut cependant pas que nous ne sommes pas toujours d'accord avec lui. Prenons la *catena Cantabrigiensis* pour illustrer notre propos. Cette chaîne est d'importance surtout pour l'établissement du commentaire de Nil : c'est donc dans la section qui porte sur les fragments niliens qu'AUWERS l'a introduite (pp. 297-299). Comme on le sait, les deux éditeurs du commentaire de Nil (Guérard et Rosenbaum) ont formulé des propositions opposées concernant le rôle de la *catena Cantabrigiensis* dans la transmission de ce commentaire. AUWERS semble partager l'opinion de Guérard (c'est-à-dire que cette dernière chaîne 'nous a conservé le *Commentaire* de Nil dans sa totalité' (p. 298)) : il cite extensivement la critique formulée par Guérard à l'adresse de Rosenbaum

(p. 299 n. 9) et ajoute un argument en faveur de la conclusion de Guérard, en écrivant que 'cette conclusion [de Guérard] est confortée par le fait que (...) les scholies attribuées à Nil dans *V* [un manuscrit de la chaîne à deux auteurs, Grégoire et Nil] se retrouvent avec le même contenu dans *C* [le témoin principal de la *catena Cantabrigiensis*]' (pp. 298-299 n. 8). Nous sommes surpris par cette note, car Rosenbaum a démontré qu'en fait le texte nilien dans la *catena Cantabrigiensis* est plus court que celui dans *V* (voir les pp. 127*-128* et le résumé à la p. 3* de l'édition de Rosenbaum). Peut-être AUWERS aurait-il pu bénéficier d'une consultation un peu plus intensive de l'édition de Rosenbaum. (On rappellera utilement que, dans la préface à son édition du commentaire de Nil, Rosenbaum a proposé un schéma de l'évolution de quelques (certainement pas toutes les) chaînes sur le Cantique, parmi lesquelles aussi figure l'Épitomé. Dans son compte rendu de cette édition, AUWERS a formulé une remarque critique sur ce schéma, publiée dans les *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, 81 (2005), p. 535.)

Nonobstant cette observation, il est clair que dans sa *monographie*, AUWERS a rendu de grands services aux lecteurs qui étudient les relations entre les chaînes sur le Cantique. L'apport de son *édition* sur ce sujet est même plus étendu. On pense p. ex. au traitement détaillé de la *catena Barberiniana* et de ses relations avec l'Épitomé. Mais c'est surtout dans le quatrième apparat qu'AUWERS a le plus progressé dans le dénouement des traditions des chaînes sur le Cantique. Dans cet apparat de grande valeur, il a relevé des parallèles dans la chaîne de Polychronios et dans celle dite d'Eusèbe (voir p. CXII de la préface). Toutefois, il faut observer que cet apparat n'est pas encore tout à fait complet puisque nous pouvons ajouter quelques parallèles inaperçus.

Pour nos recherches, nous avons comparé plusieurs sections de l'Épitomé avec la chaîne dite d'Eusèbe (que nous avons consultée dans l'édition de I. Meursius (*Eusebii, Polychronii, Pselli in Canticum canticorum expositiones graecae*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1617) ou, si elle est lacunaire, dans le *Salmanticensis, Bibliotheca Universitatis* 75, un manuscrit de cette chaîne). Cette comparaison nous apprend que dans la chaîne du Ps.-Eusèbe se retrouvent aussi les scholies suivantes de l'Épitomé : 113 (deuxième partie ; cf. Meurs., pp. 27-28) ; 147 (cf. Meurs., p. 36) ; 149 (cf. Meurs., pp. 35-36) ; 169 (cf. Meurs., p. 41) ; 172 (cf. Meurs., p. 42 et aussi Barbàra, p. 401) ; 175 (cf. Meurs., p. 42 et Barbàra, p. 403) ; 193 (cf. Meurs., p. 47 et Barbàra, p. 408) ; 196 (cf. Meurs., p. 47) ; 243 (cf. Meurs., p. 61) ; 258 (cf. Meurs., p. 66 et Barbàra, p. 428) ; 277 (cf. Meurs., p. 69 et Barbàra, p. 433) ; 295 (cf. *Salm.*, f. 141) ; 300 (cf. *Salm.*, f. 141^v) ; 307 (cf. *Salm.*, f. 142 et Barbàra, p. 458) ; 312 (cf. *Salm.*, f. 142) ; 320 (cf. *Salm.*, f. 143^v) ; 326 (cf. *Salm.*, f. 143^v et Barbàra, p. 471) ; 344 (cf. *Salm.*, f. 144^v). Une comparaison de toute l'Épitomé allongerait peut-être cette liste. Plusieurs de ces parallèles (à savoir ceux des scholies d'Origène) sont déjà signalés par Barbàra dans les notes de son édition. Dans quelques cas (p. ex. pour les scholies origéniennes 172, 175, 307), ces notes révèlent aussi des parallèles entre l'Épitomé de Procope et la chaîne de Polychronios qui ne sont pas repérés par AUWERS. Ceci prouve donc qu'aussi en ce qui concerne les relations avec cette chaîne, le quatrième apparat ne s'avère pas tout à fait complet. En effet, quelques sondages nous ont permis de retrouver des parallèles (outre ceux d'Origène) qui sont absents d'AUWERS, comme la scholie 194 (qui se trouve dans le *Mediolanensis, Ambrosianus A 148 inf.*, témoin de la chaîne de Polychronios).

Attributions de certains extraits. Bien que les relations exactes entre l'Épitomé et les chaînes apparentées ne soient pas encore tout à fait claires, on peut dire que, s'il y

en a une qui pourrait rivaliser avec la position-clé de l'Épitomé, c'est bien la chaîne dite d'Eusèbe. Aussi AUWERS a reconnu la valeur de cette chaîne, en faisant sienne l'hypothèse de Faulhaber qu'elle serait tirée directement du même fonds dont dépend l'Épitomé (cf. p. LXXXVII de son édition). Récemment, nous avons découvert un témoin inconnu de la chaîne dite d'Eusèbe : le *Tyrnavos*, *Bibliothèque Municipale 25* (voir la description chez Z. Melissakis, *Κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς Δημοτικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Τυρνάβου (Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινῶν Ερευνῶν, Πηγές, 8)*, Athina, 2007, pp. 150-157). La valeur de ce manuscrit est très grande : non seulement il est beaucoup plus ancien que tous les autres témoins connus (il date du 10^e siècle alors que les autres manuscrits ne sont pas antérieurs au 15^e siècle), mais il contient aussi beaucoup d'attributions qui manquent dans les autres manuscrits de la chaîne du Ps.-Eusèbe. De plus, il est intéressant d'observer que le *Tyrnavos* confirme plusieurs des conjectures énoncées par AUWERS dans son édition des prologues de la chaîne dite d'Eusèbe (voir *L'interprétation*, pp. 456-471), où il n'a pas eu confiance dans les manuscrits : p. ex. μετά (p. 457 n. 1 = *Tyrn.*, p. 449) ; ἑταιρῶν (p. 463 n. 13 = *Tyrn.*, p. 453) ; ἀβάτου (p. 471 n. 33 = *Tyrn.*, p. 457).

Ces conjectures ne sont que quelques éléments isolés avec lesquels le *Tyrnavos* confirme les choix éditoriaux d'AUWERS. Aussi au plan plus systématique, ce manuscrit – témoin ancien d'une chaîne importante qui est apparentée à l'Épitomé – souligne la haute qualité des études d'AUWERS : le *Tyrnavos* atteste que les choix d'attribution des scholies qu'il a faits dans son édition sont presque toujours corrects – même quand ils vont contre la tradition manuscrite. Mentionnons, à titre d'exemple, trois cas de ce genre.

(1) La scholie n° 86 est attribuée à Origène dans presque tous les manuscrits de l'Épitomé. Par conséquent, Barbàra a édité tout ce fragment sous le nom d'Origène. Toutefois, dans son édition ainsi que dans sa monographie (pp. 341-342), AUWERS a suggéré (contre les manuscrits et contre Barbàra) qu'en fait seule la première part de la scholie revient à Origène et que la deuxième est tirée du commentaire de Philon de Carpasie. Le *Tyrnavos* (p. 465) conforte cette décision : ce manuscrit présente la phrase qu'AUWERS a identifiée comme celle de Philon comme un extrait indépendant et l'attribue à Philon.

(2) Dans plusieurs cas, le manuscrit *S* de l'Épitomé est le seul à attribuer une scholie à Procope lui-même, tandis qu'il n'y a pas d'attribution dans les autres témoins. En toute logique, ces attributions à Procope paraissent suspectes à AUWERS (cf. *L'interprétation*, pp. 149-151). À juste titre, son traitement de ces scholies est très nuancé, et il n'a pas hésité à remplacer – lorsqu'il avait une bonne raison – l'attribution par une autre (qui n'est donc pas attestée). Par exemple, il a proposé que la scholie 338 revienne à Philon, bien que son nom ne paraisse dans aucun manuscrit de l'Épitomé. Le *Tyrnavos* (p. 497) lui donne de nouveau raison, en attribuant bien la scholie correspondante à Philon.

(3) Le *Tyrnavos* confirme aussi une hypothèse plus générale qu'AUWERS a formulée par rapport aux attributions à Procope dans *S*. N'ayant pas réussi à identifier toutes les scholies ainsi attribuées, il a suggéré, en procédant par élimination, qu'au moins quelques-unes puissent être tirées du commentaire d'Origène, malheureusement perdu (voir *L'interprétation*, pp. 150-151). Le *Tyrnavos* montre que cette hypothèse est pertinente : dans ce manuscrit (p. 498), la scholie qui correspond à l'extrait 340 de l'Épitomé (qui est transmis anonymement dans tous les manuscrits de l'Épitomé à l'exception de *S*, qui l'impute à Procope) est attribuée à Origène.

Ce dernier exemple indique comment le *Tyrnavos* nous permet non seulement de corroborer plusieurs attributions dans l'édition d'AUWERS (soulignant ainsi ses qualités philologiques), mais aussi de retrouver l'attribution de quelques scholies qui sont anonymes dans cette édition. Donnons-en un autre exemple. Le fragment 354 dans l'édition d'AUWERS est attribué à Nil dans les manuscrits *S* et *C*, mais cette attribution est clairement incorrecte, comme AUWERS l'a observé à juste titre (*L'interprétation*, p. 149). Dans son édition et dans son bilan du contenu de l'Épitomé (*L'interprétation*, p. 177), il a assigné la source comme étant d'origine inconnue. Sur base du *Tyrnavos* (p. 499 : attribution à Philon), nous proposons d'y voir un extrait du commentaire de Philon (le parallèle avec la *PG* 40, 144A n'est pas irréfutable mais pas impossible non plus).

Cyrille d'Alexandrie. L'auteur dont la présence dans l'Épitomé s'avère peut-être la plus problématique, est Cyrille d'Alexandrie. AUWERS l'a discutée dans un chapitre à la fin de son livre (*L'interprétation*, pp. 397-407). Il s'est rendu compte (cf. p. 403) que l'attribution à Cyrille – qui est assez souvent accompagnée dans un ou plusieurs manuscrits par une attribution à un autre auteur – pouvait susciter des doutes, car aucun commentaire de cet auteur sur le Cantique n'est connu. Toutefois, il suppose qu'un tel commentaire a en fait existé et – en règle générale – suggère d'avoir confiance dans les attributions à Cyrille : 'il est difficile de le démontrer [c'est-à-dire de déterminer si ces scholies sont vraiment de Cyrille d'Alexandrie], mais la charge de la preuve incombe à ceux qui voudraient nier la paternité cyrillienne' (p. 403). Des scholies en question, il a déduit que ce commentaire de Cyrille a été 'très succinct, peut-être même discontinu' (p. 397).

En effet, AUWERS s'est montré plutôt respectueux des attributions à Cyrille, également dans les cas où un extrait est attribué conjointement à Cyrille et à un autre auteur (cf. p. 399 : 'il semble (...) que le caténiste, ayant trouvé une interprétation similaire chez ces deux auteurs, ait rédigé un résumé qui puisse convenir à l'un et à l'autre'). Il a même traité comme cyrilliennes les scholies problématiques pour lesquelles l'attribution à Cyrille est la seule attestée dans les manuscrits mais qui se laissent identifier dans le commentaire d'un autre auteur (p. 399). La motivation de cette décision n'est toutefois pas fournie.

À ce traitement, nous ajoutons deux observations. La seconde approuve l'opinion d'AUWERS selon laquelle Cyrille avait en fait écrit un commentaire sur le Cantique. La première se veut plus critique. Le traitement des scholies attribuées à Cyrille ne brille pas toujours par sa cohérence : on peut identifier des disparités entre l'édition et la monographie, qui donnent l'impression qu'AUWERS lui-même n'était pas toujours sûr de son identification de ces scholies et de sa grande confiance dans les attributions à Cyrille. De plus, nous avons l'impression qu'on pourrait distinguer plus clairement qu'AUWERS ne l'a fait les attributions cyrilliennes problématiques et non-problématiques, et qu'une comparaison avec la chaîne du Ps.-Eusèbe n'offrirait pas seulement la clé pour établir cette distinction mais nous informerait aussi sur l'entrée de Cyrille dans le corpus des chaînes sur le Cantique.

(1) Quand on examine toutes les scholies attribuées à Cyrille dans un ou plusieurs manuscrits (soit exclusivement à Cyrille soit conjointement à Cyrille et à un autre auteur), sans compter les extraits 34, 279 et 359 (où l'attribution à Cyrille est incorrecte ou se laisse expliquer autrement), on peut identifier deux groupes : les extraits qui ne se retrouvent dans aucun commentaire connu et qui semblent donc être vraiment tirés

du commentaire de Cyrille, d'une part, et ceux pour lesquels on peut identifier un lien avec un autre commentaire ou fragment sur le Cantique et pour lesquels l'attribution à Cyrille est donc plus problématique (voir ci-dessous), d'autre part. Afin de faciliter l'argumentation, nous appellerons ici ces deux catégories A et B.

Nous rangeons les scholies suivantes dans la catégorie A : 13, 18, 21, 36, 38, 40, 43, 47, 49, 53, 57, 63, 74, 94, 113 (première partie ; cf. *L'interprétation*, p. 399 n. 6), 119, 121, 136, 140, 146, 155, 156, 163, 182, 187, 190, 202, 207, 240, 253, 259, 273, 280, 291, 308, 310, 318, 322, 325, 349, 376, 384. Pour chacun de ces extraits, AUWERS a nommé 'Cyrille (cf. attr.)' comme source dans son répertoire des scholies (*L'interprétation*, pp. 153-179), ce qui montre qu'il pense que ces extraits sont tirés du commentaire perdu de Cyrille (cf. l'apparat des sources dans l'édition : '*fons perit*'). Il a raison : comme on ne peut trouver ces scholies nulle part, on n'a pas à douter de leur provenance cyrillienne (malgré une incongruité entre l'extrait 74 et quelques citations par Cyrille : voir *L'interprétation*, p. 403). Observons de plus qu'aucune de ces scholies ne figure dans la chaîne du Ps.-Eusèbe. (Les parallèles qui se laissent identifier pour les scholies 53, 207 et 273 sont incertains ou réfutables, à notre avis.)

Par contre, la paternité des scholies que nous groupons sous la catégorie B est plus difficile à retracer. Il s'agit des fragments suivants :

- 217 et 348 : attribués conjointement à Cyrille et à Philon dans quelques manuscrits et seulement à Philon dans d'autres ; en effet, à chaque fois, un parallèle chez Philon peut être identifié ;
- 223 : attribué conjointement à Cyrille et à Philon ; un parallèle avec Philon se vérifie ;
- 147, 267 et 347 : attribués à Cyrille dans certains manuscrits et à Philon (147) ou Origène (267 et 347) dans d'autres ; pour chacun d'eux, on retrouve un parallèle chez Philon ;
- 68 : attribué conjointement à Origène et Cyrille dans quelques manuscrits et à Cyrille seul dans d'autres ; un parallèle avec Origène se vérifie ;
- 351 : attribué soit à Cyrille soit à Philon ; ce fragment est édité sous le nom d'Origène par Barbàra ;
- 99, 109 et 315 : bien que l'attribution à Cyrille soit la seule donnée dans les manuscrits, pour ces fragments un parallèle se repère aussi chez Philon (99 et 315) ou Origène (109).

Dans tous ces cas (c'est-à-dire de la catégorie B), AUWERS s'est rendu compte du lien entre la scholie attribuée à Cyrille et le commentaire de Philon/Origène. Toutefois, il ne l'a pas identifié de façon très cohérente. Dans son répertoire des scholies par exemple (*L'interprétation*, pp. 153-179), il a utilisé des notations assez différentes dans la colonne des sources : p. ex. 'Cyrille (cf. attr.) + Philon de Carpasia' ; 'Cyrille ? Origène ? cf. Philon de Carpasia' ; 'Cyrille (cf. attr.) ou Philon ?' ; 'Cyrille (cf. attr.) ? Origène (cf. attr.) ?' ; 'Origène (et Cyrille ?)' ; ou seulement un point d'interrogation. Dans le cas de la scholie 147, l'identification de 'Cyrille' comme source est difficile à accorder avec la référence à Philon dans l'apparat des sources. Et vice et versa, Philon n'est pas mentionné dans l'apparat des sources des scholies 99 et 315, bien que par ailleurs un parallèle avec le commentaire de cet auteur soit identifié pour chacun de ces deux fragments (*L'interprétation*, p. 399 n. 8). Ces observations nous incitent à penser qu'AUWERS n'est pas très sûr des liens entre ces scholies et Cyrille, malgré son intention de les traiter comme cyrilliennes (voir plus haut).

Si nous interprétons les origines des membres de cette catégorie B, nous pouvons déduire l'observation suivante, non dénuée d'intérêt : tandis qu'aucun fragment de

la catégorie A n'a d'équivalent indiscutable dans la chaîne dite d'Eusèbe, toutes les scholies de la catégorie B (à l'exception de 109 et 347) se retrouvent dans cette chaîne (souvent dans une rédaction assez différente). En outre, dans la chaîne du Ps.-Eusèbe (et plus spécifiquement dans le *Tyrnavos*), ces fragments sont attribués non à Cyrille mais à Philon (99, 147, 217, 223, 267 et 315), à aucun auteur (68 et 351) ou partiellement à Philon et partiellement sans attribution (348).

En bref, plus vigoureusement qu'Auwers, nous distinguons grosso modo deux types de fragments qui sont attribués à Cyrille : ceux qui ne figurent pas dans la chaîne du Ps.-Eusèbe contre ceux pour lesquels un parallèle est repéré dans cette chaîne et dans le commentaire d'un autre Père. La première catégorie provient probablement du commentaire perdu de Cyrille, tandis que pour la deuxième l'élément cyrillien s'avère plus difficile à établir. Le nombre des scholies de la catégorie B est trop grand pour qu'on puisse suggérer que leur attribution à Cyrille dans l'Épitomé soit tout à fait fictive. Mais au lieu de supposer que le compilateur de l'Épitomé aurait rédigé un résumé de Cyrille et d'un autre auteur (voir la citation d'Auwers donnée plus haut), nous émettons l'hypothèse que ce compilateur aurait modifié une scholie déjà existante d'un autre auteur (presque toujours Philon, parfois Origène), à la lumière de ce qu'il avait lu chez Cyrille. Nous pensons aussi que cette technique peut expliquer quelques-uns des cas, cités par Auwers (*L'interprétation*, p. 398), où 'une même scholie cyrillienne propose plusieurs interprétations au choix'.

Le rapport entre l'Épitomé et la chaîne du Ps.-Eusèbe est constitutif de notre interprétation : nous pensons que la base non-cyrillienne des scholies de la catégorie B se trouvait dans la chaîne perdue dont dépend l'Épitomé, et que c'est cette base qui est préservée dans la chaîne dite d'Eusèbe, tandis que le compilateur de l'Épitomé a ajouté l'élément cyrillien. (Cette hypothèse se base sur l'opinion de Faulhaber, soutenue par Auwers, selon laquelle Procope et le Ps.-Eusèbe dépendent tous les deux d'une même compilation perdue (voir plus haut)). Ainsi, nous estimons que Cyrille n'a pas figuré parmi les sources de la collection primaire perdue (ni parmi celles de la chaîne du Ps.-Eusèbe) et que ce n'est donc qu'avec l'Épitomé que cet auteur est entré dans le corpus des chaînes sur le Cantique. (Cette hypothèse, si elle s'avère correcte, constitue un argument additionnel en faveur de l'interprétation d'Auwers de la position de la *catena Barberiniana*, contre celle de Barbàra : puisque cette chaîne contient aussi des matériaux de Cyrille (cf. p. LXXXVIII de l'édition d'Auwers), elle ne peut pas dépendre de la chaîne source mais de l'Épitomé.)

Si notre hypothèse est correcte, la relation de l'Épitomé avec la chaîne du Ps.-Eusèbe à propos des fragments de Cyrille nous autorise à modifier l'identification d'Auwers pour les quatre scholies suivantes. Auwers les a toutes tenues pour des membres de la catégorie A (dans notre terminologie), ainsi qu'on peut le déduire de son édition ('*fons perit*' dans l'apparat des sources) et de sa monographie ('Cyrille (cf. attr.)' dans la colonne des sources), mais elles se trouvent toutes dans la chaîne du Ps.-Eusèbe : par conséquent, nous pouvons nous demander si elles n'appartiennent pas plutôt à la catégorie B et si leur paternité cyrillienne n'est pas plus problématique qu'Auwers ne l'a laissé entendre.

- le fragment 312 (attribué à Cyrille dans tous les manuscrits) se retrouve (mais d'une façon presque méconnaissable) dans la chaîne du Ps.-Eusèbe, où il est attribué à Philon (dans le *Tyrnavos*) ; en effet, un parallèle est présent dans la PG 40, 124A ;
- la scholie 333 (attribuée à Cyrille dans tous les manuscrits) se retrouve dans la chaîne du Ps.-Eusèbe (voir l'apparat comparatif d'Auwers ; c'est la partie qui

suit la conjonction ἥ qui se trouve chez le Ps.-Eusèbe) ; dans le *Tyrnavos*, ce fragment est attribué à Philon. En effet, on rencontre un parallèle chez cet auteur (PG 40, 133A) ;

- le fragment 343 est attribué à Cyrille dans tous les manuscrits mais se retrouve dans la chaîne du Ps.-Eusèbe. Dans cette chaîne, le fragment est transmis en compagnie de celui qui correspond à la scholie 342 de l'Épitomé : dans le *Tyrnavos*, cet ensemble est attribué à Origène. Cette attribution ne peut être vérifiée, mais il est intéressant de noter que la scholie 343 figure aussi dans la *catena Barberiniana* : bien qu'on trouve également des matériaux de Cyrille dans cette sélection, la plupart appartiennent à Origène (voir les pp. LXXXVIII-LXXXIX de l'édition d'AUWERS) ;
- enfin, la scholie 365 est attribuée à Cyrille dans tous les manuscrits. Cependant, pour la deuxième partie de ce fragment, un parallèle est présent non seulement dans la chaîne du Ps.-Eusèbe (sans attribution) mais également dans le commentaire de Philon (cf. PG 40, 145C).

Est-il possible que dans ces quatre cas aussi, le compilateur de l'Épitomé ait ajouté un élément cyrillien à un fragment de Philon/Origène qui se trouvait dans sa compilation source (et qui figure maintenant encore dans la chaîne du Ps.-Eusèbe) ? Cette hypothèse ne modifierait pas seulement l'édition d'AUWERS sur quelques points mais mettrait en cause également nos propres identifications (voir p. ex. les *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, 85 (2009), p. 66).

En tout cas, cette étude limitée sur Cyrille démontre comment l'édition et la monographie d'AUWERS peuvent stimuler les recherches futures autour des chaînes sur le Cantique.

(2) Comme nous l'avons précisé *supra*, nous proposons encore une observation supplémentaire à l'appui de la thèse d'AUWERS (cf. *L'interprétation*, p. 403) suivant laquelle un commentaire cyrillien a en fait existé (et duquel, selon nous, les fragments de notre catégorie A sont tirés directement) : quelques publications mentionnent un témoin manuscrit de ce commentaire. Malheureusement, ce codex est aujourd'hui perdu. Ici, nous saisissons l'opportunité de lui consacrer quelques lignes (bien que cela nous éloigne quelque peu du genre du compte rendu).

Le manuscrit en question est l'*Athous, Lavras Θ 70 (Eustratiadis 932)*. D'après une description fournie par un moine Alexandros du monastère de la Laure (*Ἀναγραφή τεύχους τῆς ἱερᾶς μονῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας*, dans *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἀλήθεια*, 12 (1892), p. 134), la partie finale de ce codex aurait contenu un texte de Cyrille d'Alexandrie sur le Cantique (Κυρίλλου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς τὸ Ἅσμα τῶν Ἀσμάτων). Déjà à ce moment, la fin (ainsi que le début) du manuscrit était mutilée. Après 1892, le manuscrit est dépecé : une partie reste dans la bibliothèque de la Laure ; une seconde (contenant les Psaumes de Salomon) se trouve maintenant dans le musée Benaki à Athènes ; et les deux autres, parmi lesquelles la partie qui d'après Alexandros contenait le texte de Cyrille, n'ont pas été retrouvées jusqu'aujourd'hui : voir la littérature citée dans *Diodori Tarsensis Commentarii in Psalmos*, éd. J.-M. Olivier (CCSG, 6), Turnhout-Leuven, 1980, pp. xviii-xix. Ces pages nous apprennent aussi que le codex, tel que décrit par Alexandros, était un manuscrit composite : la section avec les Psaumes de Salomon, par exemple, provient d'un manuscrit différent des autres. On ignore le rapport que la section comprenant le texte de Cyrille avait avec les autres et quelles étaient ses origines, sa datation, etc. : évidemment ce manque d'information, combiné avec le caractère

composite du manuscrit, complique singulièrement la quête pour la section perdue contenant le commentaire de Cyrille.

À notre connaissance, le seul savant qui a noté le numérotage des folios des parties différentes du *Lavras* Θ 70 dans son état décrit par Alexandros est Rahlfs (dans son *Verzeichnis*, p. 20, sigle 769). D'après lui, le texte de Cyrille (avec la fin déjà mutilée : cf. la description d'Alexandros) occupait les ff. 304-311. On n'a aucune idée du nombre de folios que le texte complet de Cyrille comptait originellement dans le manuscrit (avant 1892 donc). Le nombre assez limité de folios nommés par Rahlfs n'affaiblit certainement pas l'hypothèse d'AUWERS pour qui ce commentaire était 'très succinct, peut-être même discontinu' (voir plus haut).

Ce texte, désigné par Alexandros comme Κυρίλλου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς τὸ Ἄσμα τῶν Ἀσμάτων sans autres renseignements, était-il le commentaire complet de Cyrille (dont quelques savants, comme AUWERS l'a écrit, doutent de l'existence : *L'interprétation*, p. 403 n. 13) ? La seule alternative concevable est qu'il ne s'agit pas du commentaire originel mais d'une compilation de tous les fragments attribués à cet auteur dans l'Épitomé (le seul texte dans lequel des fragments exégétiques sur le Cantique sont attribués à Cyrille). Mais cette alternative ne nous semble guère probable. Il n'existe qu'un exemple indiscutable d'un manuscrit dans lequel des fragments d'un auteur ont été choisis sur base de l'Épitomé. Dans ce cas, il s'agit d'un codex tardif : le *Londinensis* (17^e siècle) que nous avons mentionné plus haut. (Le compilateur du prologue du *Patmiacus* et du *Parisinus* que nous avons nommé dans la même section de ce compte rendu, a sélectionné des fragments de plusieurs auteurs. À propos d'un autre manuscrit, beaucoup plus ancien que le *Londinensis*, Rosenbaum a suggéré une sélection des fragments niliens sur base de l'Épitomé, mais AUWERS lui-même n'en est pas convaincu, puisqu'il est d'avis (et pour cause) que de telles opérations de sélection ne figurent que dans des manuscrits plus récents : voir *L'interprétation*, p. 299 n. 9.) Bien que la datation de la section du *Lavras* Θ 70 qui a contenu le texte de Cyrille soit inconnue du fait du caractère composite du manuscrit, il nous semble improbable que cette section soit composée sur base de l'Épitomé.

En d'autres termes, on pourrait supposer qu'une des sections disparues du *Lavras* Θ 70 a contenu le commentaire de Cyrille sur le Cantique dont s'est servi le compilateur de l'Épitomé. On ne peut qu'espérer l'émergence prochaine de ces folios. À ce sujet, nous voudrions livrer encore quelques ultimes renseignements, car il existe quelque étrangeté dans ce manuscrit et dans son histoire. À l'automne 1911, H. Jantsch a trouvé le manuscrit sous une forme divisée, la partie avec le texte cyrillien étant détachée et introuvable (voir sa lettre citée par L. Mariès dans la *ROC*, 24 (1924), p. 109). En 1895 par contre, le manuscrit contenait encore la section avec les Psaumes de Salomon (voir la notice dans l'édition d'O. von Gebhardt (*TU*, 13.2), Leipzig, 1895, p. 28). Comme on est d'avis que cette section et celle de Cyrille ont été détachées au même moment, le manuscrit aurait donc été dépecé entre 1895 et 1911 (voir p. ex. Olivier, pp. XVIII-XIX).

Toutefois, cette opinion ne tient pas compte de la notice sur ce manuscrit qu'on lit chez Rahlfs et qui nous intrigue. Dans sa description, Rahlfs a mentionné une datation (le 14^e siècle, avec un point d'interrogation) qui diffère de celle donnée par les sources qu'il cite (le moine Alexandros et von Gebhardt : 12^e s. ; Mariès : sans datation). De plus, Rahlfs a identifié le foliotage de chaque section du manuscrit, ce qu'aucune de ces trois sources n'avait fait. (Nous n'avons pas vu le catalogue manuscrit du moine Chrysostome de la Laure qu'a aussi consulté Rahlfs (cf. sa p. 16),

mais nous partons du principe que ce catalogue ne donne pas ces informations non plus.) Il faut donc supposer qu'il a emprunté ces informations à la description faite sur place par K. Dieterich (voir la notice à la p. 16 du *Verzeichnis*). Bien que Rahlfs n'ait pas spécifié pour quels manuscrits du monastère de la Laure il a emprunté aux informations de Dieterich (cf. p. 16 : '*Die meisten Hss.*'), les renseignements sur la datation et le numérotage indiquent que cela doit avoir été le cas pour le *Lavras Θ 70*.

En d'autres termes, nous estimons que Dieterich a pu encore voir l'*Athous, Lavras Θ 70* dans l'état décrit par Alexandros. Cette conclusion est assez problématique, parce que Dieterich a fait sa mission à l'Athos en 1911 (voir le *Vierter Bericht über das Septuaginta-Unternehmen (Berichtsjahr 1911)*, dans les *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Geschäftliche Mitteilungen* (1912), p. 1) : c'est précisément durant l'automne de cette année que Jantsch a trouvé le manuscrit en l'état dépecé. Malheureusement, il nous manque une datation plus affinée de la mission de Dieterich. Comment expliquer cette anomalie ? Est-il possible que l'*Athous* ait été dépecé au cours de l'année 1911 ?

Évidemment, on peut toujours espérer que la section du manuscrit contenant le commentaire de Cyrille reviendra à la surface. Nous pensons que ce n'est probablement pas dans le monastère de la Laure qu'on pourra la découvrir. Dans une lettre à Mariès (citée dans la *ROC*, 24 (1924), p. 110), le moine Spyridon a nommé un manuscrit de ce monastère qui contient un commentaire sur le Cantique : le *Lavras Ω 21 (Eustratiadis 1831)*, mais il s'agit d'un manuscrit beaucoup plus récent, qui renferme (selon nous) la chaîne du Ps.-Eusèbe (Aucun des autres manuscrits nommés dans la lettre de Spyridon ne contient un commentaire sur le Cantique.). En effet, nous ne connaissons qu'un seul manuscrit de la Laure qui comporte un commentaire sur le Cantique non-identifié : c'est le *Lavras A 80 (Eustratiadis 1571)*. Mais dans ce codex, la section concernant le Cantique se trouve au milieu : il ne nous paraît pas probable qu'il s'agisse de la partie du *Lavras Θ 70* qui serait intégrée dans l'autre manuscrit.

La seule des trois sections détachées du *Lavras Θ 70* qui a été retrouvée a certainement quitté le Mont Athos : Sophronios Eustratiadis, feu Métropolite de Léontopolis et co-auteur du catalogue des manuscrits de la Laure, a acquis les folios avec les Psaumes de Salomon et les a vendus au musée Benaki en 1923. Malheureusement, une première prospection ne nous a pas permis de déterminer où Eustratiadis avait obtenu ces folios et les quatre autres manuscrits qu'il possédait (et parmi lesquels ne figurait aucune autre section perdue du *Lavras Θ 70* ; voir les références dans J.-M. Olivier, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs de Marcel Richard* (Corpus Christianorum), Turnhout, 1995³, pp. 224-225).

La localisation actuelle de la section perdue du *Lavras Θ 70* qui selon nous pourrait contenir le commentaire de Cyrille sur le Cantique qui a été consulté par le compilateur de l'Épitomé demeure donc inconnue.

R. CEULEMANS.

Myrrha LOT-BORODINE, *La déification de l'homme selon la doctrine des Pères grecs (Collection Orthodoxie)*, Paris, Les éditions du Cerf, 2011, 290 pages. ISBN 978-2-204-09028-5; ISSN 2110-9869.

Ce livre réunit une série de trois articles publiés par Myrrha LOT-BORODINE (1882-1954) pendant la période 1932-1950. LOT-BORODINE étant surtout connue comme grande spécialiste des Romans du Graal, le sujet de ce livre pourrait donc

étonner plus d'un lecteur. Il s'agit ici d'une œuvre synthétisante sur la spiritualité des Pères grecs. Les articles aident le lecteur à se former une idée de l'orthodoxie byzantine. Le livre vise à récapituler comment les Pères grecs ont tenté de saisir le mystère de l'ἄγνωστος Θεός, le Dieu inconnu. Le présent volume est une réimpression de l'édition préfacée par le cardinal J. Daniélou, parue en 1970. L'éditeur a opté de conserver les titres des trois articles en les utilisant comme répartition du livre. Ces trois parties sont consacrées respectivement à la doctrine de la 'déification' dans l'Église grecque jusqu'au XI^e siècle, la doctrine de la grâce et de la liberté dans l'orthodoxie gréco-orientale, et la béatitude – cet état joyeux de ceux qui sont heureux de se trouver en présence de Dieu – dans l'Orient chrétien. Les articles sont reproduits en tant que tels, sans ajout de textes de transition.

Le premier chapitre de la première partie sur la doctrine de la déification présente au lecteur une introduction aux fondements théologiques. Cette introduction se compose de trois parties qui sont consacrées respectivement aux notions de théognosie (θεογνωσία) apophatique ('Nous ne connaissons Dieu que dans ce qu'il n'est pas.' (p. 26)), d'anthropologie mystique et de Θεὸς ἄνθρωπος, le Dieu devenu homme ('Jésus-Christ s'est fait ce que nous sommes, afin que nous devenions ce qu'il est.' (p. 53)). L'A. nous montre la place importante qu'occupe l'homme dans la doctrine des Pères grecs. L'homme est considéré comme intermédiaire entre le monde sensible et Dieu. Le but de la vie spirituelle de l'homme est sa rencontre avec Dieu qui se produit grâce à une 'inclination divine et une ascension humaine : la déification' (p. 25). Le deuxième chapitre de cette première partie nous confronte aux différents aspects d'une vie contemplative qui mène à la θεώσις. L'A. parle des passions et de leur mauvaise influence, des péchés, des vertus, de la prière, de l'ascèse et de l'amour ('L'amour vient de Dieu et mène à Dieu.' (p. 143)).

Ce qui est remarquable dans les parties II et III, c'est que l'A. décide de mettre l'accent sur la disparité entre l'Orient grec et l'Occident latin. En exposant les notions de la grâce, de la liberté et de la béatitude, l'A. passe en revue non seulement les grands noms de la patristique grecque comme Grégoire de Nazianze, Jean Damascène et Maxime le Confesseur, mais aussi leurs 'pendants' latins comme Augustin, Anselme et Jean Cassien.

Publier ces trois articles dans un seul volume a certainement fait en sorte que la portée en soit agrandie, ce qui est une bonne chose. Pourtant, alors que cette publication partait d'une bonne intention, le livre contient certains défauts, l'absence d'un index en étant le plus grand. Le livre n'actualise pas sa puissance en tant qu'outil utile, vu qu'il n'est pas possible pour le lecteur de retrouver, à une date ultérieure, les passages qui l'avaient intéressé lors de sa première lecture. Aussi à un niveau académique, les articles de l'A. manquent à leurs devoirs. L'emploi de références bibliographiques est non systématisé. On les trouve par ci et par là, mais dans la plupart des cas, une référence à la source citée manque. À cet aspect est liée la bibliographie incomplète, dans laquelle l'A. a opté de ne plus mentionner les ouvrages déjà cités dans les notes. Une décision s'avérant peu pratique pour le lecteur s'il désire vite retrouver certains ouvrages de référence. En outre, il faut quand même admettre que le présent volume est un peu dépassé et qu'il existe des œuvres plus récentes. Ces dernières seront d'une plus grande utilité pour tout étudiant souhaitant approfondir ses connaissances de la matière de la déification de l'homme. Pour ne citer qu'un exemple : le livre de J.-C. Larchet sur la divinisation de l'homme selon saint Maxime le Confesseur (paru en 1996 chez *Les éditions du Cerf*) donne, dans son introduction, un bon aperçu de la doctrine de la divinisation

chez les prédécesseurs de Maxime. Cependant, mis à part l'emploi d'une langue difficile et le choix maladroit de la transcription des mots grecs, cela n'empêche pas que le présent volume est d'une grande valeur pour tous ceux qui veulent être initiés à l'orthodoxie grecque. L'A. fait clairement preuve d'une grande érudition, en témoigne la grande quantité de citations et allusions aux œuvres des Pères grecs qui ont été parfaitement insérées dans son discours. L'A. dispose d'une vision personnelle et nous la présente d'une manière très enthousiasmante. Malgré certains défauts, le livre mérite certainement d'être lu.

Katrien LEVRIE.

E. AMATO, *Rose di Gaza. Gli scritti retorico-sofistici e le Epistole di Procopio di Gaza (Hellenica, 35)*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2010, x + 697 pages; illustré. ISBN 978-88-6274-233-7.

Les œuvres rhétorico-sophistiques de Procope de Gaza ont déjà contracté vis-à-vis d'E. AMATO une lourde dette. En effet, il a donné voici peu, avec la collaboration de G. Ventrella, un *Procopius Gazaeus. Opuscula rhetorica et oratoria* chez Teubner (Berlin-New York, 2009). Conformément aux règles de la collection, les textes sont simplement munis d'un appareil des variantes et des sources, qui tient lieu de commentaire. Certes, beaucoup des œuvres sont d'un intérêt relativement mineur, comme les trois *διαλέξεις* (dont une *εἰς τὸ ῥόδον*) ou les quatre éthopées. On n'en dira pas autant des descriptions, l'une, conservée seulement en partie, de l'horloge (*ἔκφρασις ὀρολογίου*) qui avait donné le branle à la savante curiosité d'H. Diels, et l'autre consacrée à la description des peintures, ou plutôt de l'ensemble des peintures, de la cité de Gaza, ou des panégyriques, pour le *dux* de Phénicie Asiaticus, dont nous n'avons qu'une dizaine de lignes, et pour l'empereur Anastase, qui a bénéficié de plusieurs éditions assez récentes. Pour chacun, les quelque 45 fragments, tirés pour la plupart de divers lexiques ou anthologies, constitueront une véritable révélation, car personne ne les avait jamais réunis. Fallait-il joindre à cet ensemble les six lettres constituant la correspondance entre Procope et Mégéthios ? Comme on sait, l'invention de ces pièces, due au talent et à l'ingéniosité exceptionnels d'AMATO, avait eu quelque retentissement voici cinq ans. L'inconvénient du voisinage est de les faire passer pour un *opus rhetorico-sophisticum*, si l'on peut écrire.

Tirant son titre de la troisième *διάλεξις*, le présent ouvrage offre une édition, hormis pour les fragments, une traduction complète et un très riche commentaire de ce que nous connaissons aujourd'hui de Procope de Gaza. A. CORCELLA (pp. 507-527) y propose aussi la traduction italienne, assortie d'une importante annotation, de l'*Oraison funèbre de Procope* par son élève et successeur Choricios (le texte grec se lit dans R. Förster-E. Richtsteig, *Choricus Gazaeus*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1929, pp. 109-128). En raison de leur contenu, les deux *ἔκφρασεις* appelaient l'intervention d'archéologues, laquelle ne double pas le commentaire philologico-littéraire fourni précédemment par AMATO (dans les chapitres correspondants et pp. 276-283). Deux spécialistes allemands ont répondu à l'appel, Balbina BÄBLER (pour le cycle de peintures et l'horloge à automates) et A. SCHOMBERG (l'horloge à automates), les changements de plume étant signalés avec toute la précision requise. Federica CICCOLELLA s'est chargée de pratiquement (sauf les lettres 166 et 169-174 qui reviennent à AMATO) toute la correspondance (pp. 288-503). On notera que sa traduction est la première en langue vernaculaire. Elle repose pour les lettres 1-166

sur le texte établi autrefois par A. Garzya et R. J. Loenertz (*Procopii Gazaevi epistolae et declamationes*, Ettl, 1963) et ajoute les lettres publiées respectivement par E. V. Maltese (*Un'epistola inedita di Procopio di Gaza*, dans *PP*, 39 (1984), pp. 53-55 : n° 167), L. G. Westerink (*Ein unbekannter Brief des Prokopios von Gaza*, dans *BZ*, 60 (1967), pp. 1-2 : n° 168) ainsi qu'AMATO (*Procopius Gazaeus, ...*, pp. 125-134), et E. A.-A. Corcella, *Lo scambio epistolare di Procopio di Gaza ed il retore Megezio : proposta di traduzione e saggio di commento*, dans *MEG*, 7 (2007), pp. 1-12 : n° 169-174). La contribution de G. Ventrella a trait à des points importants de l'art oratoire de Procope, pour l'éthopée et pour le panégyrique (structure et *topoi* du *Panégyrique pour Anastase* ; l'idéologie impériale). Que la traduction publiée soit de sa main était donc logique. De cette entreprise imposante l'âme a été AMATO, dont l'intervention est sensible à peu près partout.

Une collection de fragments, comme celle de la *Teubneriana*, rendra toujours de distingués services. On ne reprochera pas à MM. AMATO et Ventrella d'y avoir été à l'occasion avarés de commentaires. On savait déjà qu'au XII^e siècle Nicolas de Méthode avait pillé ses prédécesseurs sans vergogne, notamment la *Réfutation des théologiques de Proclus* de Procope de Gaza en deux chapitres, mais un seul des fragments avait été publié précédemment. On découvrira donc ici pour la première fois VIII, 1, donné sous le nom du véritable auteur dans deux manuscrits. Pour le fragment IX *Testimonium* 1, dont le titre est reconstitué sous la forme <εἰς τὴν Πρόκλου Χαλδαϊκὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀντίρρησις>, la source est correctement indiquée, l'accusation devant le synode rédigée vers la fin de 1058 contre Michel Cérulaire (Michel Psellos, *Orationes forenses et acta*, 1, 287-289 Dennis). Par malheur, dans le texte grec, où se lit le *monstrum* κατὰίδας, une syllabe a sauté. On corrigera donc en καταιγίδας. Le passage a été partiellement traduit par É. des Places (*Oracles chaldaïques*, Paris, 1971, p. 219) : *Un certain Julien en a, sous Trajan, bien exposé en vers les dogmes, appelés oracles par ceux qui magnifient les dires de ces Chaldéens. Ces oracles sont tombés sous les yeux du philosophe Proclus, homme supérieurement doué et au fait de toute philosophie, Hellène (païen) jusqu'au bout des ongles. Il a chaldaïsé à fond, porté aux nues ces élucubrations, et, nommant 'déferlements de paroles' les démonstrations helléniques (païennes), ainsi que Procope de Gaza le rapporte, il s'est lancé à pleines voiles dans cet art hiératique (sacré ?)*. L'erreur de date est patente, sauf que Julien le père, 'le Chaldéen', a dû vivre en effet sous Trajan et son fils et homonyme, 'le théurge', sous Marc Aurèle, voir, par exemple, H. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy*, 3^e éd., Paris, 2011, pp. 4-5. La note aurait dû s'écrire sous la forme 'immo Marco Aurelio imperatore, nam de Iuliano agitur Theurgo'. Le même renseignement figure presque à l'identique dans le Commentaire de Psellos au premier discours sur le Fils de Grégoire de Nazianze (pp. 222-223 des Places = *Theologica*, 23, 46-52 Gautier) : Τῶν δὲ τοιούτων ὀνομάτων τε καὶ δοξῶν ὁ ἐπὶ Μάρκου Ἰουλιανὸς καθηγήσατο, ἐν ἔπεσιν αὐτὰ συγγραμμένους, ἃ δὴ καὶ ὡς λόγια ἐφωμνεῖται παρὰ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα. τούτοις δὲ ἐντυχόντες καὶ οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἕλληνες οὕτω δὴ ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἠγάπησαν, ὡς ἀφεμένους εὐθὺς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πρὸς ταῦτα δραμεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα Ἰάμβλιχος καὶ ὁ θεῖος τῶ ὄντι Πρόκλος ἀνήρ' ὁμοῦ τε γὰρ τούτοις συνεγένοντο, καὶ καταιγίδας τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς μεθόδους περὶ τὸν συλλογισμὸν ὀνομάκασι. É. des Places le traduit ainsi : *Voilà les appellations et les opinions dont le Julien contemporain de Marc (Aurèle) a été l'instigateur : il les a rédigées en vers, ceux justement que célèbrent comme des oracles ceux qui leur ont succédé. À cette lecture, les Hellènes de notre temps ont*

été tellement saisis de vénération et d'amour qu'ils ont aussitôt abandonné les croyances grecques pour se jeter sur celles-là ; entre tous, Jamblique et cet homme vraiment divin, Proclus : à peine les ont-ils fréquentées qu'ils ont traité de 'déferlements' les méthodes grecques du syllogisme. La récurrence du mot *καταιγίς*, la similitude dans l'organisation des données montre qu'ici encore la source est Procope de Gaza relayant Proclus le Diadoque. Le substantif *καταιγίς* est loin d'être courant d'ailleurs dans le vocabulaire de ce dernier. Hormis dans les passages que l'on vient de voir, on ne le trouve qu'une seule fois, à un moment où il est question de l'hymne du Père (Proclus, *extraits chaldaïques de Proclus*, p. 207, 17-22 des Places ; j'ai légèrement retouché la traduction) : *Et l'hymne du Père, ce ne sont ni les discours composés, ni l'organisation des rites ; car, étant seul impérissable, il n'admet pas un hymne périssable. N'espérons donc pas persuader le maître des discours vrais par un vain déferlement de paroles ni par une fantasmagorie de rites artificiellement enjolivés : c'est à une beauté sans enjolivures que Dieu se complait.* "Ὕμνος δὲ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐ λόγοι σύνθετοι, οὐκ ἔργων κατασκευή· μόνος γὰρ ἄφθαρτος ὢν, φθαρτὸν ὕμνον οὐ δέχεται· μὴ οὖν κενῆ ῥημάτων καταιγίδι πείσειν ἐλπίζομεν τὸν λόγων ἀληθῶν δεσπότην μηδὲ ἔργων φαντασίᾳ μετὰ τέχνης κεκαλλωπισμένον· ἀκαλλώπιστον εὐμορφίαν θεὸς φιλεῖ. La présence de *καταιγίς* incite à se demander si ce n'est pas là précisément le morceau qu'avait commenté Procope. Au demeurant, je ne suis pas convaincu que le mot recouvre une simple métaphore, comme le suggérait É. des Places (p. 223, n. 1) : la méthode syllogistique fait appel à un déferlement verbal, qui l'inscrit par le fait même dans la multiplicité. Toujours est-il que voilà un témoin qui vient utilement compléter et éclairer le fragment IX, 1 de MM. AMATO et Ventrella.

Les deux hellénistes avaient pris la précaution de munir leur édition d'un précieux recueil de *Testimonia*. Le n° 24 (Joseph Rhakendytès, *Syn. Rhet.*, 4, p. 526, 13-21) recense les écrivains affectionnant un vocabulaire *ὀγκηρός*, au nombre desquels Philon le Juif, Synésios de Cyrène et peut-être même Philostrate. En revanche, à son époque, prétend l'écrivain, au tournant des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles, ils étaient innombrables. Le critique utilise un fragment d'hexamètre homérique (B 468) ὄσσα τε φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίνεται ὄρη, non signalé comme tel. Or, ce vers a eu un succès relativement important dès l'Antiquité (voir Lucien, *Pisc.*, 42 ; Maxime de Tyr, 7, 6), et la graphie (ὄσσα) aurait dû en être intégralement respectée.

D'une édition 'teubnérienne', on ne pouvait attendre une étude de grand style sur la personnalité artistique de Procope. En revanche, les documents réunis pour la circonstance, fragments et *testimonia* notamment, fournissaient la matière de l'ample parterre conçu pour les *Roses de Gaza*. Formé à Alexandrie, où il reçut assurément une formation de type néoplatonicien, Procope revint à Gaza, et, vers 491/495, il y recueillit la succession d'Énée. Prit-il part au sac en 486 de la chapelle d'Isis à Ménouthis dans la banlieue d'Alexandrie, centre de pèlerinage favori des étudiants païens (voir E. J. Watts, *Riot in Alexandria*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-Londres, 2010, p. 8, avec la n. 38) ou avait-il réussi à se tenir à l'écart des dangereux *parabalani* ou de leurs équivalents que les évêques anti-chalcédoniens pouvaient lancer à l'assaut des derniers lieux de culte païens ? À la suite de beaucoup de ses prédécesseurs, AMATO suggère que le maître de Procope (p. 1 'probable guida') avait été Olympiodore dit 'l'Ancien' (*DPhA* III O 15). Ce dernier avait déjà été celui de Proclus le Diadoque, comme le rappelle Marinos de Néapolis (*Proclus*, 9, 15-17) : *Pour les études aristotéliennes, il fréquenta l'école du philosophe Olympiodore, dont la réputation était grande*, trad. H.-D. Saffrey-A.-Ph. Segonds, p. 11). De surcroît

(25-33 S.-S.), les maîtres (de Proclus) eux aussi apprécièrent tellement les mœurs du jeune homme qu'Olympiodore, qui avait une fille jeune, élevée elle aussi dans la philosophie, voulut la fiancer avec lui. Du temps qu'il était l'auditeur d'Olympiodore, qui avait un grand talent de parole et qui, à cause de sa facilité d'élocution et de sa subtilité dans l'argumentation, n'était accessible qu'à un petit nombre de ses auditeurs, Proclus, au sortir de sa leçon, répétait de mémoire devant ses camarades tous les mots du cours dans les termes mêmes, bien qu'il y eût beaucoup, comme me l'a rapporté l'un de ses condisciples, Ulprien de Gaza, qui lui-même a consacré une bonne partie de sa vie à la philosophie. Des raisons chronologiques excluent donc qu'Olympiodore 'l'Ancien' ait été le maître du Gazéen. En revanche, l'existence d'une sorte de 'Gazaean connexion' paraît bien établie. Quant à la facilité d'élocution, bref, le talent oratoire, c'était une qualité qu'Olympiodore partageait avec maints autres, comme Proclus lui-même, sans compter, beaucoup plus tard, Damascios. En déroulant la même 'connexion', on trouve le grammairien Timothée de Gaza (*PLRE* II, p. 1121, s.v. *Timotheus* 3), qui avait aussi fréquenté les mêmes cours, avec, pour maître, Horapollon (Flavius –) de Phénébythis (*DPhA* III O 165). Enfin, l'authenticité de la foi hellénique de ce dernier finit par être mise en question (Damascios, *Visid.*, fr. *317, p. 253 Zintzen = *Souda*, Ω 159, s.v. Ὀραπόλλων) : Procope ne trahit que rarement ses convictions chrétiennes hors les 'chaînes'. Qu'il ait opté contre Chalcédoine, quoi de plus normal ? Qu'il prît part à la diffusion du christianisme et intervînt dans les querelles christologiques (p. 6) était parfaitement logique. Les monastères de l'Énaton à neuf milles d'Alexandrie et celui de Maiuma rendu illustre par Pierre l'Ibère et Sévère, le futur évêque miophysite d'Antioche, avaient noué des liens très étroits et étaient des foyers d'opposition à la politique de conciliation tentée depuis l'empereur Léon. L'avènement de Justin I^{er} bouleversa les données : Gaza admit enfin Chalcédoine, et apparemment le vieux Procope suivit le mouvement général (p. 7). On ne connaît les dates ni de naissance ni de mort du sophiste. Toutefois, la *Monodie d'Antioche* (fr. I, 1 et 2) fournit un terminus *post quem*. Le désastre, qui a eu un retentissement énorme, incite à considérer que l'orateur évoquait celui de 526, plutôt que celui, sensiblement moins dévastateur, de 528.

Tout aussi passionnante est l'analyse à laquelle se livre AMATO de la production littéraire de Procope (pp. 10-45), 'riche et variée' suivant Photios (T. XXIX Amato = *Bibl., cod.* 160, 103 a 6 Henry), alors que, sauf découverte imprévisible, ce que nous pouvons lire aujourd'hui constitue un ensemble relativement mince. Les descriptions de l'horloge (pp. 22-30) et du cycle pictural (pp. 30-36) sont ainsi l'occasion de fines pages bourrées d'une érudition de la meilleure veine sur l'histoire, le succès et l'interprétation des constructions de ce type. On ajoutera seulement, pour confirmer la note sur les attaches d'Anastase avec Héraclès (p. 22, n. 63), que, quand l'empereur entreprit d'importants travaux de fortification à Daras, le nom qu'il donna à une tour érigée à un endroit stratégique fut précisément 'Heraclea' (Marcell., a. 518, 3, p. 101). À première vue, rien de plus banal que les discours sur le printemps, διαλέξεις ou éthorées, dont Procope s'était fait, apparemment, une spécialité. Les pratiques du genre avaient déjà essuyé les railleries de Julien (*C. Héracl.*, 23, pp. 85-86 Rochefort) : ἐπαινεῖς φορτικῶς ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀμαθεστάτων ῥητόρων, οἷς διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἀπορίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν εὐρεῖν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ὅτι φῶσιν, ἢ Δῆλος ἐπέρχεται καὶ ἢ Λητῶ μετὰ τῶν παίδων, εἶτα κύκνοι λιγυρὸν ἄδοντες καὶ ἐπηχοῦντα αὐτοῖς τὰ δένδρα, λειμῶνές τε ἔνδρσοι μαλακῆς πῶας καὶ βαθείας πλήρεις, ἢ τε ἐκ τῶν ἀνθέων ὀδμή καὶ τὸ ἔαρ

αὐτὸ καὶ τινες εἰκόνες τοιαῦται, et de Thémistios (*Disc.* 26, p. 148, 10-13 Schenkl-Downey) : Εἶτα τῶν μὲν σκιαμαχοῦντων ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κίμωνος ἢ Νικίου ἢ Μιλτιάδου, καὶ μινυριζόντων ἐν τοῖς προλόγοις ἤρος ἐπαίνους καὶ χελιδόνων καὶ ἀηδόνων. On mettra donc ici l'accent sur les chapitres 3 touchant 'le discours figuré et l'allégorie chrétienne' (pp. 46-55), où est posée clairement la question *vexata* de l'apparente ambiguïté de l'œuvre, et 4 relatif au *Dies rosarum* ainsi qu'aux représentations pantomimiques à Gaza. On doit partir d'*Op.* III, 66 τοῦτο (*sc.* τὸ ῥόδον) καὶ Διονύσῳ μυχθὲν μιμεῖται σωτηρίαν ἀνθρώπων : ou on ne l'a pas compris ou on a refusé de voir l'évidence. L'expression est allégorique : μιμεῖται 'représente', c'est-à-dire symbolise le mystère du vin eucharistique ; la rose est une métaphore pour le sang, et Dionysos est le vin. Le sang de l'eucharistie est un gage de salut pour l'homme. Malgré la *doctrina arcani* qui s'imposait à une époque où le christianisme ne régnait pas encore comme religion unique, le voile est relativement translucide. Une analyse plus poussée révèle d'autres références à des symboles chrétiens. Peut-on identifier la fête au cours de laquelle l'orateur prodiguait le flot de ses paroles ? AMATO trouve un indice dans une lettre (77, 1-3) adressée à un certain Diodōros : Ὡμην σε τὴν τῶν μαρτύρων παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπιτελέσαι πανήγυριν καὶ δίδοναι μόλις ἡμῖν εὐτυχεῖσαι τῇ θεᾷ· σὺ δὲ κἂν ὄναρ ἴδης τὸν Μαΐουμᾶν, ὡς ἔοικε, δυσχεραίνεις καὶ τὸν οἰωνὸν δεδιὼς ἀποφράδα τὴν ἡμέραν καλεῖς. Procope y distingue deux phases, une πανήγυρις en l'honneur des martyrs de Gaza et une Μαΐουμᾶ publique où était invitée la pantomime, comme à Antioche ou à Ostie. Or, nombreuses sont dans les *dialexeis* les locutions qui ne s'expliquent que comme des allusions à ce mode d'expression artistique. On ne voit donc pas pourquoi lors de ces *Rosalia* convertis au christianisme et dédiés à la commémoration des martyrs ne se déroulaient pas d'autres joutes, rhétoriques cette fois, celles qui assurèrent le triomphe de l'orateur ? C'est à G. Ventrella que l'on doit trois chapitres importants, dont l'un est relativement technique, comme le suggère le titre 'Procopio ἠθοποιητικὸς'. En fait, celui-ci est un modèle de méthode ; la démonstration ne laisse rien dans l'ombre : structure de l'œuvre, vocabulaire, style, mètre, tout est passé en revue, avec une impeccable précision. On regrettera seulement que la lecture des épreuves ait été quelque peu défaillante dans les trois parties (voir p. 95, n. 5 (suite de la n. à la p. 94) ; 97, n. 15 ; 113, n. 45 ; 114, n. 53 ; 115, n. 57 ; 117, n. 77). On lira avec un vif intérêt le chapitre portant sur la structure et les *topoi* du Panégyrique, qui fait ressortir la fréquence des emprunts à Ménandre le Rhéteur. Ce qui frappe, c'est l'absence de toute mention du patriarche. Désireux de sacraliser la fonction impériale, Procope traçait-il déjà la voie au césaropapisme qu'allait plus tard mettre en œuvre Justinien ? Les panégyriques d'Anastase n'ont jamais été nombreux ; je ne connais guère que celui de Priscien de Césarée, relativement peu exploité par l'helléniste italien. À la n. 1 de la p. 94, il eût été intéressant de faire entrer en compte les chapitres de Jean le Lydien (*Mag.*, III, 46-49, avec les remarques de J. Champ, *Jean le Lydien. Des magistratures de l'État romain* II : Livres II et III, Paris, 2006, pp. CI-CXXIII). Un autre point fort de l'ouvrage est l'introduction aux Lettres de l'orateur qu'a signée Federica CICCOLELLA (pp. 120-150). Elle montre combien il était attaché à son métier, défendant son art bec et ongles même contre les critiques de son propre frère, qui était avocat (σχολαστικὸς), en d'autres termes voué à une éloquence d'un tout autre style, ou contre Mégéthios. On aurait tort de voir en Procope un sophiste égoïste et imbu du pouvoir de son verbe dont il n'aurait cherché à tirer qu'or et prestige. Il mettait ses capacités au service de ses concitoyens, comme Libanios

avant lui, et, loin d'être riche et attaché aux plaisirs, il se donnait volontiers aussi comme philosophe. En même temps, CICCOLELLA fait revivre tout un milieu. Les relations étaient régulières entre la cité et les moines, comme Isaïe, dont Zacharie le Scholastique avait écrit la vie : Énée n'hésitait pas à demander au moine conseil sur l'interprétation qu'il convenait de réserver à des passages de Platon, d'Aristote ou de Plotin. J'ajouterai que de tels échanges expliquent sans doute le versant proprement chrétien de la production de Procope. Même si partie du cercle qui l'entourait revit à travers la correspondance, le sophiste ne prenait pas la plume seulement par besoin. On le sait, la lettre était d'abord un rite social. On dira aussi 'un exercice littéraire' prolongeant la formation rhétorique. Ainsi s'explique un style un peu moins attique que dans les autres écrits, plus proche de l'usage courant, et où des formules caractéristiques reviennent périodiquement. Moins strict que Libanios, l'écrivain laisse passer parfois tel mot latin, même s'il écorche l'oreille, comme *κομιστόριον* (*Ep.* 45) ou *κογκούσσωρα* (*Ep.* 12, cf. *curiosus*). On soulignera ici l'intérêt de l'annotation, qui a essayé de faire progresser la compréhension. Elle a cherché à intégrer les apports de la critique la plus récente. Malheureusement, le texte n'en a pas profité, en sorte qu'il pêche par une légère discordance avec l'italien. C'est le cas du passage signalé en dernier lieu (voir p. 446, n. 75), fort maltraité dans les manuscrits où l'on trouve *κορισσὸν ἄν*, *κορυόσσον ἄν* et *κορισσόνάν*. Suivant une conjecture de Haupt, Garzya-Loenertz avaient fait imprimer *κογκούσσωρα*. À moindre frais, on pouvait proposer, après P. Speck, *κορυόσσον ἄν*, qu'en effet suppose la version italienne. Œuvre de Choricios, l'*Épithaphios* de Procope avait fait précédemment l'objet d'une traduction française, relativement ancienne (1862), de Henri Caffiaux, et anglaise de F. K. Litsas (1980, inédite). Même si elle est reléguée parmi les appendices, celle d'A. CORCELLA, en italien, sera donc accueillie avec d'autant plus de bonheur qu'elle est munie d'une annotation fort riche (pp. 512-527). C'était aussi la place qui devait revenir normalement aux contributions archéologiques de Balbina BÄBLER et A. SCHOMBERG, qui se fondent sur une vaste littérature d'érudition.

Dans l'état actuel de la recherche, les *Roses de Gaza*, qui doivent se lire en complément avec le *Procopius Gazaenus. Opuscula rhetorica et oratoria* d'E. AMATO et G. Ventrella, constituent désormais la somme indispensable sur Procope et l'école de Gaza. Travail collectif, elles jettent une vive lumière sur une société, moins fermée qu'on ne le croit, d'une petite région du Proche Orient asiatique. On doit admirer la qualité exceptionnelle de l'érudition mise en œuvre, dont fait foi une gigantesque bibliographie (pp. 619-672). Le livre est déjà fort gros. Gageons que beaucoup de lecteurs regretteront qu'il n'ait pas été muni d'un index. Pour les appendices archéologiques, ceux-ci disposeront d'une série importante de schémas et de reproductions d'œuvres d'art, en noir et blanc, mais d'une parfaite lisibilité. De façon générale, la typographie est soignée, et les rares fautes sont aisées à corriger. Voilà assurément un ouvrage magistral qui fera date.

J. SCHAMP.

E. K. LITSAS, *Εισαγωγή στη μελέτη των μεταβυζαντινών εγγράφων. Πανομοιότυπα εγγράφων με σχόλια*, Thessalonique, University Studio Press, 2011, 104 pages. ISBN 978-960-12-2015-4.

Die vorliegende Publikation ist die zweite, verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage eines im Jahre 2006 unter dem Titel *Παλαιογραφία τῶν ἐγγράφων. Πίνακες*

μεταβυζαντινῶν ἐγγράφων μὲ σχόλια veröffentlichten Lehrbuchs für Studierende der Archiv- und Bibliothekskunde an der Ionischen Universität.

Auf das Vorwort der ersten und der zweiten Auflage (S. 5-7) folgen ein Abkürzungsverzeichnis (S. 8) und Indices zum Inhalt der Urkunden (S. 9-11) sowie ein Kommentar (S. 13-37); den Hauptteil bilden Tafeln. Im Anhang finden sich weitere Indices (S. 97-100), die Konkordanz mit der Nummerierung der ersten Auflage, ein Abbildungsnachweis (S. 101), eine englische Zusammenfassung (S. 102) sowie ein Inhaltsverzeichnis (S. 103). Wie im Falle der Einführung in die griechische Paläographie aus der Feder Litsas' (*Σύντομη εἰσαγωγή στὴν ἐλληνικὴ παλαιογραφία καὶ κωδικολογία*. Τεύχος 2ο. Πίνακες μὲ ἐπιλεγμένα δείγματα γραφῆς καὶ σχόλια, Thessalonike 2001) beschränkt sich der Kommentar im Wesentlichen auf Bibliographie und Abbildungsnachweis, ergänzt durch Angaben zum Aussteller, Empfänger, Datierung und Aufbewahrungsort der Dokumente. Diese sind nicht chronologisch, sondern nach Urkundentyp geordnet, was die Orientierung manchmal erschwert. Die Qualität der Abbildungen ist nicht gleichmäßig, was dadurch bedingt ist, dass als Druckvorlage bereits publizierte Abbildungen benutzt wurden.

Lobenswert ist, dass auch die äußeren Urkundenmerkmale Beachtung finden, allerdings auf Kosten der Lesbarkeit des griechischen Originaltextes; dieser ist bei den Tafeln zu den Dokumenten Nr. 2, 9, 15, 16 so klein, dass diese Schriftproben für Unterrichtszwecke untauglich sind. Fast alle hier präsentierten Urkunden sind bereits in einer modernen Edition greifbar. Unverständlich ist, warum der Kommentar (Nämliches gilt auch für Indices und die überflüssige englische Zusammenfassung) so viel Platz einnimmt: Bei einer etwas mehr platzsparender Präsentation hätte LITSAS bei gleichen Druckkosten zweifelsohne 4-6 Tafeln mehr publizieren können.

Alleine die Nr. 25-26 stammen aus byzantinischer Zeit (zwei Privaturkunden der Jahre 1398 und 1420 aus Kerkyra; bemerkenswert ist die Zierleiste am Ende beider Dokumente); der Rest ist postbyzantinisch, zu einem guten Teil sogar nach 1600; die jüngsten Schriftstücke betreffen den griechischen Unabhängigkeitskampf. Anzubringen ist lediglich eine kleine Korrektur: Entgegen LITSAS kann die Nr. 21 kein Original sein (die Zeugenunterschriften stammen sämtlich von der Texthand und reduzieren den Wortlaut der Unterfertigungen auf ein Minimum).

R. STEFEC.

P. PÉTRIDIS, *La céramique protobyzantine de Delphes : une production et son contexte* (*Fouilles de Delphes*, V, *Monuments figurés*, 4), Athènes, Peeters et De Boccard, 2010, 237 pages dont 46 planches avec 236 figures en noir et blanc et 17 figures en couleurs. ISBN 978-2-86958-203-3.

Cet ouvrage, issu de la thèse de doctorat – remaniée et enrichie de nouvelles données archéologiques – que P. PÉTRIDIS a soutenue à l'Université de Paris I en 1995, rassemble de précieuses informations archéologiques concernant une période peu connue du site antique de Delphes. Il ressort de cette rigoureuse étude qu'un artisanat local se développa entre le IV^e et le VII^e siècle ap. J.-C. pour répondre aux besoins des populations vivant auprès de l'ancien sanctuaire, devenu alors une modeste agglomération protobyzantine.

Dans son introduction, l'A. définit le matériel qu'il a étudié, à savoir la céramique issue des fouilles archéologiques menées à Delphes. Ce matériel provient

essentiellement de l'agora romaine et du secteur sud-est du péribole, dont la fouille a été menée de 1990 à 1997 par l'A. dans le cadre des missions de l'*École française d'Athènes*, ainsi que du secteur du gymnase fouillé par les services archéologiques grecs et l'*École française d'Athènes* dans les années 80. À ces deux ensembles viennent s'ajouter les céramiques exhumées lors des fouilles de sauvetage et de nettoyage conduites avant 1990, pour lesquelles les données stratigraphiques sont malheureusement rares. Parallèlement à la céramique locale, la céramique importée a été également étudiée mais sa présentation apparaît abrégée par rapport à celle que l'on trouve dans la thèse de l'A. Bien que la céramique byzantine connaisse un intérêt accru depuis les années 1990, les monographies envisageant dans son ensemble la céramique issue des différents sites de Grèce manquent encore, alors que des travaux relatifs à une catégorie précise de matériel sont plus répandus. La connaissance lacunaire de la production locale de céramique au cours des périodes antérieure et ultérieure à l'époque protobyzantine, le manque de synthèses sur la céramique d'une région précise et la difficulté d'accès au matériel conservé dans d'autres sites, susceptible de permettre des comparaisons, constituent autant d'embûches que l'A. a su affronter avec brio. Il faut espérer que son étude approfondie sur la céramique d'un site et de sa région stimule la rédaction d'autres monographies de ce type.

La première partie de l'ouvrage est consacrée à la reconstitution de physionomie urbaine de la ville protobyzantine de Delphes. Si la littérature véhicule l'idée de la disparition de la ville après la fermeture de l'oracle, certaines sources écrites (listées à la p. 18, n. 8), les monuments, les céramiques et les monnaies de l'époque protobyzantine, ainsi que la stratigraphie mise en lumière par les fouilles menées sur le site, suggèrent au contraire une phase d'expansion de la ville entre la seconde moitié du IV^e siècle et la seconde moitié du VI^e siècle. Si l'on observe les principales constructions de cette époque, il est intéressant de constater que les trois églises exhumées sont situées à l'extérieur du mur d'enceinte du sanctuaire d'Apollon et qu'aucune d'entre elles n'a été construite sur un lieu de culte plus ancien. Pourtant, le premier empiètement de la ville protobyzantine sur l'espace sacré date déjà du III^e siècle ap. J.-C., lorsque le portique du roi Attale I^{er} fut transformé en réservoir pour alimenter les importants thermes publics construits à l'est du mur d'enceinte du sanctuaire.

La deuxième partie de ce livre, qui est aussi la plus importante (pp. 33-121), concerne l'étude analytique de la céramique locale de Delphes. Un premier chapitre s'intéresse à sa fabrication. Les plus anciennes installations de potiers, datées de la seconde moitié du IV^e et du début du V^e siècle, se situent à la lisière de la ville, à l'endroit de l'ancien gymnase, et bénéficiaient ainsi d'une alimentation en eau depuis la fontaine Castalie. Un véritable quartier artisanal, comportant au moins six fours de potier en briques, de forme carré ou rectangulaire, a été fouillé au sud-est du mur d'enceinte du sanctuaire d'Apollon. La plus grande partie d'une vaste demeure construite à cet endroit et abandonnée vers 580, fut progressivement réutilisée pour l'aménagement d'installations artisanales. Néanmoins, des continuités dans les formes, le décor et la qualité de la pâte ont été observées entre les productions antérieures à 580 et celles datées d'après 590. L'A. préfère dès lors ne pas lier l'abandon de cette demeure à un danger extérieur mais plutôt à l'incapacité des propriétaires d'entretenir une maison aussi spacieuse comprenant des pièces de réception et des thermes. En revanche, en 620, les vases et les lampes laissés dans les chambres de cuisson des fours trahissent un abandon soudain et définitif du

secteur artisanal qui est probablement à mettre en relation avec l'invasion slave de la région en 610/620.

Le quatrième chapitre comporte le catalogue détaillé des productions locales de Delphes protobyzantine. Celles-ci sont classées en 6 catégories : céramique de stockage (amphores, supports d'amphores, bassins profonds), céramique culinaire (poêles, marmites, bouilloire, fourneaux portatifs), céramique de table (cruches et cruchons, pichet, coupe, assiettes, bols, ramequin, panier), lampes (circulaires du IV^e s., de type africain, du type de transition du VI^e-VII^e s., circulaires des VI^e-VII^e s.), la céramique d'usage artisanal (moules de lampes, moules d'objets métalliques, cales de cuisson, bobines de tissage, pesons). Certains objets, tels que les sceaux à pains, des filtres et des passoires et des ruches, classés dans la catégorie 'divers', fournissent aussi des informations très utiles sur le déroulement de la vie quotidienne. Chacune de ces catégories d'objets est précédée de mises au point bien utiles ayant trait à certaines problématiques (pâte, forme, décor éventuel, fonctions) en rapport avec les objets étudiés. La troisième partie donne au lecteur un bon aperçu de la variété du matériel céramique importé à Delphes. Quatre grandes catégories de produits y sont représentées : les amphores, les sigillées (africaines, micrasiatiques, gauloises, chypriotes), la céramique peinte (provenant d'Attique et de Grèce centrale) et les lampes (corinthiennes, d'Attique, africaines). On soulignera la grande qualité des planches regroupées en fin de volume : les photographies de très bonne qualité réalisées par Ph. Collet ainsi que les coupes dessinées par l'A. illustrent la grande majorité des objets du catalogue.

Parmi les conclusions de cette minutieuse et vaste étude, on retiendra particulièrement que Delphes, tout comme Athènes et les villes du Péloponnèse, se situe dans la sphère d'influence des productions céramiques africaines et non dans celle des importations micrasiatiques comme le sont les villes de Thessalie et du Nord de la Grèce. Les céramiques africaines sont majoritaires sur le site dans la seconde moitié du IV^e siècle, beaucoup moins nombreuses au V^e siècle et réapparaissent au VI^e siècle. Il existait donc à Delphes un groupe social aisé qui appréciait une vaisselle raffinée et qui avait les moyens nécessaires pour en susciter l'importation. Cette étude permet aussi de constater le rôle majeur de Corinthe qui fait figure de point de transit incontestable dans la diffusion de cette céramique importée vers Delphes. Delphes entretenait également des rapports commerciaux avec Athènes aux III^e-IV^e siècles ainsi qu'avec Thèbes en Phtiotide au VI^e siècle. Cette ouverture de la ville à d'autres types de céramiques n'a pas empêché le développement d'un artisanat local qui semble avoir fonctionné à l'échelle des besoins de la ville et de sa région sans chercher à exporter ses productions vers des marchés extérieurs, car de la céramique locale de bonne qualité et des imitations de formes africaines y étaient produites.

On ne peut que recommander la lecture de cet ouvrage bien structuré et superbement présenté qui fournit des informations essentielles sur l'occupation et la production artisanale de Delphes à la période protobyzantine. Au terme d'un travail de longue haleine, l'A. a su parfaitement conjuguer les données concrètes issues de ses fouilles et les informations antérieures progressivement accumulées par les services archéologiques grecs et l'*École française d'Athènes*.

Catherine VANDERHEYDE.

Katerina KARAPLI, *Κατεύδωσις στρατοῦ. Ἡ ὀργάνωση καὶ ἡ ψυχολογικὴ προετοιμασία τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ στρατοῦ πρὶν ἀπὸ τὸν πόλεμο (610-1081)*, vol. I,

Athènes, Μυρμιδόνης, 2010, 447 pages dont pp. 433-442 illustrations. ISBN 978-960-99279-8-7.

Signalons dès le départ que ce volume est le fruit d'une longue recherche d'une spécialiste en la matière, dont plusieurs études ont pour objet soit l'armée byzantine comme institution, soit les soldats byzantins en tant qu'individus d'une société fortement marquée par la guerre et des expéditions militaires. Comme l'A. le signale, ce premier volume est consacré à l'analyse des données des sources concernant la préparation psychologique de l'armée byzantine avant de partir en guerre ; un second volume est prévu contenant tous les textes exploités dans le premier volume.

La période envisagée va du commencement du règne d'Héraclius à la fin du règne de Romain IV, marquée par la défaite décisive de l'armée byzantine devant l'armée turque à Mantzikert. Ce choix des limites dans le temps est justifié par l'A. de deux manières : (1) l'empire est hellénisé à partir du VII^e s. tandis que son armée devient 'nationale' grâce au système thématique et (2) la rédaction des traités militaires, qui constituent les sources par excellence de son étude, se situe entre ces deux dates. Certes, le début du VII^e s. et la fin du XI^e s. sont considérés par de nombreux historiens comme étant des dates significatives dans le sens qu'elles marquent des tournants historiques majeures, mais les justifications avancées par l'A. ne sont pas toujours convaincantes. D'abord, l'hellénisation de l'empire est un fait culturel, mais qui n'a pas influencé l'armée. Ensuite, il est aléatoire de parler d'une armée nationale pour le haut Moyen Âge ; une grande partie de l'armée byzantine était composée des mercenaires étrangers, sans tenir compte du caractère professionnel des soldats byzantins. Quant aux traités militaires, il est certain qu'après la fin du XI^e s. rien de notable n'était écrit, mais on ne peut pas dire le même pour la période avant le VII^e s. ; d'ailleurs l'A. fait souvent référence à des traités plus anciens que le début du VIII^e s. Ces remarques ne mettent pas en cause la valeur de ce travail dont les qualités sont indiscutables.

L'ouvrage est divisé en deux parties. Dans la première, la plus courte (pp. 25-44), sont présentées les sources à contenu militaire, tandis que les autres sources (chroniques, traités historiques, textes hagiographiques, sources iconographiques, monnaies, sigilles) sont jugées comme étant suffisamment connues pour ne pas faire d'objet d'une présentation particulière. Signalons la remarquable présentation des sources ainsi que les judicieuses remarques d'ordre textuel, puisque l'A. fait souvent recours aux manuscrits de ses sources, car elle juge les éditions insuffisantes. Toutefois nous constatons que deux codifications de contenu militaire, dont la formation est communément placée à la fin du VII^e s. ou au début du VIII^e s., à savoir les ainsi appelés *Lois militaires* et le *Code pénal militaire*, ne sont pas mentionnées dans la présentation. Pourtant l'A. utilise ces sources (cf. première mention à la p. 64). Certes, il ne s'agit pas de rédactions originales, mais le fait qu'on avait senti le besoin d'avancer vers ces codifications à une période plus au moins précise, méritait une explication.

La seconde partie du livre est consacrée à l'analyse des données des sources. Elle comporte quatre chapitres (qui pour des raisons inconnues sont appelés 'parties') et les conclusions. Le premier de ces chapitres est intitulé 'La préparation religieuse' de l'armée byzantine et cela dans le campement, avant une expédition, lors d'une expédition. Le deuxième chapitre qui porte le titre 'Le discours du stratège', tourne autour de la personnalité du chef de l'armée, mais analyse aussi le contenu et la forme qui devait avoir un discours militaire destiné à rehausser le

moral de l'armée avant une opération. Le chapitre suivant a pour objet 'Les animateurs de l'armée durant la période 610-1081'. Dans ce chapitre les traités militaires ne sont pas tenus en considération comme sources ; l'A. mentionne les cas des empereurs ou des stratèges dont les discours ont laissé des traces dans les sources historiques et hagiographiques. Le dernier chapitre, le plus long, envisage 'Le contenu des discours et des prières'. Pour ce qui est des discours, avant d'entreprendre une analyse très détaillée du contenu d'un bon discours, de ses parties et de ses lieux communs, l'A. retourne, d'une certaine manière, à la première partie de son ouvrage et examine de plus près une de ses sources, à savoir le *Περὶ δημηγοριῶν*, à laquelle sont déjà consacrées les pp. 36-44, et réexamine certaines questions déjà débattues au sujet de l'auteur de ce traité, le temps de sa rédaction, la transmission du texte, les éditions, sa division en chapitres, le contenu de chacun de ces chapitres, etc. Je dois avouer que je n'ai pas saisi la raison de ce retour. Ensuite est analysé le contenu d'un discours en bonne forme. Ici aussi nous avons repéré des répétitions, car ces questions sont, au moins en partie, débattues dans le deuxième chapitre. Pour ce qui est de prières, elles sont aussi vues sous l'angle de leur contenu, mais dans ce cas aussi nous avons repéré des répétitions, puisque les mêmes questions ont fait l'objet du premier chapitre. Un genre d'annexe aux prières, les services religieux en relation avec l'armée, est aussi partiellement présenté dans le premier chapitre. En un mot, la raison d'être de ce long chapitre n'est pas très évidente. Signalons, avant de fermer la section de la présentation, que le livre est assorti d'un genre de résumé en allemand (pp. 373-379), mais qui n'est pas original, puisqu'il a été publié comme article en 2005 dans la revue *Glaube in der Welt*, n° 33, pp. 28-29. En outre, il contient un index pour les noms et les termes grecs et un autre pour les noms et les termes latins, très utiles tous les deux pour se retrouver dans cette masse d'informations procurées par l'A.

Avant de faire quelques observations concernant le contenu du livre, signalons que les conclusions auxquelles l'A. arrive découlent de la manière la plus naturelle de son analyse : dans un empire, tel que l'empire byzantin, l'armée jouait un rôle essentiel. Car pratiquement l'empire était sans cesse en guerre avec les différents envahisseurs et avec ses voisins qui avaient comme politique avouée la destruction de l'empire. Ses guerres étaient donc défensives, mais non moins dures. La préparation psychologique de l'armée constituait une préoccupation majeure du pouvoir, car elle devait être toujours prête à défendre l'existence de l'empire. Dans ce but, l'appel à la protection divine de cette armée qui défendait sa foi et son empereur, représentant de Dieu sur terre, constituait la tactique la plus indiquée pour garder l'armée en bon état et son moral toujours haut. La religiosité des soldats était donc la majeure piste à exploiter pour arriver aux résultats espérés par les autorités. La bonne présentation des motifs évoqués dans ce but, c'est-à-dire l'art d'articuler et de présenter les arguments, n'était qu'un moyen de cette tactique. Ces conclusions sont incontestables et il ne faut pas les défendre, tellement elles s'imposent de façon naturelle.

Toutefois, le livre laisse parfois au lecteur l'impression que tout n'est pas dit. D'abord concernant les traités à contenu militaire qui constituent la base de la documentation du livre. Il faut peut-être dire qu'il s'agit de textes apparentés aux textes législatifs, qui signalent ce qui devait être la réalité et non pas ce qu'elle était en fait. En outre, plusieurs parmi eux sont rédigés par des personnes, comme par exemple Léon VI ou Constantin VII, qui n'ont jamais participé à une expédition militaire : ils les écrivaient derrière leur bureau en imaginant des situations fictives.

Ces beaux discours, peu compréhensibles pour des soldats habituellement illettrés, sont souvent des exercices de style dans le langage recherché des bureaucrates du palais faisant appel à des situations idéalisées. Or, nous savons par exemple que Léon V comme son successeur Michel II étaient des illettrés, incapables de rédiger ou de prononcer ces beaux discours. Pourtant ils ont fait tous deux d'excellents stratèges. D'ailleurs dans le cas de Léon Katakylas, dont le traité fut retrouvé par Constantin VII dans la bibliothèque du monastère de Mégalos Agros, ce dernier note qu'il ne pouvait pas publier ce traité tel qu'il était, car sa langue et son style n'étaient pas convenables. Il a alors aménagé le texte avant de l'insérer dans son *De cerimoniis*. On peut légitimement poser la question : que reste-t-il de la rédaction originale ?

Une deuxième question concerne la nature des guerres byzantines. Pour l'A. les guerres byzantines étaient défensives et les stratèges devaient mettre en valeur cet élément afin d'appuyer la conclusion que Dieu était toujours du côté des défenseurs. Or, très souvent les guerres à Byzance étaient civiles. Une estimation, même sommaire, indique que les armées byzantines se battaient plus entre elles que contre les ennemis. Une analyse de ces conflits peut éventuellement donner une autre image de l'armée 'protectrice de la foi chrétienne et de la légitimité impériale' que celle donnée par les traités militaires ou les textes historiques qui à Byzance sont toujours d'accord avec le vainqueur. Cette question est simplement évoquée, sans approfondissement, pour les révoltes manquées d'Artavasde et de Bardas Skléros.

Un troisième point concerne les convictions religieuses de l'armée byzantine. Nous ne connaissons pas grande chose concernant ses croyances. Byzance avait toujours fait appel aux mercenaires provenant des pays non christianisés, surtout avant l'an mille. Se laisser alors emballer par les traités de contenu militaire qui présentent l'armée comme un groupe de personnes pieuses et profondément christianisées est une faute méthodologique. Les sources narratives donnent souvent l'impression que les soldats ne constituaient pas la tranche la plus chrétienne et la plus moralisée de la population. Il suffit de mentionner les actes de sorcellerie païenne qui se sont déroulés lors du siège de Nicée par les Arabes, dont parle Théophane. D'ailleurs le *Code de la discipline pénale*, dont il a été question, fait état des peines en relation avec la morale : elles montrent parfaitement que la dévotion chrétienne des soldats, dont parlent les traités, appartient plutôt à la sphère de l'imaginaire.

Un des points forts de ce livre tient à la place qu'il fait à la littérature hagiographique, en général négligée par les historiens. Le problème avec cette littérature réside dans le fait qu'elle est énorme et qu'il est pratiquement impossible, même pour les spécialistes, de tout savoir. Nous ne pouvons donc pas reprocher à l'A. de ne pas avoir cité le cas de Théophane dans le premier chapitre, quand il est question des appels adressés par les autorités à des personnes d'une sainteté avouée de bénir l'armée avant de partir en expédition. Selon tous les biographes de Théophane, et il y en a plusieurs, l'empereur Léon V l'avait convoqué à Constantinople pour prier avec lui et bénir l'armée qui partait contre les Bulgares. Nous ne prétendons pas que ces choses se sont passées ainsi et qu'il ne s'agit que d'une historiette inventée par les biographes de Théophane pour prouver sa sainteté. L'important est que de telles pratiques étaient courantes, au moins pour le IX^e s.

Par nos remarques nous risquons de créer l'impression que le livre recensé n'est pas rigoureux ; loin de nous une telle idée. Il s'agit, comme déjà dit, d'un livre excellent qui non seulement répond à tous les critères d'une rédaction scientifique,

mais en outre répond à l'attente du monde scientifique qui espérait voir un jour ce sujet traité par un connaisseur. L'A. maîtrise parfaitement son sujet et sa bibliographie considérable, tandis que son regard très pénétrant ne laisse pas de coins obscurs ou des questions sans réponse. Un livre qui sans aucun doute servira de référence aux travaux ultérieurs relatifs à l'armée byzantine. Pour terminer, une note qui sera appréciée par les collègues grecs : le livre est écrit dans un grec brillant, sans fioritures inutiles, une langue à la fois rigoureusement scientifique et plaisante à la lecture. Il fait plaisir à un hellénophone de constater que le néogrec dispose d'une souplesse et d'une expressivité qui le met sur un pied d'égalité avec le grec classique.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

NOTICES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

Amalfi and Byzantium. Acts of the International Symposium on the Eighth Centenary of the Translation of the Relics of St Andrew the Apostle from Constantinople to Amalfi (1208-2008), Rome, 6 May 2008 (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 287), éd. par E. G. FARRUGIA, Rome, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2010, 180 pages. ISBN 978-88-7210-371-5.

Le 8 mai 1204, peu après l’envahissement de Constantinople par les hordes de la quatrième croisade et dans le cadre du pillage de la ville, les reliques censées d’être celles de l’apôtre André ont été transférées à Amalfi. Huit siècles plus tard, l’événement a donné lieu à un colloque. Le cardinal L. SANDRI, *Accoglienza delle reliquie di Sant’Andrea nella chiesa di Sant’Antonio all’Esquilino, martedì 6 maggio 2008*, pp. 11-14, signale comment la relique en question a quitté la ville d’Amalfi dans le processus de son retour à Constantinople mené par le patriarche Bartolomé, tandis que Mgr O. SORECELLI, *Saluto dell’Arcivescovo di Amalfi – Cava de’ Tirreni*, pp. 15-16, dans sa salutation a mis l’accent sur le soin dont les reliques furent l’objet pendant les huit siècles.

Parmi les communications, celle de Vera VON FALKENHAUSEN, *Gli Amalfitani nell’Impero bizantino* (pp. 17-44), se limite en réalité à une étude très poussée, il est vrai, du rôle du duché d’Amalfi dans la politique papale de soumettre l’Église byzantine à celle de Rome par l’intermédiaire de croisades. Donc, l’étude concerne pratiquement la période entre la fin du XI^e et le début du XII^e s. Parmi les personnalités impliquées, le cardinal Pietro Capuano, qui avait enlevé les reliques de S. André, ne fut certainement pas un exemple de comportement civilisé, selon au moins les sources byzantines. E. Ch. SUTTNER, *Die Reliquien des hl. Apostels Andreas und ihre Verehrung in Patras, Konstantinopel, Amalfi und Rom* (pp. 45-59), décrit notamment les vicissitudes des reliques de S. André, avec toutefois peu de références aux sources. D’autres vicissitudes, celle de la diffusion du culte de S. Panteleimon, depuis l’Orient à Byzance et depuis Byzance vers les pays slaves et l’Occident, et notamment à Amalfi, font l’objet de la communication de C. SIMON, S. J., *The Veneration of Saint Pantaleon (Panteleimon) in East and West with Special Reference to the Republic of Amalfi* (pp. 61-79). Les autres interventions présentent peu d’intérêt pour un byzantiniste, soit parce qu’elles concernent la période postérieure à la fin de l’empire byzantin, soit parce qu’elles concernent des pays qui ne faisaient pas partie de l’empire, soit encore parce qu’elles ont une portée théologique.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Βυζαντινός οινικός πολιτισμός (Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, Το Βυζάντιο σήμερα, 6)*, Athènes, 2008, 148 pages illustrées. ISBN 978-960-371-057-8; ISSN 1107-0676.

Le vin jouait un rôle très important non seulement pour l’agriculteur ou le commerçant du bassin méditerranéen depuis la très haute Antiquité, mais aussi pour le

consommateur du plus pauvre au plus opulent. Sa production et sa consommation étant devenues des arts durant la période romaine, elles sont devenues de vraies religions durant la période byzantine. Ce livre s'occupe beaucoup plus de sa production et, malgré son titre, il se limite essentiellement au vin de Bithynie, la région vinicole par excellence de l'empire. Les autres régions sont envisagées occasionnellement et de façon fragmentaire.

Le volume est divisé en huit sections qui ne sont qualifiées ni comme chapitres, ni autrement. La première (pp. 11-24) traite la question du rôle du vin dans la vie byzantine; l'A. y fait référence aux sources textuelles et aux sources archéologiques (fresques, mosaïques, statues, récipients, etc.) qui sont en relation avec la culture, la consommation et le commerce du vin à Byzance. Dans la deuxième (pp. 25-36) sont analysées les conditions climatiques et leur influence sur la culture et la conservation du vin. Puis l'étude se concentre sur la région de la Bithynie et sa production de vin. Parmi les différents types de vin, celui de Nicée était le plus célèbre puisqu'il approvisionnait la table impériale et celle des plus riches fonctionnaires de l'empire. Il s'agissait d'un vin qu'il fallait garder assez longtemps dans les caves avant de le consommer. Aussi célèbre était le vin doux de la même région, obtenu après une exposition des grappes au soleil; il servait, entre autres, à la messe. Un vin local aussi connu, dont parle Michel Psellos, était celui de Trigleia, ville côtière de la Bithynie. La Bithynie est restée au centre de la production du vin même après sa prise par les Ottomans, selon le témoignage de Hans Dernschwam qui a visité la région au XVI^e s.

La dernière partie du livre, intitulée 'Archéologie vinicole' (pp. 95-99), donne un aperçu des trouvailles archéologiques en relation avec la production du vin dans l'empire byzantin. Une bibliographie abondante et les index complètent ce livre qui, grâce à sa documentation et son approche scientifique du sujet fera sans doute date dans son domaine.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Méropi ANASTASSIADOU et P. DUMONT, *Les Grecs d'Istanbul et le patriarcat œcuménique au seuil du XXI^e siècle. Une communauté en quête d'avenir (L'histoire à vif)*, Paris, Les éditions du Cerf, 2011, 315 pages. ISBN 978-2-204-09324-8; ISSN 0299-2833.

By the end of the nineteenth century, there were more than 150,000 (Orthodox Christian) Greeks living in Istanbul; at the beginning of the 21st century, only 2,000 (and probably less) were left. *Les grecs d'Istanbul et le patriarcat œcuménique au seuil du XXI^e siècle* by Méropi ANASTASSIADOU and Paul DUMONT deals with the turbulent history and the present situation of these 'Stambouliotes'.

In the introduction, the authors emphasize the particular identity of the Greeks in Istanbul, explaining why they should be labeled 'Romioi' rather than 'Greeks', although the authors themselves do not use this term very consistently in their book. The first chapter reveals the demographic decline of the Greek population in Istanbul, due to a number of well-known historical calamities. The Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 guaranteed the rights of the Turkish citizens of Greek origin and of the Greek citizens, residing in the city, but in the following decades these rights were gradually curtailed. During World War II, the Stambouliotes were – like all minorities – burdened with taxes and recruited in labour service units, which incited

many of them to emigrate after the war. The conditions in which the Stambouliotes lived grew worse after World War II, due to events related to the Cypriote crisis. The notorious riots in 1955, during which thousands of Greek mansions and shops in Istanbul were destroyed, resulted in a relatively limited emigration. In 1964, however, those who had remained were more or less forced to leave Turkey. The events of 1974 provoked a last major wave of emigrants. Only elderly people, individuals well integrated in Turkish society (businessmen, academics, musicians) or people strongly concerned with the survival of the community, decided to stay.

The second chapter focuses on the Stambouliote Diaspora in Greece and elsewhere, their societies, publications and gatherings abroad and in Istanbul. The Greek schools – without a doubt one of the chief features of the Greek presence in Istanbul – are comprehensively dealt with in the third chapter. After World War I, there were still more than 17,000 pupils in Istanbul receiving a Greek education; after World War II, their number was reduced to less than 4,000, and, after a short revival in the early 1950s (due to Turkey's improved relations with Greece, an ally against the Soviet threat), the deteriorating political circumstances drastically brought down also the number of pupils. In 2005-2006, the Greeks schools still remaining – seven primary and three secondary schools, staffed with 96 teachers – had only 228 pupils. The decrease cannot be explained solely referring to the massive emigration, though. The Greek schools also suffer from restrictive administrative measures, imposed by the Turkish authorities. Besides, the Turkish and especially the foreign schools in Istanbul offer particular advantages. The education in the Greek schools is not always on the required level. There are problems with (lacking) text books, with the teaching staff (consisting of Turks, Turkish Greeks and Greeks from Greece), with the language proficiency both in Greek and Turkish of many pupils. Education in the Greek schools tends to serve the survival of the Stambouliote community rather than the personal development of the pupils.

The demographic decline and its consequences for the Greek schools would be even more dramatic if there was not the influx of Arabophone Orthodox Christians into the Stambouliote community. Living in southeast Turkey, these Arabophones belonged to the Patriarchate of Antioch in Syria until they were transmitted to the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1990. As so many other Turkish citizens, they left their home villages in search for a better life in Istanbul and other big cities (or a country in Western Europe). In Istanbul, they joined the Stambouliote community, whose leaders welcomed and protected them as coreligionists, and were rapidly urbanized and Graecized. Although they substantially increased the number of 'Greeks', tensions emerged as well between them and the autochthonous Stambouliotes as a result of linguistic and social differences. The Arabophones are also accepted in the Greek schools, although their poor command of Greek often causes additional pedagogical problems.

The fourth chapter discusses the pivotal role of the Patriarchate within the Greek community in Istanbul. The Orthodox Church, its liturgical feasts and the 'social events' it organizes is the glue of the community and the Patriarch – since 1991 the charismatic Bartholomaios I – is its uncontested leader, spokesman and guardian. The powers of the patriarch have been drastically curtailed by the Turkish law ever since the establishment of the Turkish Republic. One of the chief problems today appears to be the closure of the Theological High School on Halki (Heybeliada) in 1971, when all private institutions for higher education in Turkey were closed down. The Theological High School used to provide the Patriarchate with human

resources. Relations with the Church of Greece are also tense, as most Greeks consider the Patriarchate as Turcophile. In addition, there exists a conflict of competences concerning the dioceses, included into the Greek state after the establishment of the Church of Greece in 1850. These dioceses (e.g. in Macedonia and Thrace) formally still belong to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, but have been 'temporarily' administered by Athens since 1928. Lately, the Patriarchate of Constantinople has to cope also with the increasing influence of the Patriarchate of Moscow in the Orthodox Christian world. The limited legal powers the patriarch enjoys in Turkey are compensated by the moral authority he has acquired with his involvement in environmental issues and in promoting the dialogue between the world religions Orthodox Christianity, Catholicism and Islam. The Turkish authorities initially disliked the patriarch's ecumenical and political ambitions, but currently, with a view to the Turkish accession to the EU, they consider them as beneficial to their purpose.

Chapter five describes the 'identitarian fabric', sustained by meetings, theatrical performances, charity *et cetera*, mostly of a religious nature and fatherly fostered by the patriarch. Chapter six deals with the relations with the 'locals' – the Turks. Of particular interest is the increasing occurrence of 'mixed marriages' between a Stambouliote and a non-Orthodox Christian. A growing tolerance concerning such marriages can be observed; marriages with Turks, however, remain to be disavowed, although their number is also raising. During the last decade, the Turkish government has issued a number of amendments to the constitution that have somehow improved the fate of all minorities in Turkey and have created the necessary conditions for more relaxed relations between Stambouliotes and Turks. Currently, many educated Turks display a growing fascination for all things Greek, as transpires from the many exhibitions, book translations, theatre performances *et cetera*, promoting Greek culture in Turkey. Modern Greek studies too enjoy an increasing popularity in Turkey (and vice versa). In the final chapter, the authors summarize the preceding chapters, guiding the reader along the Stambouliote 'lieux de mémoire' – the Aghia Sophia, the Phanari Quarter, the Blachernai Church, the monastery of Balıklı, and further the remaining Greek schools, monasteries and graveyards.

Les Grecs d'Istanbul combines a scholarly unbiased survey of the history and the present state of the Istanbul Greeks with a captivating picture, written very much 'from within', of an agonizing community which, according to the authors, may still – or again – be viable thanks to the increasingly tolerant and even encouraging policy of the Turkish state towards it.

R. DETREZ.

Basileia: Essays on Imperium and Culture in Honour of E. M. and M. J. Jeffreys (Byzantina Australiensia, 17), éd. par G. NATHAN et Lynda GARLAND, Brisbane, 2011, 266 pages. ISBN 978-1876-503-30-0.

Elizabeth et Michael Jeffreys constituent un rare cas d'un couple universitaire ayant un objet scientifique commun: l'empire byzantin et la Grèce moderne. Comme le signale G. NATHAN dans la préface du livre, en 2008 eut lieu le 15^e colloque biennal de l'Association Australienne des Études Byzantines autour du thème *Imperium and Culture*. Les communications présentées lors de ce colloque, ont

formé ce volume offert à Elizabeth et Michael Jeffreys à l'occasion de leur éméritat. En outre quatre textes sont placés avant les communications sous le titre *Basileia*. Il s'agit notamment d'une note biographique (pp. 1-4) et d'une liste des publications (pp. 5-14) du couple, rédigées par Ann MOFFAT. Cette partie est complétée par l'article d'Elizabeth JEFFREYS, *Purple Prose? The Emperor and Literature* (pp. 15-26) et l'article de M. JEFFREYS, *Versified Press-releases on the Role of the Komnenian Emperor: The Public Poems of Manganeios Prodromos* (pp. 27-38). Les deux contributions tournent autour du rôle de l'empereur byzantin et la production littéraire. Les 15 articles qui suivent sont rangés dans un ordre chronologique des sujets qu'ils traitent; 9 parmi eux concernent la période antérieure au VII^e s. Amelia BROWN, *Archbishops, Generals and Governors between East and West in Early Byzantine Greece* (pp. 39-43), analyse le rôle des régions grecques et de leurs autorités en tant qu'espace à la fois occidental et oriental durant les dynasties constantinienne et théodosienne. Pauline ALLEN, *Brushes with the Imperium: Letters of Synesios of Cyrene and Augustine of Hippo on Crisis* (pp. 45-53), partant de la correspondance de Synesios de Cyrène et d'Augustin d'Hippone, note que les évêques de la période protobyzantine étaient parfois en difficulté à cause notamment de l'incompatibilité entre leur fonction épiscopale et leur qualité de représentants de l'empereur sur place. B. NEIL, *Imperial Benefactions to the Fifth-century Roman Church* (pp. 55-66), signale que le *Liber Pontificalis* ne brosse pas pour l'évêque de Rome un portrait monastique, mais celui d'un chef local ayant des responsabilités civiles, telles que l'embellissement de Rome, la construction des églises dans tout l'Occident. Le rôle de l'empereur occidental se limitait à des actes administratifs secondaires. Pour A. GILLET, *Ethnography and Imperium in the Sixth Century: Frankish and Byzantine Rhetoric in the Epistolae Austrasicae* (pp. 67-81), la terminologie utilisée par les empereurs byzantins et celle utilisée par les rois des Francs dans leur correspondance de la fin du VI^e s. suggère que pour les Byzantins les Francs ne représentaient pas une nation, mais un État, conception qui n'était pas partagée par les rois des Francs. R. SCOTT, *Interpreting the Late Fifth and Early Sixth Centuries from Byzantine Chronicle Trivia* (pp. 83-93), analyse la *Chronique* de Malalas et compare son point de vue avec celui des sources occidentales pour dire que la reconquête de l'Occident par Justinien était mal vue par les chrétiens occidentaux, qui se souvenaient des interventions en matière doctrinale de Zénon et d'Anastase. G. NATHAN, *The Vienna Dioscorides' dedicatio to Anicia Juliana: A Usurpation of Imperial Patronage?* (pp. 95-102), pense que peut-être la dédicace à Anicia Juliana, que porte le ms. du Dioscoride de Vienne, suggère une situation difficile de sa famille à cause de son rôle dans la tentative de renversement d'Anastase. B. CROKE, *Justinian the 'Sleepless Emperor'* (pp. 103-108), explique comment la 'vigilance' de Justinien, qualité d'origine divine selon Procope, devient un vice démoniaque dans l'*Histoire secrète* du même auteur. Sur la même longueur d'onde, l'article de Sarah GADOR-WHYTE, *Procopius and Justinian's Propaganda* (pp. 109-119), montre que Procope attribue les victoires de Justinien à *Tyché*, conçue comme une force divine, tandis que dans son *Histoire secrète* la même *Tyché* est considérée comme une force démoniaque. Toujours pour la période de Justinien, mais dans un tout autre domaine, R. BURNS, *Justinian's Fortifications East of Antioch* (pp. 121-139), dans une étude remarquable analyse les différentes campagnes de fortification de la frontière sud-est de l'empire face à l'agressivité perse. Il s'agit d'un réseau de châteaux forts, de tours et de camps militaires, dont certains datent de l'époque de Dioclétien, d'autres d'Anastase I^{er} et d'autres de Justinien. Lynda GARLAND, *Public*

Lavatories, Mosquito Nets and Agathias' Cat: The Sixth-Century Epigram in its Justinianic Context (pp. 141-158), partant d'une épigramme en mosaïque de la période de Justinien, sur un bain public de Smyrne, examine le cas de ces écriteaux en mosaïques qui à l'époque de Justinien s'appliquaient sur les murs ou sur le sol des édifices à usage public. Elle souligne que ces textes faisaient partie de la propagande impériale. Penelope NASH, *Demonstrations of Imperium: Byzantine Influences in the Late Eighth and Tenth Centuries in the West* (pp. 159-172), étudie certaines pièces en ivoire, sculptées en Occident pour les cours carolingienne et ottonienne; elles sont très influencées par l'art byzantin, mais en même temps elles manifestent une certaine idéologie impériale occidentale. A. STONE, *Imperial Types in Byzantine Panegyric* (pp. 173-188), analyse certains panégyriques et localise les *topoi* littéraires de la rhétorique byzantine, qui attribue généreusement des qualificatifs flatteurs aux empereurs. Toutefois il y a une qualité qui est mise en relief pour chaque empereur, permettant ainsi de distinguer des 'types' impériaux. Comme le note Penelope BUCKLEY, *Alexios Komnenos as the Last Constantine* (pp. 189-203), Eusèbe est l'origine de l'idéalisation de Constantin I^{er} en tant qu'empereur. Depuis, plusieurs souverains byzantins sont qualifiés de 'Nouveaux Constantins'. Un des derniers fut Alexis I^{er} Comnène. L'A. de cet article met en parallèle les qualificatifs attribués par Eusèbe à Constantin I^{er} et ceux que les sources du XII^e s. donnent à Alexis I^{er}. L'article d'Erika GIELEN, *Joseph the Philosopher, an Outstanding Outsider: Philosophy and Rhetoric at the Court of Andronicus II* (pp. 205-215), est une évaluation de l'œuvre du grand théologien et philosophe Joseph qui a vécu à la cour d'Andronic II et qui a usé de sa rhétorique, comme ses collègues avant lui, pour mettre en valeur la fonction impériale. Dans l'exemplaire que nous avons reçu la pagination est troublée au niveau des deux derniers articles, celui de R. MIHAJLOVSKI, *The Medieval Town of Prilep* (pp. 217-?) et celui de N. WESTBROOK, *The Freshfield Folio View of the Hippodrome in Istanbul and the Church of St John Diippion* (pp. ?-?), qui sont ainsi rendus illisibles. C'est dommage car même dans le désordre, ils dégagent l'impression d'études très sérieuses et intéressantes.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Leslie BRUBAKER et J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era c. 680-850: A History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011, xxiv + 918 pages. ISBN 978-0-521-43093-7.

This impressive volume aims to 'situate iconoclasm in a wider cultural and social/institutional context, without denying its fundamental role in determining the modes of political and social discourse as they later evolved both within the Byzantine world and in later historiography and theology' (pp. 2-3). One could thus describe the authors' goal as a twofold one: to uncover the role and impact of iconoclasm (which is the term that is used throughout the book, not 'iconomachy') in its entirety but at the same time not to lose sight of the complex net of different aspects that are intertwined with it and that influenced society in many different ways. This approach left a clear trace in the structure of the book: chapters 1-5 describe the chronology of how iconoclasm entered and left Byzantium (background; Leo III; Constantine V; iconophile intermission; second iconoclasm), whereas 6-12 thematically (not chronologically) describe the impact of iconoclasm upon several fields of society (economical; social; political etc.). The extensive second

part reflects the emphasis both authors put on the *context* of iconoclasm: they wish to document and understand as completely as possible how this phenomenon influenced every layer of Byzantine society. In doing so, they maintain a quite nuanced stance: rather than crying out 'Iconoclasm! Iconoclasm!' every time, they wish to interpret changes and phenomena that are sometimes all too rapidly ascribed to iconoclasm, against the broader context and other perspectives. This results in conclusions that are nuanced and therefore could leave some readers unsatisfied but are more likely to be correct. This approach also explains why so much emphasis is put on the *background*, a second key-word that characterizes the volume. In their search for nuanced answers, BRUBAKER and HALDON rightfully understand the importance of obtaining a clear view on the background, and not just from a chronological point of view (which is treated in the extensive first chapter 'Belief, ideology, and practice in a changing world', in which the authors reach back to the first half of the 7th c.). These focal points make the book a study of mainly historical nature, which does not mean, however, that insights are not used that have been reached in a wide range of fields pertaining to Byzantium. Next to written documents, much attention is of course paid to art and to material objects. In view of the expertise of the authors, who both are reputed scholars of Byzantium (and especially of its art and history), this approach does not surprise. The broad array of sources that have been used by the authors is illustrated by the impressive bibliography, which comprises 15 pages of references to primary texts and almost 100 pages of secondary literature.

R. CEULEMANS.

Irini CHRISTINAKI-GLAROU, *To Βιβλίο του Ηρακλείδη και η καταδίκη του Νεστορίου*, Athènes, Γρηγόρης, 2009, 463 pages. ISBN 978-960-333-592-4.

L'ainsi dit *Livre d'Héraclide* est un texte anonyme parvenu jusqu'à nos jours grâce à sa traduction en syriaque, dont la découverte au début du XIX^e s. a fait date. Ce texte est attribué à la plume du patriarche de Constantinople Nestorius, déposé en 431 par les participants au troisième concile œcuménique à cause de ses idées christologiques. L'A. examine les questions relatives à la transmission de ce texte ainsi que l'état de la question dans son premier chapitre. Dans les trois chapitres qui suivent, l'A. revoit la procédure et le processus de la condamnation de Nestorius. À vrai dire, le concile n'a pas convoqué Nestorius pour l'inviter à se défendre. Il a jugé l'affaire comme une différence entre Cyrille d'Alexandrie et Nestorius et après avoir consulté les écrits de ce dernier, il a frappé Nestorius d'anathème. La condamnation fut entérinée par l'empereur. Or, le *Livre d'Héraclide* note que Nestorius n'était pas hérétique; sa condamnation est due au fait que son procès était partial. Pour preuve le texte expose les positions théologiques de Nestorius. C'est ainsi que ce livre est finalement attribué à Nestorius lui-même. L'A. prouve que cela n'est pas possible, car tous les écrits de Nestorius furent détruits par ordre impérial après sa condamnation. Une analyse du rapport concernant la condamnation de Nestorius, rédigé par l'officier impérial Irénée, suggère une parenté avec le *Livre d'Héraclide*. Tout fait penser selon l'A. qu'Irénée, qui ensuite fut nommé évêque de Tyr, était celui qui a défendu Nestorius lors du procès devant l'empereur après sa condamnation par le synode. Il est donc possible qu'il soit aussi l'auteur du *Livre d'Héraclide*. En tout état de cause, la révision de la décision du synode et de la cour

impériale conduit à la conclusion que Nestorius était un hérétique et que sa condamnation était juste.

Un livre qui met bien des choses à leur place par une scientifique spécialisée dans le domaine du droit canonique et qui en outre possède une solide formation philologique et une bonne connaissance de l'histoire.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

A. DALBY, *Geoponika. Farm Work. A Modern Translation of the Roman and Byzantine Farming Handbook*, Tornes, Prospect Books, 2011, 368 pages. ISBN 978-1-903018-69-9.

Les bien connus *Geoponika* de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète constituent en réalité un florilège des traités plus anciens concernant les travaux des fermiers. Constantin y ajoute une touche personnelle car il se réfère à une agriculture micrasiatique et orientale, tandis que les traités anciens concernaient beaucoup plus les régions européennes. Le texte avait été traduit en anglais par le Révérend Th. Owen en 1804/5. Sa traduction étant difficilement accessible et dans une certaine mesure insuffisante, l'A. de ce livre entreprit une nouvelle. Nous ne pouvons pas faire des comparaisons entre les deux traductions; nous laissons aux lecteurs anglophones d'apprécier ce travail. La traduction est précédée d'une courte introduction (pp. 9-18) où sont abordées successivement les questions relatives à la formation des *Geoponika*, leurs éditions, leur division en chapitres, l'origine des textes, le fond institutionnel, et aussi une note sur le calendrier et les poids mentionnés dans le texte.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Graeco-Arabica, 11 (Athènes, 2011): *Αφιέρωμα στην Κρήτη. Ad Cretam dedicata*, 434 pages. ISSN 1108-4103.

Ce volume contient les actes de deux colloques ayant pour objet les relations entre l'empire byzantin et le monde arabe. Le premier de ces colloques, tenu à Delphes du 7 au 10 mai 2009, fut le 12^e Colloque international des Études Gréco-orientales et Africaines. Le second, ayant pour objet la domination arabe sur l'île de Crète (c. 824/826-961), eut lieu à Héraclion de Crète, le 1^{er} octobre 2010. Pour des raisons techniques les communications faites lors de ce second colloque sont regroupées dans la première partie du volume (pp. 15-164). Y sont attachées deux communications (celles d'A. TIBI et de P. YANNOPOULOS) faites au colloque de Delphes, mais concernant l'émirat de Crète. Dans la seconde partie du volume sont réunies les communications faites lors du colloque de Delphes, sauf les deux mentionnées plus haut qui sont incorporées dans la première partie. Après ces explications passons au résumé des articles du volume.

Dans la première partie, V. CHRISTIDES, *The Cycle of the Arab-byzantine Struggle in Crete (ca 824/6-961 AD) in the Illuminated Manuscript of Skylitzes (Codex Matritensis Graecus vitr. 26-2)* (pp. 17-50), fait d'abord un exposé sur l'histoire de l'émirat de Crète selon la *Chronique* de Skylitzes avant d'analyser les miniatures du manuscrit de Madrid afin d'y distinguer les éléments réalistes et standardisés et d'estimer la valeur historique de ces miniatures. S. N. CHRISTODOULAKIS, *Η Εκκλησία*

της Κρήτης κατά την αραβοκρατία (824-961 μ. Χ.) (pp. 51-71), note que durant les opérations arabes afin de contrôler l'île de Crète, le métropolitite de l'île a perdu la vie, tandis que plusieurs lieux de culte chrétien étaient endommagés, parmi eux la cathédrale de S. Tite à Gortyne. Toutefois, le christianisme n'était pas déraciné puisque certains noms d'archevêques de Crète durant la période arabe sont mentionnés. N. M. GIGOURTAKIS, 'Ακρωτηρίω τω Χάρακι'. Αρχικές παρατηρήσεις για το σημείο απόβασης των Αράβων του Abu Hafs Omar στην Κρήτη (pp. 73-95), après une étude des toponymes crétois et tenant compte des résultats des fouilles et de la morphologie de l'île, localise sur les côtes méridionales de Crète le point de débarquement des forces de Abu Hafs Omar qui ont finalement occupé l'île. A. D. MAZARAKIS, *The Coinage of the Amirs of Crete in a Private Collection* (pp. 97-104), étudie une collection privée de 34 monnaies de l'émirat de Crète, dont une en argent. L'analyse confirme le classement de G. Miles. En outre elle indique une augmentation de la production monétaire entre 864 et 895, mais aussi entre 930 et 961 quand l'émirat devait faire face aux attaques byzantines. Liana STARIDA, *Το αραβικό φρούριο της Τάφρου όπως αποκαλύπτεται από τις ανασκαφικές έρευνες* (pp. 105-118), résume les résultats des fouilles effectuées à Héraclion qui ont dégagé une partie de la ville arabe de Chandak et de ses fortifications; elles ne laissent aucun doute quant à l'importance de la capitale de l'émirat de Crète. A. TIBI, *Two Sources on Arab Crete: Al-Majâlis Wa'l-Musâyarât and Mu'jam al Buldân* (pp. 119-122), fait une analyse des données de deux auteurs arabes de la période abbasside qui font état de la demande d'aide adressée par l'émir de Crète au khalife al-Mu'izz, ainsi que la reprise de l'île par les Byzantins en 961. Pour P. YANNOPOULOS, *Η παρουσία των αραβοκρητών στον ελλαδικό χώρο σύμφωνα με τις τοπωνυμικές πηγές* (pp. 123-134), la formation des toponymes soit d'étymologie arabe soit d'étymologie grecque se référant aux arabes localisés dans l'espace hellénique, remonte à la période de l'émirat de Crète. Ils indiquent soit des endroits ayant servi comme bases navales arabes, soit des installations arabes. L'article suivant dû aussi à P. YANNOPOULOS, *Quelques 'à côté' des expéditions byzantines contre l'émirat de Crète en 911 et 949* (pp. 135-164), met en page sa communication faite au colloque de Delphes. Constantin VII, dans son *De cerimoniis*, donne des informations au sujet des préparatifs des deux expéditions byzantines, celle de 911 et celle de 949, contre l'émirat de Crète qui ont abouti à des cuisantes défaites pour l'armée byzantine. Malgré le caractère officiel et très détaillé de cette source, plusieurs questions restent sans réponse et cela en dépit des nombreuses études consacrées à ces deux expéditions. L'étude met en relief ces questions afin de susciter de nouvelles recherches.

Dans la seconde partie du volume, S. I. ARVANITOPOULOS, *The Mutual Influence of Arab and Byzantine Military Architecture* (pp. 167-176), après avoir étudié les fortifications, tant arabes que byzantines, du VII^e s., constate des influences réciproques. Les influences romaines et byzantines sur l'architecture militaire arabe sont d'ailleurs visibles jusqu'au XI^e s. E. AYENSA PRAT, *Ο Διγενής, ο Θιδ και το Ισλάμ: Οι δρόμοι της μεσαιωνικής ποίησης στην Ελλάδα και την Ισπανία* (pp. 177-186), révèle les parallèles entre la poésie épique byzantine et espagnole, issue de contacts entre le monde chrétien et islamique, habituellement hostiles. Cette poésie met en valeur un type de héros commun: il est chrétien, mais de naissance à moitié arabe, qui dans un contexte frontalier assure la protection des chrétiens. C. E. BOSWORTH, *George Strachan of the Mearns: Middle East Traveller and Pioneer Collector of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts* (pp. 187-197), fait une étude

prosopographique du collectionneur des manuscrits orientaux, l'Écossais George Strachan (c. 1572 - après 1630) auquel les bibliothèques du Vatican et de Naples doivent en partie leurs fonds des manuscrits arabes et persans. J. DESANGES, *L'Itinerarium maritimum et l'Afrique mineure* (pp. 119-228), note que les manuscrits transmettant l'*Itinerarium provinciarium Antonini Augusti* transmettent aussi en appendice un bref *Imperatoris Antonini Augusti itinerarium maritimum*, qui est une compilation tardive. Il propose une liaison maritime entre l'Afrique et le reste du monde méditerranéen qui suggère une date de rédaction vers le milieu du VI^e s. A. GINALIS, *The Northern Sporades from Late Antiquity to the End of Medieval Times* (pp. 279-294), analyse, après un rapide exposé sur l'histoire des Sporades, l'importance de l'archipel pour le commerce maritime byzantin, surtout entre le XI^e et le XIII^e s., et cela en tenant compte du nombre des naufrages localisés autour de ces îles. Alia HANAFLI, *Magic Concept in Greek and Arabic Papyri* (pp. 295-307), constate que dans le domaine de la magie ni la langue ni la religion ne font obstacle. Ainsi les papyrus magiques musulmans de l'Égypte sont écrits en grec et contiennent des éléments juifs et chrétiens d'origine byzantine. Angeliki CHATZIOANNOU, *Hagiological Problems: The Case of Saint Gregentius* (pp. 309-318), adopte les affirmations de certains textes hagiographiques pour attribuer la christianisation de l'Arabie et de l'Éthiopie à S. Grégentios. Nike KOUTRAKOU, *Psellus, Romanus III and an Arab Victory 'Beyond any Reasonable Expectation': Some Remarks on Psellus's Perception of Foreign Relations* (pp. 319-343), partant d'une défaite de l'armée byzantine vers 1043, qualifiée par Michel Psellos dans sa Chronique comme 'illogique', fait une étude approfondie du contexte historique et littéraire du XI^e s. pour aboutir à la conclusion que pour Psellos, comme pour bien d'autres intellectuels byzantins, les victoires de l'armée byzantine étaient 'logiques' et méritées, tandis que les défaites étaient illogiques. J. P. MONFERRER-SALA, *A Fragmentary Version of the Protevangelium Iacobi Rendered from A Greek Text (Sinai Arabic 535, ca. 13th C.)* (pp. 347-380), fait une édition critique d'une version arabe du Protévangile de S. Jacques, transmis par le *Sinaiticus Arabe* 535. L'édition est assortie d'une traduction en anglais et elle est précédée d'une bonne introduction philologique du texte arabe. Pour K. Ch. PAPASTATHIS, *The First Crusade as Reflected in Eastern Orthodoxy Historiography: A Political and Ecclesiastical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 381-397), l'historiographie produite par les cercles ecclésiastiques orthodoxes d'Orient, et surtout celle développée autour du patriarcat de Jérusalem, au sujet des croisades et particulièrement la première, exprime des idées nationalistes sous un manteau religieux. Sophia PATOURA-SPANOU, *Arab and Byzantine Prisoners in the Reign of Leo VI the Wise: Images from Contemporary Byzantine Sources* (pp. 399-413), fait une comparaison entre l'image des prisonniers de guerre, tant Arabes que Byzantins, telle qu'elle est produite par deux sources de l'époque de Léon VI. La description du sort des prisonniers après la prise de Thessalonique faite par Jean Kaméniatès en souligne l'horreur et la sauvagerie, tandis que le *Clétorologe* de Philothée présente les prisonniers de guerre qui assistaient à la table impériale. Sans doute ce second tableau entre-t-il dans le contexte de l'idéologie byzantine d'un empereur clément à mission universelle.

Ces articles mis à part, nous signalons encore les titres de ceux contenus dans le volume, mais qui ne sont pas en relation avec le monde byzantin. Il s'agit des études d'Edith BRUDET, *Identités juives contemporaines en Afrique de l'Ouest: une conséquence des routes caravanières au Moyen Âge* (pp. 199-217), d'A. E. DUFFREY,

New Perspectives on Ancient Greek Long-distance Trade with the 'Far-side and Azanian Ports' of the Indian Ocean Coast of Africa and its Hinterland and the Locations of Key Ancient Ports of Trade (pp. 229-246), de Magda EL-NOWIEEMY, *Sulaiman al-Bustani's Translation of Homer's Iliad: A Study of Creation and Transcreation* (pp. 247-256), d'Evangelia N. GEORGITSOYANNI et d'Alexandra N. LAPPA, *The Artistic Activity of the Greeks in Egypt in the Field of Fine Arts According to the Journal 'Panaigyptia'* (pp. 257-278), de G. TSOUTSOS et de Ch. TEAZIS, *Critical Study of the Newspaper 'Cretan Events': Defense of the Egyptian Administration of Crete* (pp. 415-420).

Cet excellent volume qui entre dans la tradition de haute qualité scientifique propre à cette revue, donnera sans doute de l'essor aux études des relations entre l'empire byzantin et le monde arabe et africain.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

R. G. HOYLAND, *Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle and the Circulation of Historical Knowledge in Late Antiquity and Early Islam. Translated with an Introduction and Notes (Translated Texts for Historians, 57)*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2011, VIII + 368 pages. ISBN 978-1-84631-697-5; 978-1-84631-698-2 (livre de poche).

For information regarding events that took place in the Near and Middle East in the turbulent period from the end of the 6th until the first half of the 8th century, a historian is primarily forced to turn to later historiographical texts, through which materials from earlier chronicles were transmitted. One of these now lost chronicles is that of Theophilus of Edessa (695 (?) - 785), a Syriac Christian and scholar, who became the chief astrologer at the court of the caliphs in Baghdad. Theophilus knew Syriac, Arabic as well as Greek, which allowed him to translate several Greek works, such as Galen's *On the Method of Maintaining Good Health*, Aristotle's *Sophistici*, and two books relating to the Trojan war.

In this volume HOYLAND gathers material from several Byzantine, Syriac, Arabic and even Latin chroniclers, which he identifies as possible dependants of Theophilus: Theophanes Confessor (d. 818; writing in Greek), Dionysius of Tell-Mahrē (d. 845; writing in Syriac), Agapius of Mabbug (10th century; writing in Arabic), the *Chronicle of Siirt* (between 907 and 1020; written in Arabic) and the *Byzantine-Arab Chronicler of 741* (in Latin).

It is not the author's intention to provide a literal reconstruction of Theophilus' *Chronicle*. This is impossible because of several factors: (1) of these five chroniclers, only Dionysius and Agapius are certain to have used Theophilus, but Dionysius' work is only preserved in the *Chronography* of Michael the Great (1126-1199) and the *Anonymous Syriac Chronicle to the Year 1234*. Agapius sometimes quotes Theophilus and other times abbreviates him, but the process of translation of material from Theophilus' *Chronicle* into Arabic would probably have brought about changes in the source material as well. (2) Due to the fact that Theophanes substantially abbreviated his source material, it is unclear if Theophanes' so-called 'eastern source' was (a Greek translation of) Theophilus' *Chronicle* or a common source, to which they both had access. (3) The *Chronicle of Siirt*, as HOYLAND himself admits, touches upon similar subjects as Agapius and Dionysius, but since this Chronicler does not cite Theophilus as a source, it is uncertain if this work should be identified

as one of Theophilus' dependants or not. (4) The *Byzantine-Arab Chronicler of 741* is cited because 'the Syrian source of the Latin texts reports many of the same events and halts at the same point (ca. 750) as the common source of Theophanes, Agapius and Dionysius of Telmahre' (HOYLAND, p. 18), but this does not provide any conclusive argument to presume this could have been Theophilus or Theophilus' source.

Although the issue regarding the relationship between some of these extant sources ultimately remains unresolved and even though this volume is not a reconstruction of Theophilus' *Chronicle* per se, it is an invaluable tool for the scholar of medieval history and historiography. In the 42-page-long introduction HOYLAND presents the scarce knowledge we possess of Theophilus' life and works, situates his *Chronicle* in its historical and historiographical context and offers the first comprehensive insight into its contents, focus, structure and possible (Byzantine, Syriac and Muslim) sources.

In addition to the obvious benefits, this volume also has tremendous value for the study of the work of Dionysius of Tell-Maḥrē, of Theophanes' *Chronicle* (appendix 1 also lists 'unique notices in Theophanes about affairs in Syria and Palestine'), the *Syriac Chronicle to the Year 819* (appendix 2 lists materials from this chronicle that could have originated in a common source with Theophilus), and the *Chronicle of Agapius* (appendix 3 contains the text from previously illegible folios (98^v-100^v, 104^v-106^f) from ms. Laurenziana or 323 of the *Chronicle of Agapius*).

A. HILKENS.

Ἡπειρόνδε. Proceedings of the 10th International Symposium of Byzantine Sigillography (Ioannina, 1-3 October 2009), éd. par Ch. STAVRAKOS et Barbara PAPA-DOPOULOU, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011, 360 pages. ISBN 978-3-447-06608-2.

La sigillographie byzantine reste une des rares sciences auxiliaires qui apporte encore des nouvelles sources pour la connaissance des institutions, de la titulature et de la généalogie byzantines. De ce fait les Actes des colloques sigillographiques présentent toujours un intérêt particulier. Dix-neuf communications faites au 10^e Symposium de Sigillographie byzantine sont réunies dans ce volume. Signalons que parmi ces communications celle de Krystallia MANTZANA et de K. TSODOULOS, *Ανέκδοτα πατριαρχικά σιγίλλια από την Ι. Μ. Αγίου Στεφάνου Μετεώρων* (pp. 325-346), a pour objet des *sigillia* patriarcaux post byzantins, et celle d'A. ΗΟΤΙ et D. ΚΟΜΑΤΑΣ, *Byzantine Epigraphs of Early Medieval Period in Albania (7th - 11th c.)* (pp. 183-189), comme son titre l'indique, a pour objet l'épigraphie. Ces deux textes n'entrent pas dans le cadre sigillographique du volume. Une autre, celle de M. SCHALLER, *Alte und neue Überlegungen zur Herkunft des Monogramms Karls des Großen* (pp. 111-178), concerne beaucoup plus la sigillographie occidentale et ses relations avec Byzance. Les autres articles concernent la sigillographie byzantine. Parmi ces derniers, celui de W. SEIBT, *Zukunftsperspektiven der byzantinischen Siegelkunde – Auf welchen Gebieten sind die bedeutendsten Wissenszuwächse zu erwarten?* (pp. 17-36), comme son titre le fait comprendre, a un caractère introductif. En général les titres des articles sont assez évocateurs du contenu, de sorte qu'il sera inutile d'allonger la notice en donnant le résumé de

chaque article. Voici donc la liste des articles avec parfois un mot d'explication. I. JORDANOV, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from the Territory of Modern Bulgaria* (pp. 37-46), s'occupe de la datation de certains des plus de 4.100 plombs découverts en Bulgarie. V. BULGAKOVA, 'Der Siegelfund vom Seraskerat' in *Konstantinopel: Ein historiographischer Mythos?* (pp. 47-65), cherche un fantôme: un fonds de sceaux de fonctionnaires portuaires. A. RHOBY, *Epigrams, Epigraphy and Sigillography* (pp. 65-80), fait une comparaison entre les textes gravés sur les sceaux et les inscriptions pour révéler les similitudes ou les différences. Le titre de l'article de Béatrice CASEAU, *Saint Mark, a Family Saint? The Iconography of the Xeroi Seals* (pp. 81-109), est indicateur de son contenu: la grande famille byzantine des Xeroi avait choisi S. Marc comme emblème, sans avoir une relation avec Alexandrie ou Venise. Le sceau du patrice Michel, le premier *katapano* connu d'Italie, datant de la fin du X^e s., fait l'objet de l'article de Th. KOUREMPANAS, *The Seal of the First Known Katapano of Italy* (pp. 179-182). La fonction de *Mystographos* et de *Mystolektes*, deux fonctionnaires de l'Hippodrome mentionnés au XI^e s., est devenue évidente grâce aux sceaux qu'analyse A. GKOUTZIOUKOSTAS, *Some Remarks on Mystographos and Mystolektes* (pp. 191-219): le premier avait une relation avec les missions impériales secrètes, tandis que l'autre était plutôt un juge. Alexandra-Kyriaki WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Πρώιμα βυζαντινά μολυβδόβουλλα με έμμετρεις επιγραφές* (pp. 221-236), comme son titre l'indique, étudie certains sceaux datant avant le XI^e s. portant une inscription métrique. Ioanna KOLTSIDA-MAKRI, *Μολυβδόβουλλα από ανασκαφές και γενικότερα γνωστής προέλευσης στον ελληνικό χώρο* (pp. 237-255), signale que le nombre total des sceaux byzantins trouvés en Grèce et dont l'origine est connue s'élève à 558; ils vont du VI^e au XIV^e s. Barbara N. PAPADOPOULOU, *Lead Seal from the Basilica of Alkisson at Nikopolis* (pp. 257-260), publie un sceau du VII^e s. trouvé lors des fouilles à Nicopolis. Ch. STAVRAKOS, *The Basilika Kommerkia of the Islands of the Southern Aegean Sea. A New Interpretation Concerning the Role of the Southern Aegean Islands in the 8th c. A.D.* (pp. 261-276), prouve, grâce au matériel sigillographique, l'existence d'une administration fiscale pour les îles de la mer Égée du sud à laquelle il faut rattacher aussi l'île de Mélos. Vera BULGURLU, *Seals from the Kadikalesi/Anaia Excavation* (pp. 277-291), publie les huit sceaux découverts lors des fouilles à Kadikalesi près de Kuşadası en Turquie. Elena STEPANOVA, *Seals of Eparchoi of Thessalonica from the Hermitage Collection* (pp. 293-296), publie trois sceaux des trois éparches de Thessalonique au VIII^e et IX^e s.; ils proviennent de la collection de l'Hermitage. Comme le signale I. G. LEONTIADIS, *Byzantine Lead Seals with Family Names* (pp. 297-316), durant la dernière phase de l'empire byzantin, les noms de famille font de plus en plus leur apparition sur les sceaux. L'A. publie 17 sceaux portant des noms de famille; ils proviennent de différentes collections. V. STEPANENKO, *The Sts. Apostles Sts. Peter and Paul in Byzantine Sigillography* (pp. 317-323), s'étonne de la rareté des représentations des saints Pierre et Paul sur les sceaux byzantins, quoique les figures des saints se trouvent souvent gravés sur ce type d'objets. Finalement, D. KLONARIS, *Μία σπάνια σφραγίδα του Κωνσταντίνου Κλωνάρη με προτομή του Αγίου Κωνσταντίνου* (pp. 347-360), note que la sanctification de l'empereur Constantin I^{er} et de sa mère Hélène a fait que leurs figures apparaissent souvent sur les sceaux byzantins, tradition qui a connu des prolongements jusqu'aux temps modernes.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Vassa LARIN, *The Byzantine Hierarchal Divine Liturgy in Arsenij Suxanov's Proskinitarij (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 286)*, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Rome, 2010, 283 pages. ISBN 978-88-7210-370-8.

Dans le rite orthodoxe, la liturgie célébrée par un patriarche avait un aspect beaucoup plus majestueux qu'une messe ordinaire. Le pèlerin moscovite Arsenij Suxanov, qui au milieu du XVII^e s. avait visité les Lieux Saints, avait l'occasion d'assister à de telles messes en présence du patriarche de Jérusalem. Impressionné, il a décidé de traduire cette liturgie en russe afin qu'elle soit chantée aussi à Moscou lorsque célébrait le patriarche des Russies. L'A. de ce volume entreprend une nouvelle édition critique du texte russe et en même temps donne une traduction en anglais. L'intérêt pour les études byzantines consiste dans le fait que dans la première partie de son livre, l'A. fait une étude approfondie au sujet des origines de la liturgie patriarcale qui remontent à l'époque byzantine. En réalité, la messe chantée à Constantinople en présence de l'empereur et du patriarche avait un caractère cérémonial très marqué. Le témoignage de Constantin VII dans son *De cerimoniis* permet de dire que ce type de liturgie est très ancien. D'ailleurs le *Typicon* de la Grande Église qui date du X^e s. confirme Constantin VII, tandis que le *De officiis* du Pseudo-Kodinos donne une description assez complète de cette liturgie au milieu du XIV^e s.

Signalons que ce livre met en page la thèse de doctorat de l'A. élaborée sous la direction du professeur R. F. Taft et défendue en 2008.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

J. H. W. G. LIEBESCHUETZ, *Ambrose and John Chrysostom. Clerics between Desert and Empire*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011, XII + 303 pages. ISBN 978-0-19-959664-5.

John H. W. G. LIEBESCHUETZ presents a comparative study of the lives of two fourth-century clerics, Ambrose and John Chrysostom. He approaches his subject by focusing on two major points of comparison, *asceticism* and *outspokenness* (Gr. *παρρησία*). The book consists of seventeen chapters, divided over four main parts.

The first part consists of a general introduction to asceticism and outspokenness. LIEBESCHUTZ shows that both concepts can be retraced to Greco-Roman times, drawing attention to concepts such as 'pollution' (Gr. *μίασμα*) and 'self-control' (with regard to asceticism), and Republican politics and philosophical opposition under the principate (with regard to outspokenness). The second and third part deal with Ambrose and Chrysostom (especially the latter is dealt with *in extenso*). The author demonstrates the importance of asceticism and outspokenness for the lives of these two men, not only in their writings (dealing with a variety of interrelated topics) but also in their actions (e.g. conflicts over the use of churches, interaction with the imperial court, the monastic life). Characteristic for the author's treatment is his balanced discussion, his close adherence to the written sources, and his contextualization of the facts. In the fourth and final part, LIEBESCHUETZ directly compares the lives of Ambrose and Chrysostom, showing that – despite the fact that these were two very different personalities – their lives had much in common. However, while Ambrose's episcopate was an (extraordinary) success, Chrysostom's

ultimately was a failure. The author also raises the question of whether Chrysostom could have been influenced by Ambrose, which he considers possible, but unlikely (especially with regard to ideas and teaching). Rather, the similarities between the two can be attributed to the fact that the Christian culture in the East and the West was still basically the same.

In conclusion, I consider LIEBESCHUETZ' book highly recommendable reading. In locating Ambrose and Chrysostom *between desert and empire*, the author sheds fresh light on the lives of two of the most prominent fourth-century figures of the East and the West.

K. BENTEIN.

Vasiliki M. LIMBERIS, *Architects of Piety. The Cappadocian Fathers and the Cult of the Martyrs*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011, xviii + 232 pages. ISBN 978-0-19-973088-9.

Auteur de plusieurs publications sur le christianisme aux IV^e et V^e s., particulièrement sur les Pères de l'Église cappadociens, Vasiliki M. LIMBERIS présente dans ce volume le résultat de recherches menées à la suite de ses contributions *Ecclesiastical Ambiguities : Corinth in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries* (dans D. Schowalter et S. Friesen (éd.), *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth, Interdisciplinary Approaches*, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press, 2005, pp. 443-457 = *Harvard Theological Studies*, 53), et, spécialement, *The Cult of Martyrs in the Cappadocian Fathers* (dans D. Krueger (éd.), *A People's History of Christianity : Byzantine Christianity*, Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 2006, pp. 39-58). Comprenant quatre chapitres, le présent ouvrage examine de quelle manière les Pères cappadociens Grégoire de Nazianze, Basile de Césarée et son frère Grégoire de Nysse, ont fait du culte des martyrs le fondement de la piété populaire. Après la préface, où LIMBERIS explique notamment la genèse de son étude, la table des abréviations, une carte de l'Asie Mineure et des régions circonvoisines et la table des illustrations, l'introduction relate, à titre d'exemple, les vicissitudes des reliques du saint du XVIII^e s. Jean le Russe dans les années 1920 et expose le plan du livre. Intitulé *Life Centered around the Martyrs*, le premier ch. s'attache à décrire les moyens mis en œuvre pour diffuser le culte des martyrs en Cappadoce, dont la 'panegyris' (πανήγυρις), célébration de grande envergure destinée à 'conserver le souvenir de l'histoire violente et héroïque du martyr' (p. 16), et se conclut par une liste des saints et martyrs vénérés en Cappadoce, répartis par l'A. en cinq catégories, à savoir les saints et martyrs locaux, les saints militaires, les saints inventés, les saints bibliques et apostoliques et les saints ancestraux. Sous le titre *Ekphrasis. Materializing Martyria Then and Now*, le deuxième ch. est consacré aux monuments relatifs au culte des martyrs d'après les descriptions (ἐκφράσεις) données par les Cappadociens dans leurs ouvrages : exploitant successivement le *Panegyrique de saint Théodore*, la *Lettre à l'avocat Adelphius* et l'*Encomium aux 40 martyrs* de Grégoire de Nysse, l' 'epitaphios logos' (ἐπιτάφιος λόγος) *Sur la mort de son père* de Grégoire de Nazianze et la *Lettre 25* Maraval de Grégoire de Nysse, LIMBERIS propose leur reconstitution tant du point de vue architectural que de la décoration intérieure, preuves archéologiques à l'appui. Ce faisant, l'A. met en évidence non seulement les aspects rhétoriques de l' 'ekphrasis', mais aussi sa valeur informative quant à l'architecture ecclésiale au IV^e s. Intitulé *Kinship with the Martyrs. Saints as Relatives and Relatives as Saints*,

le ch. suivant est consacré à l'étude de la famille des Cappadociens et aux liens qu'ils entretiennent avec les martyrs qu'ils vénèrent. Après avoir distingué la parenté biologique, dérivée du mariage, et la parenté spirituelle, conséquence de l'entrée dans la vie monastique, l'A. trace un bref historique de la famille de Basile de Césarée et Grégoire de Nysse et de celle de Grégoire de Nazianze, qu'elle illustre par un arbre généalogique, qui ne comporte cependant pas de dates. Ensuite, l'A. examine, d'une part, comment les Cappadociens ont établi un lien de parenté biologique et spirituelle avec plusieurs saints et martyrs célèbres (Grégoire le Thaumaturge, Thècle de Séleucie, les 40 martyrs de Sébaste) et, d'autre part, comment, suite à la rhétorique habile mise en œuvre dans leurs écrits, un frère, une sœur, les grands-parents, les parents des trois Cappadociens, ou même Basile de Césarée lui-même, sont devenus saints ou martyrs. Le quatrième et dernier ch., *Gender and Martyr Piety*, s'intéresse à la question de l'opposition des genres féminin et masculin et de ses implications dans le culte des martyrs. S'appuyant sur les textes des Cappadociens, l'A. montre de quelle manière les femmes de leurs familles ont obtenu le statut de martyr en menant une vie ascétique et, surtout, en accomplissant un ou plusieurs miracles. En ce qui concerne les hommes, dont le modèle de vie vertueuse repose, d'une part, sur l'éducation et la culture et, d'autre part, sur la modération dans l'assouvissement des besoins naturels comme se nourrir, elle exploite le *Panégyrique de Saint Basile* et *Sur Césaire* de Grégoire de Nazianze. Une brève conclusion termine l'ouvrage. Distinguant sources antiques, pour lesquelles l'A. renvoie, dans certains cas, simplement au TLG, et sources modernes, la bibliographie s'avère très sommaire : ainsi, on n'y trouve pas de référence à A. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte. Des Byzantins aux Abbassides. L'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes* (CNRS Éditions, 2001), qui aurait pu fournir des informations utiles puisqu'il y est question du culte de plusieurs saints et martyrs provenant de Cappadoce, comme les 40 martyrs de Sébaste ou sainte Thècle. Un index général rassemblant tant les concepts que les œuvres commentées clôture le volume. Malgré plusieurs imprécisions, dont, notamment, la confusion entre les termes pourtant centraux 'martyr' et 'saint', malencontreusement non définis au début de l'ouvrage, il faut saluer le fait que l'A. ait abordé le sujet du culte des martyrs par le recours systématique aux œuvres des Cappadociens, dont les textes, à quelques exceptions près, toujours fournis en traduction anglaise, ne permettent cependant pas le contrôle immédiat des originaux grecs.

N. CARLIG.

V. RUGGIERI, M. TURILLO et Gabriella LINI, *La scultura bizantina ad Antiochia di Pisidia, con un'appendice sulle lucerne (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 288)*, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Rome, 2011, 193 pages et 94 planches hors texte. ISBN 978-88-7210-373-9.

Parmi les différentes 'Antioches' byzantines, celle de Pisidie, l'actuel Yalvaç en Turquie, a laissé peu de restes archéologiques à cause notamment du remplissage des matériaux par les habitants. Les auteurs font une présentation analytique des témoignages modernes concernant la ville, comme aussi des campagnes de fouilles et des collections d'objets archéologiques dans le musée local. Ce matériel restait pratiquement inconnu, car aucune présentation systématique n'en avait été entreprise jusqu'ici, lacune que ce livre comble de la manière la plus satisfaisante. En réalité,

après un exposé sur les bâtiments fouillés vient le catalogue des sculptures byzantines groupées en neuf sections : épistyles, pilastres, plaques décoratives, ambons, colonnettes ou bases et chapiteaux des colonnettes, chapiteaux, corniches et fragments architecturaux, vasques, varia. Le catalogue est prolongé par celui des objets sculptés trouvés à Eleği et à Hüyükü, localités avoisinantes, et par une note sur quelques lampes à huile trouvées dans la région. Donc ce volume met à la disposition des chercheurs des nouvelles sources de l'histoire et de la civilisation byzantines.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

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